PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SITUATIONAL FACTORS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT

Although Canada is populated by immigrants and their descendants, little beyond demographic characteristics is known about those who settle here. Migration has most often been viewed as solely economically motivated, a conclusion that is based to a large extent on analyses of aggregate data. Few researchers have obtained information from individuals and psychological factors which may be implicated in migration have been almost completely ignored.

The research reported in this thesis focused on applicants for immigrant visas at the Canadian High Commission in India and a matched sample of Indian non-emigrants. A multivariate analysis allowed for the simultaneous examination of a number of psychological and situational factors. Several differences between these groups were identified, the most important of which were that the potential emigrants were less satisfied with their occupation, were relatively high sensation seekers, were more interested in world events and had a more internal locus of control. The reasons potential emigrants gave

for wanting to leave India, for choosing Canada as their destination and the gains they expected through migration were all related to these differences.

An additional component of the study was an investigation of Indians who had previously immigrated to Canada. It was found that the demographic characteristics of these migrants and their perceptions of migration have generally remained stable over three decades. There was some suggestion that personality traits had changed among these immigrants but the etiology of these changes requires confirmation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> "Migration is not universal: we are all born and we all die, but only some of us migrate." (Petersen, 1975, p. 279)

Migration has existed as long as mankind. Earliest man was probably constantly migrant in his continuing search for food. The first major movements of people are thought to have occurred in late Paleolithic times when people drifted northward from the tropics to follow the retreating fringe of the ice cap and its attendant animal herds and when others spread across Asia and then crossed the Bering land bridge into the Americas (Severin, 1973). When men turned from hunting and gathering to agriculture, migration declined (McNeill, 1978). As societies developed and permanent settlements were established, people tended to stay within one community, usually the place where they were born, and became interdependent with others for their livelihood.

Today most migration is within the boundaries of a single country. People move from rural areas to towns and cities and from one urban area to another. However, there

are many who are willing to leave the land of their birth to settle in another country. Indeed, North America is populated by people such as these and their descendents.

Canadian Immigration Since Confederation[1]

From Confederaton to the mid 1870's Canada's immigration policy was essentially one of laissez-faire. Canada had vast amounts of land to be settled and farmed and other countries had surpluses of agricultural workers. It was assumed that the forces of supply and demand would eventually produce a state of equilibrium with a minimum of governmental interference. The earliest legislation (1869) regarding immigration generally supported the laissez-faire policy, the only significant exception being a head tax imposed to cover indigent immigrants' expenses and prevent them from becoming public charges. However, there was no mention of what classes of people should be admitted nor was there any provision for exclusions.

In the 1870's the first excludable categories of immigrants were written into the law. Criminals and other "vicious classes" as well as paupers and destitute immigrants were prohibited from entering. In 1885 in response to the concerns of the province of British Columbia, the federal government

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, the source of the information presented in this section is Manpower and Immigration, 1974b.

attempted to restrict Chinese immigration by imposing a large head tax ($50.00) on Chinese immigrants.

By the mid 1890's the government became convinced of the need for massive agricultural immigration to increase national prosperity. Vigorous promotional efforts for increased immigration were mounted in Britain, the United States, France and northern and western Europe. When it became apparent that too few immigrants could be obtained from these countries, new sources were sought in eastern and southern Europe. In order to avoid increasing the urban population, farmers, farm workers and domestic servants were encouraged and all others discouraged to come to Canada.

By 1906 it was obvious that the previous free-entry policy of immigration could no longer be maintained. Hence, amendments were made to the act which, among other things, allowed for the creation of regulations to implement a selective immigration policy. One of the first such regulations was the requirement that immigrants have "landing money" ($25.00-$50.00) unless they were in the preferred occupations of agricultural workers and domestic servants.

Although Chinese immigration had been largely restrained by the head-tax (which had been substantially increased to $500.00), many other immigrants were arriving from Japan and India. The federal government attempted to control this Asiatic immigration by excluding those who did not come to Canada by a direct continuous journey from their

homeland. There was, of course, no direct route from India. In addition, by agreement with the federal government, the Japanese government restricted the number of its emigrants to Canada. Also, Asiatic immigrants other than Japanese and Chinese were required to have landing money of $200.00.

The governmental policy on immigration in 1910 was summarized by a Deputy Minister:

> "The policy of the Department at the present time is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants from the United States, the British Isles, and certain Northern European countries . . . on the other hand, it is the policy of the Department to do all in its power to keep out of the country undesirables . . .(such as) those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals . . .their entry has been made extremely difficult by the passing of Orders-in-Council . . . (which) put many obstacles in the way of immigrants from Asia . . ."

From the beginning of the First World War to the end of the Second World War, little immigration actually occurred although there were some changes in government policy. During this period the concept of sponsored immigration was introduced. This meant that a Canadian resident could sponsor his wife and minor children as immigrants to Canada. The landing money requirement was cancelled for most admissible classes and all immigrants (with some exceptions) were required to obtain visas issued abroad.

It was not until after the Second World War that immigration policy began to evolve rapidly and immigration to increase. At this time the policy of the government was "to foster the growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selecton and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed . . ." (W.L. Mackenzie King, Hansard, May 1, 1947). However, immigration was encouraged only from certain countries and the restrictions on Asiatic immigration remained although the continuous journey regulation of 1908 was repealed.

In spite of the new policy and additions to the admissible classes, immigration began to decline by 1950 and was not matching, in quality or quantity, the needs of the labour market. In response, the government introduced a new regulation which, although maintaining the preference for British, Irish, French and American immigrants, allowed a great deal of flexibility. In practice, the following categories (other than Asians) became admissible: relatives of any degree sponsored by residents of Canada, agriculturalists, entrepreneurs, professionals, domestics and nurses' aids and other workers specifically nominated by Canadian employers. Asiatic admissible (sponsored) classes were slightly extended and, by special agreement, 300, 100, and 50 immigrants a year

were allowed from India, Pakistan and Ceylon, respectively, in addition to those allowed in as sponsored spouses and children. These changes resulted in greatly increased immigration, especially in the sponsored category.

In 1962, in response to pressure from both inside and outside Canada, radical changes were made in Canada's immigration policy. The stress on the nationality of the unsponsored immigrant was eliminated and was replaced by the criteria of education, training, skills or other special qualifications. This change allowed nationals of Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries to become unsponsored immigrants. However, since selection was related to demand for various occupations in Canada and greatest demand was in the professions and technical and skilled occupations, few immigrants from developing countries were able to qualify for admission. When economic conditions improved and a greater variety of occupations was in demand, immigration from these countries increased.

The regulations of 1967 formalized the new policy and set out the selection criteria in detail. The important points in these regulations were:

1) Discrimination on the basis of race or nationality was eliminated for all classes of immigrants.

2) Unsponsored immigrants (now called independent applicants) were to be assessed on the basis of nine factors: education, occupational skill, personal qualities, demand for his occupation in Canada, knowledge of English or French, age, arranged

employment and area of destination.

3) The sponsored class was reduced to certain dependent relatives but a new class, nominated relatives, was created. This new class, consisting of only certain relatives of Canadian residents or citizens, was to be assessed on less stringent criteria than independent applicants.

4) Visitors to Canada could apply for landing while in Canada and could qualify providing they could meet the requirements as a sponsored dependent, nominated relative or independent applicant.

The assessment of independent applicants remains on a point system whereby the applicant is evaluated on each of the nine factors and is awarded from zero to the maximum allowable points for each factor. To qualify for selection, an independent applicant must receive a total of at least 50 of the 100 potential total units of assessment. Applicants are assessed on the nine factors mentioned above, eight of which are objective. The factor with the greatest weight, a potential 20 points, is education and training reflecting the view that this factor is generally necessary for adequate and continuing employment prospects. One unit of assessment is given for each year of formal education or training successfully completed. The second most important factor is personal qualities, for which a maximum of 15 units may be awarded. Characteristics such as adaptability, motivation, initiative

and resourcefulness are thought to be important for successful settlement in Canada. Points for this subjective factor are awarded on the basis of a personal interview with an immigration officer. The occupational demand factor is also worth a maximum of 15 points. Occupational demand is assessed on the basis of the needs of the Canadian labour market and is updated at least every three months. The occupational skill factor has a maximum of 10 points which are assigned in accordance with internationally recognized standards of the skill requirements of every occupation. Applicants between the ages of 18 and 35 are awarded 10 age points; older applicants to age 45 receive fewer age points and those 45 and over receive no points. Four other factors, each worth a maximum of 10 or fewer points are arranged employment (ie. a job in Canada has already been obtained), knowledge of English and/or French, presence of a relative in Canada and general employment opportunities in the area of destination. In addition to the nine selection criteria, independent applicants must have sufficient means to maintain themselves and their families until they are established in Canada.

In summary, the major trends in immigration and immigration policy in the 100 years after Confederation were:

1) a change from open immigration to a selection system based on points

2) a policy change from preferred source countries and ineligible nationalities to lack of discrimination on the basis of race or nationality and a corresponding change in major source countries from Britain and the U.S.A. to the inclusion of southern European and Asian countries

3) a change from encouragement of farm and domestic workers to selection on the basis of education and occupational skill which caused a decline in the number of agricultural workers admitted and a large increase in the numbers of professional and skilled workers (Shaw, Kliewer and Guild, 1973)

4) a change from almost all independent (unsponsored) immigrants to a large percentage of sponsored immigrants.

Indian Immigration to Canada

With the changes in Canadian immigration policy from preferred and prohibited source countries to a lack of discrimination on the basis of country of origin, countries which had been virtually unknown as sources of immigrants became major suppliers. One of these countries is India which changed from a restricted country in 1908 to the sixth largest source of immigrants in 1973 (Manpower and Immigration, 1974b).

The first Indians arrived in Canada between 1898 and 1902. Most of these first immigrants were male Sikhs who

settled in British Columbia. By 1908, when the continuous journey regulation (see p. 3) came into effect, there were about 5,000 Indians in British Columbia. Between 1909 and 1947 this regulation effectively barred Indian immigration although several hundred male Indians entered Canada illegally during the 1920's and 1930's and were given the right to stay in Canada in 1947. After 1920, wives and dependent children of legal Indian residents were allowed to come to Canada but few did so (Buchignani, 1977).

In 1959 there were little more than 5000 Indians in Canada; twenty years later it is estimated that there were at least 180,000 most of whom had arrived since 1968 (Buchignani, 1977). Whereas the earliest Indian immigrants were mainly Sikh and male, the present population represents a variety of religious backgrounds and a balance of the sexes. The first Indians were unskilled workers (Buchignani, 1977) but by the end of the 1960's, up to 68% of Indian immigrants were professional, technical and clerical workers (St. John-Jones, 1973). The early immigrants came mainly from Punjab but, at present, people who would be classified by other Canadians as Indian come from such places as East Africa, Fiji and Britain as well as all parts of India (Buchignani, 1977). The Indian population is now dispersed throughout Canada with the largest concentrations in Ontario and British Columbia and lesser numbers in Alberta and Quebec (Manpower and Immigration, 1974a).

Current Immigration Policy

Canadian immigration policy evolves in response to conditions in Canada and elsewhere and hence is seldom static for long. By the time the research reported in this thesis was done (1979-1981), several changes had occurred. In order to understand the methodology, particularly of that portion of the research done in India, it is necessary to review briefly Canadian immigration policy and practices at that time, especially as applied in India. Although not all of this information is directly relevant to this research, it provides a background for discussion of the reasons for methodological decisions and may help to understand some of the results. This information was provided by immigration officers of the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi, India (G.H. Stewart, personal communication, 1979; G.E. Whitehead, personal communication, 1979).

In 1974 several changes were made in Canadian immigration regulations. In particular, the regulation which allowed people to apply for landed immigrant status while in Canada was dropped and lack of occupational demand became an absolute bar to immigration for an independent applicant even though he otherwise had sufficient points, that is, an applicant must receive at least one unit of assessment for this factor in order to qualify.

Applicants for immigration to Canada are divided into

three categories previously explained: independent, assisted relative (formerly called nominated) and family class (formerly called sponsored). The percentages of successful immigrants (not applicants) from all countries at three points in the 15 years before this research was started were:

Year	Independent	Assisted relative	Family Class
1965	60	25	15
1971-2	50	25	25
1978-9	40	25	35

In contrast, in India at the time this research was being done, independent immigrants accounted for less than one percent of the total number of successful immigrants, assisted relatives five percent, and family class 94%. The mix had obviously changed.

Independent applicants are required to amass sufficient points (50) to be eligible for an immigrant visa but since there currently is a low demand for most occupations, it is very difficult to fulfill the requirement of at least one point for the occupational demand factor. In addition, even if the potential immigrant has an occupation which is in demand in Canada he may not be allowed to immigrate if his occupation is in certain highly skilled technical and professional fields. In these cases, he must get a certificate of approval from the Indian government. The

need for this certificate is a result of an informal agreement between Canada and India designed to stem the flow of highly skilled people from India where they are desperately needed.

Family class applicants have much more relaxed standards to meet and their applications are processed before others. They are usually wives, husbands, children, parents or unmarried brothers and sisters under the age of 21 of Canadian residents (landed immigrants) or citizens who sponsor them. Since it is obviously very difficult to qualify as an independent immigrant, most people try to qualify as a sponsored relative.

Indians who enquire about immigrating to Canada as independents are sent a Pre-Appication Questionnaire (PAQ) (see Appendix A). On the basis of the information provided on the PAQ, either a letter of discouragement is sent to the applicant or a file is opened, an application form sent and the investigation process is started. Since the opening of a file involves considerable expense, files are opened only for those who have some likelihood of being selected. Needless to say, there are many PAQ forms received but few files opened because of the current stringent immigration regulations. Most applicants are sent letters of discouragement due to a lack of demand for their occupation in Canada. The processing of these PAQ forms has a low priority and applicants must often wait several months before receiving a reply from the immigration department.

Theories of Migration

As is obvious from the previous sections, immigration is, and always has been, a topic of considerable interest and importance in Canada. However, although this country is populated by immigrants and their descendants, little is known about what motivates a person to immigrate to Canada or, indeed, to anywhere else. While many came and still come to escape very difficult or intolerable economic, social or political conditions in the country of their birth, most have not suffered any severe deprivation. Why, then, do these people leave their homelands, families and friends to come to a country which offers no guarantees to them? Many of the attempts to answer this question have focused on a study of external determinants from which the motives of migrants are inferred. An example of such an approach is the economic "push-pull" model. According to this model, unsatisfactory conditions in the homeland "push" the person to migrate and perceived advantages in the new country "pull" him. People are assumed to perceive and evaluate these factors and then act in a manner which is economically advantageous (Taylor, 1969). Research based on this model is aimed at determining what these push-pull factors are and what the relative strength of each is. Although external factors no doubt contribute to the decision to migrate, the "push-pull" model ignores the migrant as a person. It denies

"differential perception and evaluation and places an excessive emphasis on purposive-rational behaviour . . . . The 'push-pull' approach also subsumes all motives under the assumption of the maximization of want-satisfactions, so that the complex decision to migrate is reduced to a kind of mechanical balance of external and impersonal forces" (Taylor, 1969).

The research to be reported here considers the migrant as an individual and attempts to elucidate some of the factors, as he perceives them, which led to the decision to emigrate. It also attempts to uncover some of the personality and situational differences between those who decide to emigrate and those who do not plan to do so. A further purpose of this thesis is a follow-up study of immigrants to investigate possible changes in personality, situational factors and perception of situational factors which occur after immigration. Although, perhaps ideally, the study of migrants should be a longitudinal examination of a single group, such an approach is beyond the scope of this research and also impractical for reasons to be discussed later. This thesis is therefore based on a comparison of three matched groups: intending emigrants who have applied to immigrate to Canada at the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi, India, nonemigrants who do not wish or intend to emigrate from India and Indian immigrants who have already settled in Canada.

Although this research could be done using immigrants

from any country, there are several advantages in choosing Indians as subjects:

1) Since 1973 India has been a leading source country of immigrants to Canada (Bowen, 1983; Manpower and Immigration, 1974a) so there are many applicants for immigration and there is a large Indian community in Canada.

2) Since most of the Indian immigration has occurred in the last 20 years, it is not difficult to locate people of Indian origin who are immigrants rather than descendents of immigrants.

3) Since India is a developing country, any differences between migrants and nonmigrants found in migration between developed areas may be magnified in India-Canada migration.

4) There are previous relevant psychological data on Indians.

5) Since English is spoken throughout India, language problems are minimal and confined mainly to avoiding use of North American colloquialisms.

6) India is a country of diverse religions, most of which have tenets very different from those of the Judeo-Christian tradition which is dominant in Canada. This allows an exploration of the effect of religious beliefs on migration. (The extent of these differences may be seen from the fact that some Hindu castes have a taboo on crossing the seas (Panikkar, 1961). When Mohandis Gandhi broke this taboo by going to study in England, he and his family were excommu-

nicated (Zinkin, 1965).)

The study is restricted to males for several reasons:

1) In India the husband is usually the dominant partner in a marriage (Jha, 1979) and would therefore be the one to decide on emigration.

2) Unmarried women seldom have the freedom to move where they please so there are few women who apply to emigrate as independents.

3) Female data for several of the scales to be used do not exist.

4) It is difficult to contact large numbers of female Indians either in India or Canada for comparison purposes.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, the literature pertaining to migration will be selectively reviewed. Most of the research on migration has been done in disciplines other than psychology, most usually demography, economics, geography, and sociology. Hence, much of the voluminious body of work on migration does not relate directly to the research to be reported in this thesis and will therefore be omitted. In the area of psychology, there has been very little research on migration and all that could be located will be discussed.

Petersen (1975) defines migration as "the permanent movement of persons or groups over a significant distance" (p. 41). He points out that in migration statistics the basic distinction is between international migrants who cross the boundary between one country and another and internal migrants who do not. A difference in terminology also exists between the two types: international migrants are called emigrants when they leave and immigrants when they arrive whereas the corresponding terms for internal migrants are out-migrants

and in-migrants. Among international migrants, Petersen (1975) also distinguishes between permanent migrants who intend to settle in a new country for the rest of their lives and quasi-permanent migrants who intend to remain a year or more but to leave at some later time. The potential degree of permanence is determined by the migrants' stated intentions at the time of their arrival.

Much of the migration literature has concentrated on internal migration, either rural-urban or interurban migration. While it is not clear that international migration is qualitatively similar to internal migration, it is necessary to concentrate this literature review on studies of internal migrants due to the dearth of research on international migration. In addition, DeJong and Fawcett (1981) combine data from internal and international migrants in their discussion although they do differentiate among migrants on the basis of distance moved. International migrants have typically only been studied at their destination. While this is sufficient for some types of investigations (e.g. studies of adjustment or acculturation) it is not adequate for providing an understanding of migratory selection since the data are collected at the wrong end of the journey. It is not how immigrants differ from those in the country of destination but how they differ from those in their native land that will provide an understanding of those who migrate.

The first three sections of this chapter will review the literature on factors related to migration. Included in the section on psychological variables will be a review of the various personality traits that have been examined. While not all of this discussion will be directly relevant to the research reported in this dissertation, it will provide a background for understanding the variables employed. The final portion of this chapter will consist of a review of some of the theories which have been proposed to "explain" migration.

A. Demographic factors

Age

Much of the research on migration has been directed at attempting to discover universal migration differentials[2]. These are variables on which migrants consistently differ from the rest of the population and which may be observed in all countries at all times (Jansen, 1970; Shaw, 1975). One of the variables that has been found to distinguish migrants from nonmigrants reliably is age (Jansen, 1970; Petersen, 1975; Shaw, 1975; Thomas, 1938). According to Shaw (1975), "research on migration generally corroborates

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2. For a more extensive review of studies of demographic factors, see Shaw, 1975.

the proposition that persons in their late teens, twenties and early thirties are more migratory than their counterparts" (p. 18). The research upon which Shaw bases his conclusion includes studies done in both Western and non-Western countries.

Education

A large number of studies (see Shaw, 1975) conducted in many countries, including some developing nations, supports the contention that relatively better educated people are more likely to migrate. For example, Friedlander and Roshier (1966) found that over a 15 year period, migrants between 53 counties in England and Wales were better educated than nonmigrants.

Occupation

Related to education is occupation, and many studies have shown it to be predictive of migration. Friedlander and Roshier (1966) established that only 18.5% of professionals had lived in the same area all their lives whereas 47.8% of their unskilled manual group had done so and also that the highest level occupations (managerial and executive professional) were most over-represented in the longest distance moves. In a study by Illsley, Finlayson and Thompson (1970), both in-migrants to and out-migrants from Aberdeen, Scotland were more likely to be in professional or

managerial occupations than in clerical or manual occupations. Rose (1958, 1970) and Stub (1962) observed that in-migrants to two American cities had higher status occupations and that those with higher status occupations tended to have migrated greater distances.

Sex

Of historical interest are the papers of Ravenstein (1885, 1889) based on data from Britain and more than 20 other countries. He reported that "females are more migratory than males" (1885, p. 199) and further that "females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants" (1889, p. 288). In contrast, many subsequent studies have examined the possibility of a sex differential in migration but the results have been inconclusive. For example, George (1971) noted that males were more migratory than females among total Canadian interprovincial migrations, but males and females were in similar proportions in interurban migration. However, Pourcher (1970) observed that females outnumbered males in in-migration to Paris during 1953-1963. Petersen (1975) states that "males are likely to predominate during the first stages of emigration from any country, no matter what the destination" (p. 289) and "internal migrants are predominately female and international ones predominately male, but this generalization cannot aptly be

designated a 'law' that applies to non-Western societies" (p. 289). In Davis' (1950) Indian study, most of those who emigrated were male and also most who migrated within India were male. He attributes this preponderance of males in both types of migration to the fact that single women were usually too closely tied to traditional village roles to be able to leave independently and that married men often left their families in the village when they went to the city. The many contradictory results suggest that when sex selectivity is found, it is very much dependent on time and location, that is, there is no evidence to suggest a generalization that one sex is more migratory than the other, although in particular instances (e.g. Indian migration) one sex may be dominant.

On the basis of a review of large number of studies which examined a variety of possible demographic differentials, Shaw (1975) concludes that "aside from age, education, and occupation, we can expect migration differentials to be more time and place specific than generalizable" (p. 36-37).

B. Situational Factors

The research on situational and/or biographic factors in migration is less abundant than that on demographic factors, perhaps because such variables are more difficult to study. Investigation of situational factors

must depend on contacting individual migrants, whereas studies of demographic factors can be (and usually are) based on aggregate data such as census information.

Previous mobility

Richardson (1959), in a study of British emigrants to Australia, determined that emigrants had changed their place of residence more often than a matched sample of non-emigrants. He interprets this as suggesting that emigrants have weakened the ties with their families over the years thus making emigration easier and more attractive. Similarly, Åkerman (1978) found that those persons who made the decision to migrate overseas from Sweden had usually made previous internal migrations. In addition, Taylor (1969) studied the migration of coal miners in Britain and showed that migrants, their siblings, parents, and grand-parents were all less likely to have been born in the village that the migrant was leaving than were a matched sample of nonmigrants. Taylor suggests that the propensity to migrate may be a family characteristic in the sense of accumulated social experience rather than an inherited tendency. He argues that "the presence in many migrant families of a precedent conceivably makes migration more of a reality; and perhaps more important, provides a regular and reliable source of information on opportunities in other areas. There is also the greater likelihood in such

families of first-hand knowledge of other areas, resulting from holidays with brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts" (p. 111). Along the same line, Taylor (1969) found that migrants are more likely than nonmigrants to have travelled extensively. This is supported by Jacobs and Koeppel (1974b) who noted that college students who planned to move in the future were more likely to have a history of being mobile than students who did not plan to move. In a longitudinal study, Morrison (1970) discovered "considerable chronicity in mobility" and that "mobility decisions . . . evidently tend to be cumulative, linked to past experience as well as current circumstances" (p. 16). Shaw (1975) feels that the propensity to migrate is inversely related to the length of time a person has lived in the same area. He argues that "residence in the same place fosters ever increasing social ties and as such operates as an inertia factor which may effectively raise the social and psychological costs of migration; that is, accumulated residence seems to generate inertia" (p. 121). In somewhat more detail, DaVanzo (1981) analyses propensity to migrate in terms of the success of previous moves:

> "Each move entails some 'learning by doing'. A person who migrates from A to B and judges the outcome to have been favorable has reasons to stay there; this one success may even embolden the person to venture yet another move. The person who judges the outcome as unfavorable may be less inclined to stay but also may be less venturesome in the future.

> Consequently, this unsuccessful migrant, if he or she decides to move at all, may do so in the hope of regaining an earlier equilibrium of life by returning instead of braving the unknown (and risking failure) once more, and after returning might be less venturesome about trying migration again in the future . . . the success or failure of the initial move, then, may serve as one important determinant of the subsequent propensity to migrate . . ."(p. 177).

More succinctly, Rogers (1969) notes that "it may be that migration itself should be regarded as one of the more important migration differentials" (p. 18).

In summary, it appears that migrants are more likely to have a personal and family history of mobility which would likely have left them with weaker social ties in any given location but which may, if the moves have been successful, have given them the confidence to make yet another move.

Contacts in place of destination

According to Hugo (1981), "the information hypothesis suggests that the distant location of family and friends first encourages and, second, directs migration by increasing the potential migrant's awareness of conditions, particularly job opportunities, at the distant location" (p. 200). This hypothesis is supported by several studies of internal migration within the United States (e.g. Choldin, 1973; Lansing and Mueller, 1967; Tilly and Brown, 1967)

which also showed that relatives and friends were the major source of information about the destination. Indeed, Gustavus and Brown (1977) found that the choice among potential migration destinations evaluated as otherwise comparable is often decided in favour of that destination from which information is available from personal contacts. Studying international migrants, Richardson (1959) observed that 73% of emigrants from Britain to Australia but only 41% of nonmigrants had read letters from friends or relatives in Australia. This supports Shaw's (1975) proposal that the presence of friends and relatives at a potential destination is related to information flows concerning differential opportunities and also that "the presence of friends and relatives at a place of possible destination serves to reduce the psychic cost of moving to that place as well as the direct cost of temporary accommodation upon arrival. The latter consideration may be particularly relevant to migration in underdeveloped countries" (p. 84). In developing countries, information from mass media sources is limited and often lacks reliability or credibility (Brown and Sanders, 1981; Goodman, 1981). Thus, interpersonal communication from family and friends plays an important role in the migration decision, leading to chain migration (Findley, 1977) which Macdonald and Macdonald (1964) define as "that movement in which prospective migrants learn of

opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accomodation and employment arranged be means of primary social relationships with previous migrants" (p. 82). According to Connell, Dasgupta, Laishley and Lipton (1976), "a number of studies have shown the importance of kin in supplying potential migrants with information and thereby determining their choice of destination . . . In Rampura, in Gujarat, a single migrant left in 1917 to the textile mills in Ahmedabad, and set up a pattern for 50 years of migration" (p. 75). The effects of this chain migration can be seen in the nonrandom distribution of areas of origin and destination of migrants. For example, Åkerman (1978) notes the uneven geographical spread of mass emigration: "we can easily distinguish mass emigration regions from regions that have not been touched by the transoceanic exodus" (p. 294). The evidence, then, suggests that migrants are more likely to have friends or relatives in potential destinations and that these contacts supply information which has an important influence on the decision to migrate. This situation can, in turn, lead to chain migration resulting in an uneven geographical distribution of sources of migrants.

Economic variables

The role of economic factors in migration has received a great deal of research attention. In many of the

economic studies, migration has been interpreted as a response to economic stress at the point of origin including factors such as outmoded and unprofitable land tenure systems, unfavourable terms of trade and labour surplus, and factors at alternative destinations such as higher wages, greater employment prospects and general amenities (Shaw, 1975). Indeed, Lansing and Morgan (1967) assert "when people move from one area to another they typically do so in order to raise their incomes" (p. 449) and "geographic mobility is undertaken primarily for economic reasons" (p. 460). In support, McInnis (1969), for example, showed that income differentials were a major predictor of Canadian interprovincial migration. However, econometric studies such as these rely on the use of secondary data sources. As Shaw (1975) argues, "the guiding premise of this approach is that man is economically rational, an economic maximizer, and that he will perceive and evaluate migration on this basis. Given this premise, if significant economic correlates of migration are observed, then, on the basis of objective inference, subjective economic motives are imputed to migrants" (p. 59-60). Although this approach may predict the direction and magnitude of migration fairly accurately, there are obvious problems with it in accounting for migration at an individual level. The basic assumption is that migration is purely economically motivated; people make

the decision to migrate solely on the basis of differential economic opportunities. This denies differential perception and places an excessive emphasis on purposively rational behaviour (Shaw, 1975). Hugo (1981) notes that "migration researchers, however, working at the community and/or individual levels as distinct from those dealing with aggregate (usually secondary) data are acutely aware of how poor a predictor of population mobility economic variables are when considered in isolation from social and cultural influences" (p. 187).

In order to explain personal choices of moving or staying and selection of destination, it is necessary to obtain information from individuals. A few, more recent, studies have focused on reasons for migrating as given by the migrant. For example, Long and Hansen (1979) ascertained that job-related reasons (taking new jobs, looking for work, and job transfers) accounted for 47% of the interstate migration of households in the United States. They pointed out that while employment considerations are important, many other factors influence the decision to move or stay. In a review of rural-urban migration in developing countries, DeJong and Fawcett (1981) report that, for males, work and job-related reason constituted the "strong majority of responses" (from 32.8 to 88.3 per cent although most studies were between 50 and 70 per cent). In developed

nations they found that longer-distance movers were more likely to give employment or job-related reasons than local-area movers. Although these studies based on first-hand data represent an improvement in the attempt to understand migration, they have their own deficiencies. The major problem with these "reasons for moving" responses is that they "represent post hoc reflections of migrants about their prior behavior. The methodological inadequacies of this approach for inferring pre-move decision making are obvious. Reasons for moving statements may reflect pre-move motivations, but they may also be rationalized proxy, as known and verbalized by respondents, for the multiple motives that underlie migration decisions" (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981, p. 34-35). If migrants could be surveyed before moving, this problem could be overcome but, as Richardson (1959) points out, it is difficult to identify intending emigrants before they leave.

Economic factors in migration may also be viewed from the perspective of the family unit, especially in developing countries where migrants tend to come from relatively large families (Connell et al, 1976). Land or other resources are often insufficient to support the whole family (Brown and Sanders, 1981) and the family unit may decide to send out one or more members to work elsewhere with the expectation that money will be sent home (Harbison, 1981). Harbison suggests that three conditions tend to exist for this

to happen:

> "(1) large families put a strain on household resources (2) a growing nonagricultural sector provides potential employment; and (3) the extended family unit still plays a pervasive role in governing the behavior of the individual members of the family" (p. 232).

Indeed, in some cases such migration is planned when the potential migrant is still quite young. For example, in Punjab it is quite common for the eldest or two eldest sons in relatively well-off families to be given no education since they are expected to farm their parents' land; younger sons are educated as much as the family can afford so that they can leave the farm and earn their living elsewhere (Cassen, 1978).

There is no doubt that economic factors are influential in migration but, as Hugo (1981) contends, "Quite clearly there are noneconomic elements that have an important influence upon whether or not the operation of economic or economic-related factors (such as life cycle and education) initiate mobility" (p. 187-188)

Community ties

Graves and Graves (1974), Harbison (1981) and Uhlenberg (1973) propose that those least tied to the community are more likely to migrate. In support, DeJong and Fawcett (1981) point out that the most commonly cited reason

for not moving is the desire to maintain social and economic ties with the present community. Indeed, Uhlenberg (1973) discovered that, in spite of a multitude of strong reasons for migrating, the vast majority of people in his study did not move. He argues that integration into, acceptance of, and dependence on the local community represent important constraints to migration. Community ties may be created in many ways but one of the most important ways is family relationships. The desire to be near family members in the home community may reduce the incentive to migrate (Harbison, 1981). Wyon and Gordon (1971) maintain that the men they studied in India were "intensely attached to their families and to their native villages" (p. 211) and would only consider migration if they were unable to support their families. Conversely, family members living elsewhere may influence the decision to migrate. Long and Hansen (1979) found that the third most important reason for interstate migration in the United States (after two work-related reasons) as to be nearer relatives. Children in the family may also create ties to a particular community. In Long's (1972) American study, married couples without children were more mobile then those with children and, among those with children, the age of the children determined mobility. The presence of children of school age lowered mobility to about 50-60% of couples with children of preschool age only.

Ties may also be created by property. Homeowners are less likely to move than renters (Rossi, 1980; Shaw, 1975). However, it is not clear whether home ownership impedes migration or mobility expectations impede home ownership (Shaw, 1975). Similarly, responsibility for family land may reduce the likelihood of migration as shown by Cassen (1978) (see p. 32).

Social groups which are outside the mainstream and therefore have weaker community ties may be more likely to migrate (Haberkorn, 1981). In India, Connell et al (1976) showed that in all areas marginal groups had a greater propensity to leave. Thus, depending upon the location, scheduled tribes, Muslims and Christians more often became migrants.

In summary, the literature suggests that there may be many situational factors affecting migration, including previous mobility, friends and relatives who have migrated and who can supply information about possible destinations, economic factors, such as inadequate income and lack of employment opportunities, and lack of community ties.

C. Psychological factors

The literature on psychological variables is very sparse when compared to that concerned with demographic or situational differences (Mangalam, 1968; Shaw, 1975).

Indeed, Jacobs and Koeppel (1974b) declare that there have been no published psychological investigations of the personality variables which relate to individual voluntary migration. In most of the available studies of migration, standardized measures of personality variables have not been used. Nevertheless, the results of these more subjective investigations are suggestive of potentially fruitful avenues of research.

Achievement motivation

The achievement motive (often called need for achievement or nAch) is defined as an energizing condition that causes a person to internalize evaluations of his own performance and then seek to meet these standards (Atkinson and Feather, 1966). McClelland (1961) described achievement motivation as "a motive to do well" (p. 46). Research into the behavioural traits which distinguish those high in achievement motivation (nAch) from those low in nAch has shown that people who are high in nAch work harder at laboratory tasks, learn quicker and perform best when such performance counts for their record and not when other incentives such as money, time off or social approval are offered (McClelland, 1961). Those high in nAch tend to set moderate goals for themselves and to work hardest when the chances of succeeding are also moderate. In this way they can maximize their

achievement satisfaction since an easy task provides little satisfaction and a difficult task is unlikely to produce success (McClelland and Winter, 1971). Persons with high nAch tend to take moderate risks in conditions where skill is involved and try to avoid situations such as pure gambling which involve only luck. If a game of chance is forced on them, they prefer the safest odds possible (McClelland, 1961). High achievers perceive "that the future is already upon them while the past has not yet slipped away, and the universe that confronts them is therefore teeming with opportunities for manipulation and achievement" (Green and Knapp, 1959). They "fit the picture of a man hurrying forward with his attention focussed on the more distant future so that present time seems to be slipping past him rapidly " (McClelland, 1961, p. 329).

In an Indian study, Meade (1968a) found that subjects from the Kshatriya caste of Hindus, Parsees and Sikhs experienced time spend in idleness as significantly longer than an equal period of time spent working. In contrast, subjects from the Brahmin, Vaishya and Shudra castes of Hindus as well as Muslims showed no difference in experienced time between the two conditions. The results were interpreted as being the result of a greater level of motivation of the former groups and the consequent value they placed on the utilization

of time. These former groups are also usually described as being more highly motivated (Lewis, 1958). In a later study (Meade, 1972), Kshatriyas, Sikhs and Parsees tended to write narratives with future themes more often than Brahmins, Vaishyas, Shudras and Muslims. The former groups also showed a greater tendency toward stories involving the importance of personal work and effort. This is in contrast to the more general Indian, especially Hindu, belief that individual achievement depends very little on personal performance during a person's lifetime (Lewis, 1958). In addition, in the orthodox Indian family, many expectations for its members are determined often by the older family members rather than by the individual (Meade, 1968b). Meade (1968b) argues "His dependence on the predetermination of his destiny leads him, instead, to a less realistic outlook on the worth of his own motivation and effort. Since the Indian attaches little significance to the results of his own effort, such results play but a small role in his motivation" (p. 172). The Brahmins, Vaishyas, Shudras and Muslims were more likely to attribute success to luck, gifts or other chance factors rather than personal work and efforts. Meade (1972) concluded "that not only are achievement motivation and future time perspectives correlated but also appear to be conditioned by the learning experiences specific to a given culture. In

general, it can be said that motivated individuals plan ahead now for actions and goals they expect in the future while those who are less motivated do not" (p. 98).

How are these results from laboratory studies reflected in behaviour in the "real world"? People in cultures with higher nAch, as measured by folk tales, travel significantly more and tend to send out more emigrants (McClelland, 1961). McClelland and Winter (1969), discussing the success of overseas Indian businessmen, state: "It is likely that they went abroad in the first place because they had higher nAchievement" (p. 7). They also argue "lots of people do not migrate. Many never move and to explain the behavior of the few that do, it appears reasonable to infer that they had higher achievement motivation" (p.33). In support of this notion, Richardson (1959) determined that the majority of British skilled manual workers intending to emigrate to Australia "are motivated by a desire to improve their situation rather than by a desire to escape from an unsatisfactory situation" (p. 333). Taylor (1969), studying the inter-village migration of English coal miners, concluded that migrants had a higher level of aspiration. Cassen (1978), in discussing out-migration from rural Punjab and in-migration to it from Uttar Pradesh, states that "both migration streams seek better prospects but the Punjabi migrants are not content with

the opportunities at home which satisfy the incoming migrants. This reflects both the higher economic expectations of the Punjabi and his determined character, derived from a long tradition of self-improvement" (p. 122). Although none of these authors used a measure of achievement motivation, it is apparent that the people they discuss are motivated by self-imposed standards and seek a situation through migration where they can achieve these standards. In their present area of residence there are not the opportunities they require to satisfy their high level of achievement motivation.

More concrete support for McClelland and Winter's hypothesis is provided in a study by Hines (1974). Using a questionnaire measure of achievement motivation, Hines established that New Zealand students who planned to go overseas after completing their studies had higher nAch than students who planned to remain at home.

In the realm of occupation, differences may be observed between those high and low in nAch. Crockett (1962) found that sons from a lower middle-class background were more apt to have risen above their fathers in occupational status if they had high nAch (43%) then if they had low nAch (25%). Furthermore, 67% of the sons with high nAch from a lower class background surpassed their fathers as contrasted with only 46% of sons with low nAch from a similar background. In a longitudinal study (McClelland,

1965), college men high in nAch were more likely to become entrepreneurs if they had gone into business. Those with low nAch were more likely to have become managers: 83% of the entrepreneurs had been high in nAchievement 14 years earlier versus only 21% of the non-entrepreneurs" (p. 390). McClelland concludes that achievement motivation is a reasonably stable personality characteristic which eventually may lead men into entrepreneurial occupations.

Achievement motivation is thought to have its roots in child-rearing practices. Winterbottom (1953) studied a group of 29 eight to ten year old boys and their mothers. Mothers of boys who were high in nAch, in contrast to mothers of boys low in nAch, expected their sons to meet demands for independence and mastery (i.e. to know his way around his part of the city, to try hard things for himself without asking for help, etc.) at a much earlier age. In addition, mothers of high nAch boys reported using physical affection more often as a reward for fulfilled demands, were less restrictive and tended to rate their sons as more skillful than mothers of low nAch boys. More recently, McClelland and Pilon (1983) completed a longitudinal study comparing mothers' reports of child rearing practices when their children were five years old with the achievement motivation scores of the children 26-27 years later. Adults scoring

high in nAch had mothers who had reported scheduled feeding and severe toilet training. However, McClelland and Pilon point out that these early experiences account for no more than 30% of the variance in adult scores. "Obviously, later experiences in school or adult life are also important sources of individual differences in nAch" (p. 573).

Collectively the studies presented in this section suggest that persons with high achievement motivation attempt to satisfy it by restlessly seeking out opportunities. They prefer situations in which their own work can bring success. When adequate challenges and opportunities cannot be found in their present environment they may migrate to secure a better future.

Locus of control

A psychological construct of potential importance in distinguishing migrants from nonmigrants is a person's belief in his ability to control important events in his life. Those who believe events are contingent upon their own behaviour are said to have a belief in internal control (Rotter, 1966). On the other hand, those who perceive events as the result of luck, chance, fate, as under the control of others or as unpredictable are said to have a belief in external control. In general, locus of control refers to expectations for control

over one's surroundings (Phares, 1976).

Research on the locus of control construct has shown that internals are more likely to acquire the kind of information that will better enable them to cope with or control their environment effectively (Seeman, 1963, 1966, 1967; Seeman and Evans, 1962). Phares (1968) found that even when the amount of information available and the degree of learning of that information were controlled, internals made more effective use of the information than did externals. Several studies have shown that internals are more willing to delay gratification in the pursuit of long-range goals than are externals. The internal, because he believes that results are a consequence of his own efforts, is able to sacrifice immediate pleasures in order to obtain a distant goal. In contrast, the external, believing that tomorrow's events are beyond his control, sees no reason to forego today's pleasures in order to complete long range plans. Indeed, he sees no point in making long-range plans since fulfilling them is uncertain in what he believes is an unreliable world (Lefcourt, 1976). Internals may be more likely than externals to seek out situations in which control is possible. For example, Kabanoff and O'Brien (1980) showed that internals were more likely to engage in leisure activities that required greater skill, influence (control over

the environment including other people), variety and pressure (exertion on the part of the individual for success).

In "on the job" studies, it also has been shown that internals behave differently than externals. In a study by Giles (1977), internals were more likely than externals to take action (in this case, volunteer for a job enrichment program) when they were dissatisfied with their current situation. In India, internals had a greater likelihood of being engaged in social action than externals although there was no difference between the groups in need for approval (Pandey and Khan, 1977). Lied and Pritchard (1976) demonstrated a significant correlation between locus of control and the Protestant ethic (i.e. the belief that hard work is a virtue and leads ultimately to rewards) which suggested that internals are more motivated to work for work's sake than are externals. This interpretation was supported by the finding of a significant correlation between locus of control and independent ratings of work effort. In a six country survey which included some non-Western countries, Reitz and Jewell (1979) found that male internals showed more job involvement in each country, again indicating greater motivation. In a longitudinal study, internals made better job progress, as measured by increased in job level, than did externals (Valecha, 1972). In another

longitudinal study, Andrisani and Nestel (1976) found that locus of control scores were related to success at work as indicated by occupational attainment and income. In the area of job satisfaction, internals may be expected to show greater satisfaction for several reasons: Since internals are more likely to take action than externals, they can be expected to quit a dissatisfying job and find a more fulfilling position. Since internals may perform better on a job, they can be expected to receive performance rewards when these are available and thus be more satisfied. Research has shown that internals are generally more satisfied with their jobs than externals (Spector, 1982).

The similarity between the locus of control and achievement motivation constructs suggests that they may be related. However, the correlations found have usually been only low to moderate (e.g. Mehrabian, 1968; Merhabian and Bank, 1975; Wolk and DuCette, 1971). Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that people high in achievement motivation tend to be internal (Mehrabian and Bank, 1975; Phares, 1976). Aggarwal and Gudwani (1978) showed that this relationship also held among high school students in Punjab, India. However, the converse of this relationship does not follow: internals are not necessarily high in achievement motivation.

Research on familial antecedents of locus of

control beliefs is limited (Phares, 1976), particularly in India (L. Krishnan, personal communication, 1983), and is usually correlational and relies on retrospective data from both children and parents. The research that has been done (e.g. Davis and Phares, 1969; Hui, 1982) indicates that children who have an internal locus of control are most likely to have parents who are warm, protective, positive, nurturant and consistent in discipline.

In view of Rotter's (1966) statement that "the most important kind of data to assess the construct validity of the internal-external control dimension involves the attempts of people to better their life conditions" (p. 19), it would be expected that the locus of control construct would have been implicated in considerable migration research. However, this is not so. The only empirical attempt (Haberkorn, 1981) to link locus of control beliefs to migration is the study by Hines, Koeppel and Jacobs (1974), of the planned migration of college students. They found that students planning to move out of state were significantly more internal in their beliefs than students planning no mobility. Although the Hines et al study involves only planned mobility with no check on whether or not the moves actually occurred, it does lend support to the notion that internals are more likely to take action to improve their situation through migration.

Sensation seeking

Experimental research in sensory deprivation has indicated that individuals differ greatly in their optimal level of stimulation, that is, in their need for varied sensations, arousal levels and experience. This research led to the development of the construct of sensation seeking which is defined as "a trait defined by the need for varied, novel, complex sensations and experiences and the willingness to take physical and social risks for the sake of such experience" (Zuckerman, 1979, p. 10). Although there has been only one study conducted using sensation seeking which is relevant to the present research, the construct does have theoretical appeal. Migration offers the opportunity for varied and new experiences. This is especially true for migration between dramatically different cultures such as India and Canada. It would, therefore, be reasonable to expect that such migrants would show higher levels of sensation seeking than a comparable group of nonmigrants. Some support for this notion comes from a study by Jacobs and Koeppel (1974). They found that the high sensation seeker had been more mobile in the past and planned more mobility in the future than the low sensation seeker.

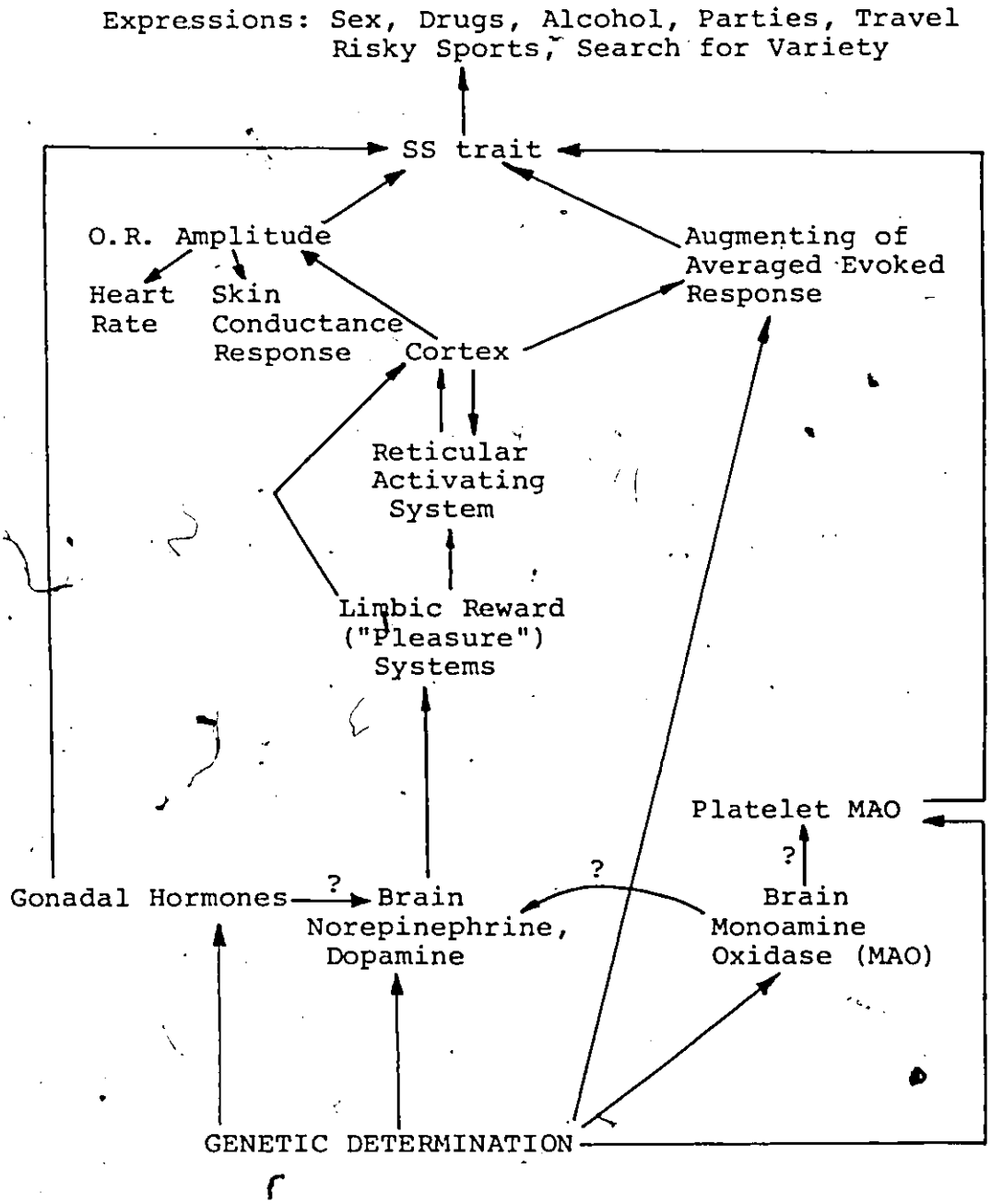
There have been no studies done on the familial and social antecedents of sensation seeking. However, there has been some research on biological correlates of sensation seeking. Neary and Zuckerman (1976)

found that the electrodermal orienting reflex (OR), measured by skin conductance changes, to the first presentations of both auditory and visual stimuli was stronger in high-sensation-seeking subjects than in low-sensation-seekers. Highs and lows did not differ in tonic skin conductance levels before or during the stimulus presentations and did not differ in their rate of habituation to repeated stimuli after the initial presentation. Zuckerman, Murtaugh and Siegel (1974) demonstrated that high sensation seekers (measured by a subscale of Zuckerman's scale) tended to augment the amplitude of the cortical average evoked response (a measure of cortical arousal using electroencephalogram tracings) to high intensity stimuli whereas low sensation seekers showed a reducing pattern. That is, high sensation seekers enhanced (augmented) the perceived intensity of the stimuli and lows diminished (reduced) it and these effects were strongest at the highest stimulus intensity. Daitzman, Zuckerman, Sammelwitz and Ganjam (1978) measured total androgens and estrogens in samples of males and females. For males, both androgens and estrogens had significant positive correlations with a subscle of Zuckerman's sensation seeking scale. For the small (n=7) female sample, estrogen was correlated with this subscale at two stages of the menstrual cycle but androgens tended to correlate at only one stage. In a further (unpublished) study (Daitzman and

Zuckerman, 1979, cited in Zuckerman, 1979), males who scored high on this subscale had higher levels of testosterone, 17- β estradiol and estrone than males who scored low; there were no differences in progesterone levels. In two related studies (Murphy, Belmaker, Buchsbaum, Martin, Ciaranello and Wyatt, 1979; Schooler, Zahn, Murphy and Buchsbaum, 1978), platelet monoamine oxidase (MAO) levels generally had negative correlations with sensation seeking (total scale and several subscales) in male, female and combined sex samples. The implication of these findings is that high sensation seekers may have a larger amount available of the neurotransmitters, norepinephrine, dopamine and serotonin, since MAO regulates the supplies of these neurotransmitters. Some support for this possiblility came from a small unpublished study (Buchsbaum, Goodwin and Muscettola, 1979, cited in Zuckerman, 1979) in which it was found that the amount of a metabolite of brain norepinephrine in urine samples was positively correlated with sensation seeking scores. Based on the evidence from these studies as well as from animal and clinical studies and basic physiological research, Zuckerman (1979) proposed a biological model of sensation seeking, shown in Figure 2-1, which synthesized the findings. The question marks indicate unproven relationships.

Insert Figure 2-1 about here

Figure 2-1: A biological model for sensation seeking



Note. From Sensation Seeking: Beyond the Optimal Level of Arousal (p. 374) by M. Zuckerman, 1979, Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. Copyright 1979 by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

According to this model, genetic determination influences sensation seeking indirectly through gonadal hormones (specifically, testosterone, estradiol, and estrone), neurotransmitters (specifically, the catecholamines norepinephrine and dopamine), neuromodulators (monoamine oxidase, MAO) and the average evoked response (a measure of cortical arousal using electroencephalogram tracings). High sensation seekers have higher levels of gonadal hormones, norepinephrine and dopamine than low sensation seekers, lower levels of MAO and tend to show an increase in the amplitude of the cortical average evoked response (AER) to high-intensity stimuli (ie. they tend to augment stimuli). Genetic factors also indirectly affect the amplitude of the orienting reflex (OR) which refers to arousability in response to simple, novel stimuli, both visual and auditory, and is measured by skin conductance or heart rate changes. High sensation seekers show a stronger magnitude of the electrodermal orienting reflex to the first presentations of novel stimuli. In summarizing his model, Zuckerman states:

> "All these characteristics of the CNS of sensation seekers may predispose them to seek the particular phenomenal expressions of the trait that are provided by a particular culture. Conversely, the low-sensation seekers will 'burrow into' whatever forms of security and stability are provided by the social order. Since most social structures are built on impulse inhibition, there are usually more opportunities for low-sensation seekers to find a satsifactory way of life than there are for highs" (p. 375).

Perhaps, then, the high sensation seekers are more likely to migrate not only to satisfy their need for variety but also in search of a more satisfying life.

Modernity

Smith and Inkeles (1966) defined attitudinal modernity as "a set of attitudes, beliefs, behavior, etc. especially characterizing persons in highly urbanized, highly industrialized and highly educated social settings" (p. 353). As part of a large project studying the impact of national and economic modernization on the individual, a team of researchers headed by Inkeles interviewed 6,000 men in six developing countries, including India. This led them to propose (Inkeles, 1966, 1969; Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Smith and Inkeles, 1966) a syndrome of personal qualities which identify the modern man:

> "Central to this syndrome are: (1) openess to new experience, both with people and with new ways of doing things such as attempting to control births; (2) the assertion of increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures like parents and priests . . . (3) belief in the efficacy of science and medicine and a general abandonment of passivity and fatalism in the face of life's difficulties; and (4) ambition for oneself and one's children to achieve high occupational and educational goals. Men who manifest these characteristics (5) like people to be on time and show an interest in carefully planning their affairs in advance. It is also part of this syndrome to (6) show strong interest and take an active part in civic and community affairs and local politics; and (7) to strive energetically to keep up with the news, and within this

> effort to prefer news of national and international import over items dealing with sports, religion, or purely local affairs." (Inkeles, 1969, p. 210).

These characteristics are also those which one might expect of a man who migrates from a developing country to a developed country. Some support for this notion comes from the previously noted study done by Taylor (1969) on migrants in Britain. He asked villagers who had remained in the village, "What kind of people have left?". The answers he received could be grouped into two separate clusters: an overall characteristic of aspiration (cf. (4) above) and an overall characteristic of openness or receptiveness to new situations (cf. (1) above). Inkeles and Smith (1974) performed a more direct test of this hypothesis. They compared the modernity scores of urban industrial workers newly arrived from villages with scores of a matched sample of villagers who had not migrated. Results indicated that the industrial workers were somewhat more modern but the correlation failed to reach statistical significance. However, it is not at all clear that their test was adequate.

There is little research on the antecedents of individual modernity. However, Inkeles (1977) believes that most of the variance in the construct is due to learning which takes place in factories, modern bureaucratic organizations, agricultural co-operatives and schools. Substantial increases in modernity may be observed after individuals

have been exposed to these institutions (Inkeles and Smith, 1974). These results are most likely produced because in all these situations individuals are exposed to common principles of organization, procedures for assigning power and prestige, modes for allocating rewards and punishment, and approaches to the management of time. As Inkeles (1977) comments "Individual modernity then becomes a quality learned by the incorporation into the self-system of certain qualities characteristic in certain institutional environments" (p. 157).

In summary, although there is little empirical evidence, there are theoretical reasons to expect that men who migrate are more "modern" then those who do not.

Risk-taking propensity

Jackson (1976) described the high risk taker as a person who "enjoys gambling and taking a chance; willingly exposes (him)self to situations with uncertain outcomes; enjoys adventures having an element of peril; takes chances; (is) unconcerned with danger" (p. 10). Although there have been no studies linking risk taking with migration (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981), there are theoretical reasons to expect a connection. According to DeJong and Fawcett (1981), "even if the costs and returns of migration are perceived to be similar by two individuals, the one with the greater risk-taking propensity is more likely to break

ties with the area of origin by deciding to move . . . risk-taking propensity may facilitate the actualizing of economic returns and social mobility through the migration process" (p. 26). Haberkorn (1981) proposes that the willingness to take risks is one of the factors in the first stage of migration decision-making. DaVanzo (1981) suggested "Differences in attitude toward risk, like other differences in subjective valuations of factors in alternative locations, can impel two people to evaluate the same prospect differently. Other things being equal, people should be more likely to move the less averse they are to risk" (p. 95).

Although there are cultural differences in risk-taking propensity (e.g. Carment, 1974b; Carment and Alcock, 1976) which suggest that child rearing variables are implicated in individual differences in risk taking, there does not appear to have been any research done on this aspect.

D. Migration models and theories

The first attempt at a comprehensive theory of migration was Ravenstein's (1885, 1889) "Laws of Migration". According to Ravenstein, migration is economically motivated with migrants moving from areas of lesser opportunity to areas of greater opportunity. The choice of destination is determined by distance with migrants farther from large

cities moving in a sequence of short steps to larger and larger towns. Migrants who move toward cities are replaced by others from smaller towns. The only exception to the general rule of short distance moves is those who proceed long distances to "one of the great centres of commerce and industry". Ravenstein's "laws" stimulated much discussion in spite of being more description than theory. Although they were based on research methods which are now recognized as flawed (Thomas, 1938), they were an attempt to impose organization in an area where none appeared.

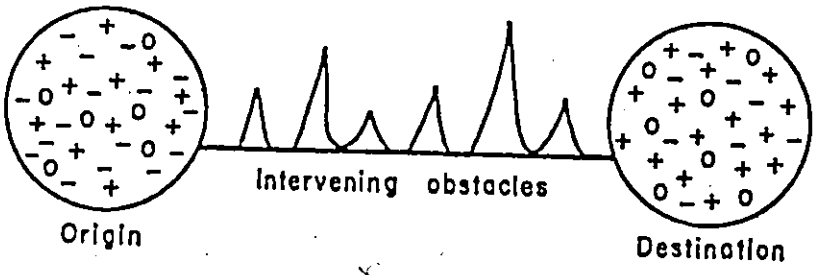
Implicit in many theories is the concept of push and pull factors. These "push-pull" theories assume that unpleasant factors at the place of origin propel the migrant and appealing factors at a possible destination pull him. However, high levels of migration do not always occur when push-pull theories would make such a prediction. Uhlenberg (1973) examined several such cases. For example, Negro outmigration from the southern United States between 1860 and 1920 was at a low level in spite of strong economic "push" factors in the South such as a subsistence level with no hope of improvement and strong social pushes such as unequal justice and inferior, segregated educational facilities teamed with the pull factors of the enormous need for unskilled labour in factories in the northern states. Similarly, Japanese-Americans living in internment camps in the United States during World War II resisted

leaving the camps when free to do so in spite of push factors of harsh physical conditions in the camps with no opportunity for social or economic advancement and pull factors of an outside wartime labour shortage producing many high paying jobs and assistance for those who resettled. In both examples, to explain such lack of migration, it is necessary to look beyond the external pushes and pulls. Uhlenberg proposes that in the case of Negro migration from the South, ignorance of opportunities elsewhere was a major impediment to migration whereas for interned Japanese-Americans, social factors played an important role. Furthermore, as was pointed out in Chapter I, the simplistic approach of push-pull theories is inadequate to account for differential migration. In addition to the problems discussed there, such theories also assume that people are sedentary and remain fixed until induced to move by some force (Petersen, 1975). The fallacy, of course, is that individual behaviour cannot be explained, that is, if all are sedentary, why do only some leave?

Lee (1966) presented a more elaborate version of a push-pull theory which gives some consideraton to individual differences. In Lee's model (see Figure 2-2)

Insert Figure 2-2 about here

Figure 2-2: Lee's (1966) model of migration



Note. From "A Theory of Migration" by E.S. Lee, 1966, Demography, 3, p. 50. Copyright 1966 by Population Association of America. Reprinted by permission.

the areas of origin and destination have both positive factors (+) which tend to hold or attract people, and negative factors (-) which tend to repel them. Other factors (0) are those to which people are indifferent. The factors are evaluated differently depending on the personal situation of the prospective migrant. A move is likely if the positive factors add to more than the negative factors. However, this positive balance must be large enough "to overcome the natural inertia which always exists" (p. 51). Between origin and destination are intervening obstacles which limit migration to those who can surmount them. There are also personal factors such as "personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere" (p. 51) which result in differential perception of the actual factors at origin and destination and "personalities which are resistant to change" and "personalities which welcome change for the sake of change" (p. 51) both of which affect the likelihood of migration. Lee generated several hypotheses from his theory, mainly to do with volume and direction of migration. In addition, he proposed that migrants are selected either positively (migrants of high quality) or negatively depending upon whether they are responding primarily to plus factors at destination or minus factors at origin.

The models presented by Ravenstein and Lee may be classified as representative of one of two broad cate-

gories within the macro framework of migration studies. In the other category are empirical studies (e.g. Greenwood, 1969) which use aggregate data[3] (Chang, 1981). While these macro approaches have been reasonably successful in explaining aggregate migration flows (Shaw, 1975) and are useful in policy making and planning, they do not explain why one person moves but another socioeconomically and demographically similar person does not. Put another way, "Traditional migration studies tell more about places than they do about people" (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981, p. 44). To understand individual migration behaviour, it is necessary to take a microlevel approach, that is, to view migration from the perspective of the individual. This approach has the added advantage of allowing multiple motives to be identified and a weight for each determined, whether they are economic, noneconomic, personal or idiosyncratic (Chang, 1981).

One method of viewing migration at the micro level is within a cost-benefit framework. Migration is viewed as a personal investment that will be made only if the returns are perceived as justified. The individual weighs current and future monetary and nonmonetary costs and benefits in some manner before migration occurs (Somer, 1967). Unfortunately, the empirical applications of this

---

3. For a detailed discussion of aggregate models, see Shaw, 1975.

approach have generally been inadequate: nonmonetary costs are seldom included and the studies use aggregate data, such as income differentials, and from the results impute subjective motives to the migrants (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981).

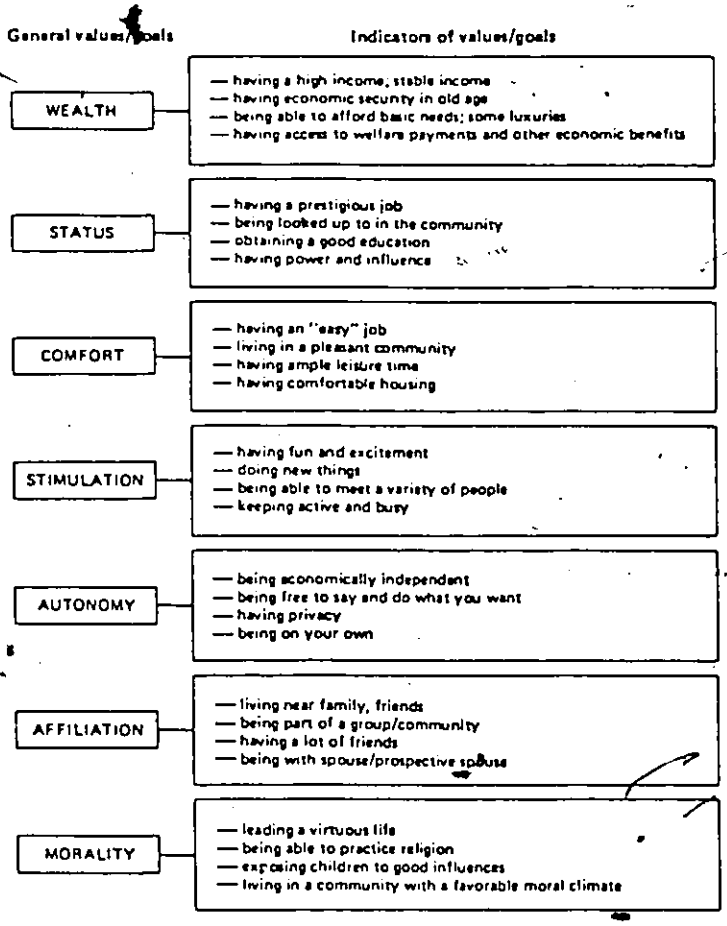
A variation within the cost-benefit framework is the model proposed by DeJong and Fawcett (1981) based on psychological value-expectancy theory. According to value-expectancy theory, "the strength of a tendency to act in a certain way depends on the expectancy that the act will be followed by a given consequence (or goal) and the value of that consequence (or goal) to the individual" (Crawford, 1973, p. 54). The value-expectancy model of migration is dependent upon goals (values, objectives) and expectancies (subjective probabilities) which have a multiplicative relationship. Thus

$$MI = \sum_i V_i E_i$$

where V is the value of the outcome, E is the expectancy that migration will lead to the desired outcome and MI is the strength of intentions for migration. Based on a literature search, DeJong and Fawcett list seven categories of values/goals relevant to migration as shown in Figure 2-3.

Insert Figure 2-3 about here

Figure 2-3: Values and goals related to migration



Note. From Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries (p. 50) by G.F. DeJong and R.W. Gardner (Eds.), 1981, New York: Pergamon. Copyright 1981 by Pergamon Press. Reprinted by permission.

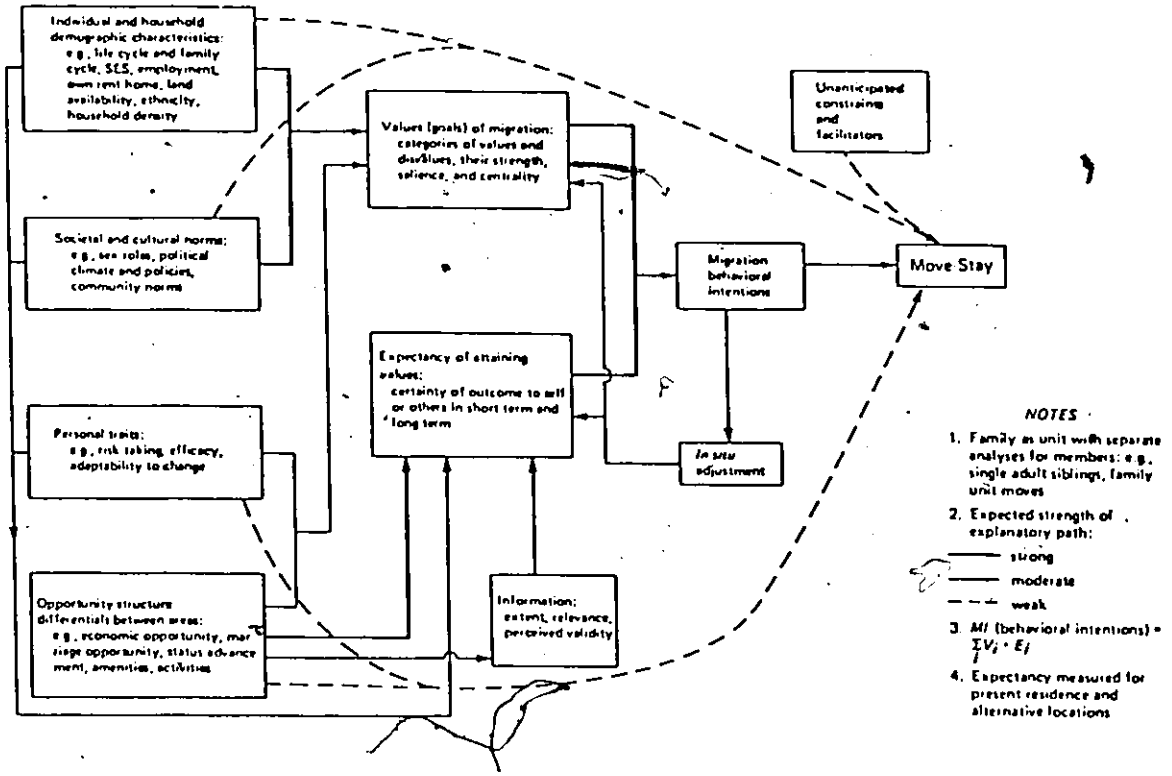
In order to apply the model, a measure of importance and a corresponding expectancy must be obtained for each value indicator. Expectancies for attaining a highly valued goal at the current place of residence as well as at alternative destinations can be compared. By applying the above formula, a score for the strength of the intention to migrate may be obtained for several locations.

DeJong and Fawcett (1981) present a migration decision-making model which incorporates values and expectancies along with macrolevel influences (see Figure 2-4).

Insert Figure 2-4 about here

According to their model, individual and household demographic characteristics are predictors of values and expectancies. Societal and cultural norms are internalized to some extent and reflected in values and expectancies. However, as DeJong and Fawcett note "Because of the paucity of studies that measure traits directly, the strength of personal traits as determinants of migration decision making is unclear" (p. 55). The fourth category of determinants is opportunity structure differentials between areas which are a major factor in the formation of expectancies for attaining goals. Information about areas, whether valid or not, moderates the effect of opportunity structures. Thus, "migration behavior is hypothesized

Figure 2-4: A value-expectancy-based model of migration decision-making behaviour .



Note. From Migration Decision Making: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Microlevel Studies in Developed and Developing Countries (p. 54) by G.F. DeJong and R.W. Gardner (Eds.), 1981, New York: Pergamon. Copyright 1981 by Pergamon Press. Reprinted by permission.

to be the result of (1) the strength of the value-expectancy-derived intentions to move, (2) the indirect influences of background individual and area factors, and (3) the modifying effects of constraints and facilitators that become salient during the process of migration decision making" (p. 56). If a decision is made not to migrate, adjustments (labelled 'In situ adjustments') may be made (such as a change in occupations) which, if successful, alter the subjective expectancy of obtaining desired goals in the present location and may even affect the individual's perception of values associated with migration.

The value-expectancy decision-making model is as yet untested (Chang, 1981) but appears to possess explanatory power. It cannot, however, be considered a general theory of migration. The lack of a general theory of migration behaviour with universal validity and applicability is not difficult to understand when one considers what must be explained by it:

> "Migration analysis is the attempt to explain the decision-making mechanism (individual, household, or village) and human behavior for persons (with different personality traits and sociocultural backgrounds) interacting with and reacting to (at different levels) the general environment (socioeconomic, ecological, and political stimuli) over time (short- and long-run situations) in order to achieve (maximize, minimize, or satisfy) certain objectives (personal or otherwise, economic and noneconomic) with certain consequences (on the migrant and others in the sending and receiving points)" (Chang, 1981, p. 305).

In summary, a general theory of migration must be able to answer the following questions:

> who are the migrants?
>
> why do they migrate?
>
> how and where do they migrate?
>
> when do they move?
>
> what are effects of such actions on the migrants and on others? (Chang, 1981; Mangalam and Schwarzweller, 1970)

However, Chang (1981) does not see such a theory as possible or useful:

> "Such a theory, if it can be constructed, would degenerate into a broad generalized framework with no specified relations among the independent parameters. . .It must be conceded that it is impossible to construct such an integrated theory, and that it is more sensible to theorize on only one or two of the questions mentioned above, for instance, motivation to migrate or the effects of migration" (p. 306).

Summary

It is obvious from the review in this chapter that the migration of an individual is dependent upon many factors -- factors which include personal characteristics as well as those external to the migrant. Neither type of factor alone will likely be sufficient to account for migration. While demographic differentials may define

the type of person most likely to migrate, they are only descriptions, not adequate explanations of individual decisions. Therefore, in the present study, groups were matched on the demographic factors known to distinguish migrants from nonmigrants in order to examine the role of situational and psychological factors. Due to the paucity of previous research on many aspects of migration and lack of adequate theory, the research to be reported is necessarily somewhat exploratory in nature.

CHAPTER III

THE MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

This chapter consists of a discussion of the scales and questionnaires used to measure the variables of interest in this research. In most cases, there were several alternative instruments available that could be used to measure a specific variable making it necessary, then, to choose the most appropriate alternative for the circumstances of this study. Also in this chapter, additional variables that might have potential importance in the decision to migrate are considered although no direct empirical support for them could be found. The rationale for the inclusion of these additional variables as well as for the selection of the measuring instruments will be presented.

A. Situational and demographic variables

1. Potential emigrant group

The basic questionnaire used to measure biographical, situational and demographic variables was initially developed for the potential emigrant group, and then alterations

were made to make it appropriate for use with the other two groups. A copy of this questionnaire (Form E) is in Appendix B. (Note: The order of questions on Form E is not the same as that shown in Figures 3-1 to 3-8 to follow.)

Demographic factors

For the variables of age, sex, marital status, education, etc., there was little choice as to the form of the question. The only real debate was between a closed or open-ended question, that is, between providing mutually exclusive categories, one of which was to be checked, or merely providing a space in which the subject could fill in the required response. It was necessary to choose, in each instance, the simplest method of asking the question, considering brevity, ease of answering and potential clarity of response, while remembering that it was unlikely that respondents would be as familiar with questionnaires as are most North Americans. Table 3-1 shows the questions used for the demographic variables. It should be noted that, although the study was restricted to males, a question on sex was included in case a questionnaire was inadvertently sent to a female.

Insert Table 3-1 about here

Table 3-1: Format of questions used for demographic factors

1. Age: _____

2. Sex: male _____ female

3. Marital status: single____ married____ divorced or separated____ widowed____

4. Education:

did not attend school_____ technical training_____
elementary or middle school only___ some university_____
some higher secondary_____ university graduate____
completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training__

5. Religion: _____ If Hindu, please specify caste:
Brahmin_____ Kshatriya____ Vaishya____ Shudra____

6. In what state or region were you born? _____

7. How large was the village or town in which you grew up?

less than 5,000_____ 50,000-100,000_____
5,000-20,000_____ 100,000-500,000_____
20,000-50,000_____ more than 500,000_____

8. Which, if any, of the following relatives (not including your wife and children) share your home with you?

mother_____ mother-in-law_____ none_____
father_____ father-in-law_____ other (please specify)
sister_____ sister-in-law_____ _____
brother_____ brother-in-law_____ _____

9. What was the principal occupation of your father while you were growing up?_____

10. What is your present occupation?_____

11. Do you own your own business or are you self-employed?
yes___no___ If yes, how many employees do you have?_____

Previous mobility

Previous mobility has been measured in many ways. For example, Jacobs and Koeppel (1974b) used the number of years that a subject had lived in the state of Mississippi as an index of mobility but this seems to be a rather limited view of mobility. Rossi (1955) used distance moved and number of moves as his index of past mobility. In the present study, previous mobility, including travel, was assessed by several questions (see Table 3-2). Residential

Insert Table 3-2 about here

mobility was measured by asking the respondent to list the place of origin, destination, distance and age at each major move undertaken during his life. The term "major move" was purposely not defined in order to allow the respondent to include any moves which he perceived as major. Travel, as a form of mobility, was assessed both in terms of reasons (pleasure or business) and frequency. Travel outside of India was also ascertained since it may possibly be seen as a stimulus for emigration, that is, people who have been outside India may discover desirable aspects of life in other countries and may thereby be more likely to consider emigration.

Table 3-2: Format of questions regarding previous mobility

1. List any major moves you have made from the area of your birth:

From	To	Distance	Age

2. Do you travel beyond the area where you are living (other than to your home town) for:
   (a) pleasure? frequently__ occasionally__ seldom__ never__
   (b) as part of your job? frequently__ occasionally__ seldom__ never__

3. Have you ever visited another country? yes__ no__
   If yes, which countries?_____
   When (years)?_____

Contacts in place of destination

Contacts in Canada and their potential as sources of aid after arriving in Canada were determined by several questions (see Table 3-3). The questions regarding relatives

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Insert Table 3-3 about here

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and friends who have emigrated were not limited to those who had gone to Canada since friends and relatives who have immigrated to any country may serve as models for the potential emigrant (Haberkorn, 1981) and may be able to give indirect assistance in the form of general advice about settling in a new environment.

The potential emigrant may expect assistance after emigrating from his contacts in Canada but may also, especially if he has no friends or relatives in Canada, expect assistance from Canadian government sources some of which he has inevitably contacted before emigrating. It was therefore necessary to ask about expectations of assistance from both sources (personal and governmental).

Finally, the source of information and advice about Canada may be an important determinant in the decision to migrate. Personal sources (e.g. letters from contacts in Canada, visits to India by earlier emigrants, etc.) may be perceived as more reliable than impersonal sources

Table 3-3: Format of questions regarding contacts outside India

1. Do you have relatives who have immigrated to other countries? yes___ no___. If yes, which countries?

   _____

2. Do you have friends who have immigrated to other countries? yes___ no___. If yes, which countries?

   _____

3. If you immigrate to Canada, how much assistance (in seeking a job, finding accomodation, etc.) would you expect to receive from your friends and relatives (if any) in Canada?
   very much___ some___ little___ none___

4. How much assistance would you expect to receive from Canadian government agencies?
   very much___ some___ little___ none___

5. What is your main source of information about Canada?
   letters___ books___ newspapers___ radio or T.V.___
   Canadian government publications___
   other (please specify)_____

(see p. 26-28) and therefore may exert more influence.

Economic factors

The role of economic factors in the decision to migrate was assessed mainly in a "reasons" format (see Table 3-4). This type of question, when asked after the

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Insert Table 3-4 about here

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move, is subject to the inadequacies, such as inaccurate memory and rationalization, discussed in the previous chapter. However, in this case, the questions were asked before the move and should therefore be reasonably accurate reflections of the potential emigrant's perception of his situation.

The item regarding reasons for wanting to leave India was in a closed-ended format since, in a pilot study using an open-ended question, respondents tended to focus on the perceived advantages of life in Canada rather than on factors in India. The list of choices includes both economic and noneconomic reasons. Since migration no doubt often involves multiple factors (DeJong and Fawcett, 1981), respondents were asked to check all that applied to them as well as to rank the three felt to be most important.

The questions about expected gains as a result

Table 3-4: Format of questions regarding economic factors

1. The following is a list of reasons which people sometimes give for wanting to leave India. Put the number (1) beside the most important reason for you wanting to leave India, number (2) beside the second most important and number (3) beside the third most important. Put an (X) beside any others that also apply to you.

( ) inadequate educational facilities for myself
( ) inadequate educational facilities for my children
( ) lack of suitable employment opportunities
( ) lack of opportunity for advancement in my job or profession
( ) political problems
( ) close family members living outside India
( ) inadequate housing
( ) poor standard of living
( ) inadequate income
( ) religious discrimination
( ) to earn money for family responsibilities
( ) desire for travel or adventure
( ) crowded living conditions
( ) unpleasant climate
( ) family assets (e.g. business, farm or investments) insufficient for number of family members
( ) other (please specify)_____

2. What would you expect to gain by immigrating to Canada?
_____

3. Why did you choose Canada rather than some other country? _____

of immigration to Canada and the selection of Canada over other possible destinations were open-ended since the pilot study showed no problem with this format and there was no known previous research to suggest responses for closed-ended questions. These three questions may also be viewed from a "push-pull" perspective of migration where the reasons for leaving are the push factors and the expected gains in Canada are the pull factors.

Community ties

Ties to a community may be created in many ways as discussed in the previous chapter. In line with that review, questions were asked (see Table 3-5) about the strength of ties to the respondent's natal village as shown by the frequency of visits to it, ownership of home and land, presence and age of children, close family members living outside India and religious discrimination (see Figure 3-4 for the last two aspects).

Insert Table 3-5 about here

In addition, it was hypothesized that educating children in a language other than English would represent stronger ties to India although it would not be clear whether the decision to educate children in an Indian

Table 3-5: Format of questions regarding community ties

1. If you have children:
   number of female children_____ ages_____
   number of male children_____ ages_____
2. If you have children, is English the medium of instruction in the school they attend or will it be if they have not yet started school? yes___ no___
3. Do you visit your home town or village?
   several times each month____ about once a year_____
   about once a month_____ less than once a year___
   several times each year_____ never_____
4. Do you: own your own home___ rent your home___
   live with parents or relatives___
5. Do you own any land other than your residence? yes__ no__
6. Are you an active member of any clubs or organizations? yes___ no___ If yes, what are they?_____
7. If you leave India, what aspects of India do you think you would miss most?_____
8. If married, what is your wife's or husband's attitude towards emigrating from India?
   very happy___ happy___ neutral___ unhappy___ very unhappy___

language created strong ties or whether strong ties were responsible for the decision.

Club membership may be seen as another tie to a community. Involvement in community activities through organization membership may be one more bond linking a person with a particular area or residence. In a somewhat different view, Inkeles and Smith (1974) see joining voluntary organizations as a manifestation of individual modernity. Hence, an item regarding such membership was included on the long form of the questionnaire they used to assess modernity in six countries. (A lengthier discussion of their research is included later in this chapter.)

Ties may also be thought of in terms of attractive features of the place of origin which must be foregone after migration. That is, important ties to the current area of residence may be expressed in terms of aspects the prospective migrant perceives he will miss after leaving. In addition, from a cost-benefit perspective, attractive features of India may be seen as the "costs" of migrating while the perceived gains in Canada (see Table 3-4) may be viewed as the "benefits" of migrating. Consequently, respondents were asked what aspects of India they expected to miss most if they emigrated.

Finally, another tie to India may be a wife who is unhappy about emigrating. Conversely, a wife who is

enthusiastic about leaving may act as a stimulus for the potential emigrant. Hence, respondents were asked about their wife's attitude about emigrating.

Job satisfaction

The research on the relationship between job satisfaction and locus of control (see Chapter II) suggests that job satisfaction may be involved in the decision to migrate. Since emigration necessarily involves quitting one's job, it may be that those who apply for emigration are less satisfied with their jobs and therefore willing to leave them. In addition, since internals are both more likely to migrate (Hines et al, 1974) and also more likely to quit a dissatisfying job (Spector, 1982), it may be expected that potential emigrants would show a lower level of job satisfaction than nonemigrants.

Although job satisfaction may, no doubt, be measured in many ways using many dimensions of satisfaction (e.g. wages, advancement opportunities, etc.), the simplest means is to ask a direct question about overall satisfaction (see Table 3-6). This approach was taken by Murray and Atkinson (1981) as well as in the British General Household Survey (cited in Silvey, 1975). In the latter case, it was demonstrated that this single question had construct

validity[4]. In addition to this very direct general measure of job satisfaction, some aspects of it (advancement opportunities, wages) were also covered in the "reasons for leaving" question (see Table 3-4).

Although internals are more likely to quit a dissatisfying job, they also are more likely to be satisfied with their present job (Spector, 1982), presumably because they have searched for the most suitable job and/or quit any jobs they had which were unsatisfactory. Migration entails searching for a new job and migrants, if they have a more internal locus of control and therefore are more likely to plan for the future (see. p. 42) presumably have expectations for this new job. Consequently, respondents were asked about their anticipated initial and eventual occupations after immigrating to Canada.

Insert Table 3-6 about here

Other questions

The final question (see Table 3-7) asked the potential immigrant about his intentions to settle in Canada. Responses

4. Construct validity of a test refers to the extent to which the test may be said to measure a theoretical construct or trait (Anastasi, 1982).

Table 3-6: Format of questions regarding job satisfaction and anticipated occupation in Canada

1. How satisfied are you with your present occupation?
   very satisfied___ satisfied___ slightly satisfied___
   slightly dissatisfied___ dissatisfied___
   very dissatisfied___

2. What occupation would you expect to have if you moved to Canada? _____

3. Would you expect to change from this occupation?
   yes___ no___ If yes, what occupation would you hope to have eventually? _____

to this question allowed respondents to be identified as either permanent migrants or quasi-permanent migrants in accordance with Petersen's (1975) classifications.

Insert Table 3-7 about here

2. Nonemigrant group

The nonemigrant group received a questionnaire similar to that of the emigrant group (see Appendix C). However, all questions specifically related to the decision to immigrate to Canada were omitted and two questions (see Figure 3-8) regarding planned emigration in the past or future were included. The purpose of these two questions was to exclude from the nonemigrant group all who were at the time or had been potential emigrants since such persons could not be considered nonemigrants in the same sense as those who had never considered emigrating.

Insert Table 3-8 about here

3. Indian immigrants in Canada

Indian immigrants settled in Canada received a questionnaire parallel to that of the emigrant group (see Appendix D) but with additions to some questions and changes

Table 3-7: Other questions

1. Would you expect to settle in Canada permanently?

yes__ no___

If no, how long would you expect to stay in Canada?_____

Where would you go then? _____

Why? _____

Table 3-8: Format of questions regarding planned past or future emigration

1. Do you have any plans to emigrate from India in the future? yes___ no___ If yes, when would you emigrate? _____

   Where would prefer to go? _____

   What are your reasons for considering emigrating?

   _____

2. Have you ever in the past considered emigrating from India? yes___ no___ If yes, where did you consider going? _____

   What were your reasons at that time for leaving India?

   _____

   What were your reasons for staying in India?_____

   _____

in wording in some questions to reflect the facts that emigration from India had already occurred and that some respondents had already spent many years in Canada. A question regarding sponsorship of the immigrant was added to distinguish between those who came to Canada as sponsored and those who came as independent immigrants. Since those in the emigrant group were applying as independent immigrants rather than as sponsored immigrants, it was appropriate that the Canadian group include only independent immigrants.

B. Psychological variables

Achievement motivation

The earliest method of estimating achievement motivation (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark and Lowell, 1953) was a projective measure which required subjects to write stories to describe each of a series of pictures. These stories were then scored for achievement imagery. However, this method is time-consuming to administer and score and inappropriate for a mailed questionnaire.

Mehrabian (1968, 1969) recognized the need for a more reliable measure of achievement motivation which could be easily administered and scored. Mehrabian (1968) developed male and female measures of achieving tendency based on Atkinson's (1964) model of achievement motivation. Atkinson conceived of the high achiever as an individual

with a stronger motive to achieve success (Ms) than a motive to avoid failure (Maf). On the other hand, low achievers were described as having a stronger motive to avoid failure than to achieve success. Atkinson measured achieving tendency as the difference between the motive to achieve success and the motive to avoid failure (Ms-Maf). Mehrabian's (1968) scales used 34 items, half of which were written such that a positive response indicated Ms to be greater than Maf (e.g. "If I am not good at something I would rather keep struggling to master it than move on to something I may be good at.") and half of which were written such that a positive response indicated Maf to be greater than Ms (e.g. "I prefer competitive situations in which I have superior ability to those in which everyone involved is about equal in ability"). The total score on this scale is represented by (Ms - Maf).

Mehrabian (1969) subsequently revised the original 34 item scales by deleting 8 items resulting in 26 item scales. The revised male scale (see Appendix E) correlated .94 with the original male scale. Each item on the scale is presented in a nine-point Likert-type format ranging from -4 (very strong disagreement) to +4 (very strong agreement). Thus, potential scores on the complete scale can range from -104 to +104 with high positive scores indicating a high level of achievement motivation. Mehrabian and Bank (1975) reported an average reliability of .70 for the

26 item male scale and presented extensive data on construct validity. Correlations of Mehrabian's scale with social desirability are low (Mehrabian, 1968, 1969; Strümpfer, 1973).

After surveying the literature, it was apparent that although other scales have been developed Mehrabian's scale was the only questionnaire measure of achievement motivation with merit.

Locus of control

The first effort to develop a scale to measure individual differences in locus of control was undertaken by Phares (1955). Further work eventually led to the development of Rotter's Internal-External (I-E) scale (Rotter, 1966). Rotter first attempted to develop a multidimensional scale to reflect the notion that an individual may have different locus of control beliefs depending upon life area (e.g. academic, social, etc.). This attempt was unsuccessful and Rotter (1966) constructed a unifactor scale. This I-E scale consists of 23 forced-choice items. Subjects must choose between a pair of statements, one of which represents an external attribution of cause and the other which represents an internal attribution. Although other locus of control scales have been developed for specific purposes (e.g. Crandall, Katkovsky and Crandall, 1965;

Wallston, Wallston, Kaplan and Maides, 1976; Worell and Tumilty, 1981), Rotter's scale or a version of it is the most commonly used measure of the construct (Lefcourt, 1981).

Rotter (1966) reported Kuder-Richardson and split-half reliabilities clustering around .70 and test-retest reliabilities for several samples that vary from .49 to .83 depending on the time interval, sample and conditons of administration. Correlations with social desirability scores are generally not significant (Phares, 1976). Rotter (1966) and Phares (1976) present a large volume of validity data for the I-E scale.

Collins (1974) converted Rotter's (1966) 23 forced-choice items into 46 Likert scale items. A principal component factor analysis of the scale administered in this format resulted in four factors: 1) belief in a difficult world, 2) belief in an unjust world, 3) belief in an unpredictable world, and 4) belief in a politically unresponsive world. Collins proposed that an individual may obtain an external score on Rotter's scale by subscribing to any of these four views. In addition, Collins concluded from his analysis that "the previously reported difficulty in discovering subscales of the Rotter scale resulted from the fact that an internal item from one subscale is paired against an external item from another subscale in the forced-choice format" (p. 387).

Collins (1974) reported one week test-retest item reliabilities in a range of .18 to .75 with a median of .54. He notes that these correlations are high for single item reliabilities. Using total scores, Collins found a correlation of .82 between the Likert format and the forced-choice format (for both versions, high scores indicate externality) and pointed out that this is the maximum correlation possible if both tests have true reliabilities of .90. He concluded that the two formats are "empirically, essentially identical" (p. 382), that is, they measure the same dimension of personality. This suggests that the validity data for Rotter's (1966) scale are applicable to Collins' version.

On Collins scale, each item is scored on a five-point Likert-type format ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Thus, potential scores on each subscale, depending on the number of items, are as follows: 1) difficult world, 11 items, 11-55, 2) unjust world, 11 items, 11-55, 3) unpredictable world, 7 items, 7-35, 4) politically unresponsive world, 8 items, 8-40.

As Phares (1976) observes, there is little utility in isolating factors unless it can be shown that an enhancement in prediction can thereby be achieved. Zuckerman and Gerbasi (1977) found four subscales of Rotter's I-E scale comparable to those reported by Collins (1974) and, in addition, showed that these factors were differentially

correlated with five other variables. Others (e.g. Abramowitz, 1973) have also demonstrated such enhancement of prediction. It therefore was concluded that Collins' (1974) version (see Appendix F) would be the most useful for the present research. An additional advantage of Collins' scale is that in this format it may be easier for an individual to understand how he is to respond to the items. This clarity becomes an important consideration in a population that is not as familiar with psychological scales as are most North Americans.

Risk taking propensity

One of the early and popular measures of risk taking propensity was Kogan and Wallach's (1964) Dilemmas of Choice scale. This scale consists of twelve hypothetical situations, each of which presents a man faced with a choice between two alternatives: a certain but undesirable alternative and a desirable but less than certain alternative. However, this scale is too long (13 pages) for inclusion in this study. In addition, Kogan and Wallach found few relationships between it and other measures of risk taking propensity. Indeed, this lack of interrelationships among measures of risk taking and with other objective measures has been a major problem in research in the area (Jackson, Hournay and Vidmar, 1972).

Jackson et al (1972) offered a number of hypotheses to explain this lack of convergent and discriminant validity among which was the suggestion that risk taking may be multidimensional, an aspect that had not been adequately considered previously. That is, although the data suggest that risk taking varies across situations, measures tend to tap only one dimension of a multidimensional trait.

Jackson et al (1972) developed and tested a trans-situational multidimensional scale of risk taking propensity which became part of a much longer personality inventory (Jackson, 1976). This risk taking scale consists of 20 true-false items of a self-descriptive nature. Jackson (1976) described high scorers as individuals who "are prone to expose themselves to situations having uncertain outcomes" (p. 18). Although Jackson reports no reliability estimates, he does present extensive evidence (Jackson, 1976; Jackson et al, 1972) for convergent and discriminant validity. In addition, he found no significant correlation with social desirability (Jackson, 1976) Jackson's (1976) risk taking scale was clearly the best available for use in this research[5].

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5. Note: Jackson's risk taking scale (from Jackson Personality Inventory by D.N. Jackson, 1976, Goshen, N.Y.: Research Psychologists Press) is copyrighted (1976, Research Psychologists Press) and cannot be reproduced in this thesis.

Sensation seeking

Zuckerman, Kolin, Price and Zoob (1964) developed a sensation seeking scale to quantify the construct of optimal stimulation level. The scale was intended to measure individual differences in the need for stimulation, novelty, excitement, etc. or for their opposites. Zuckerman has revised the scale several times. However, the most recent revisions (Zuckerman, 1975, 1979) contain items about drug use and sexual behaviour which would be inappropriate for use in this study as well as many items which would not be comprehensible in India and for which there are not ready equivalents.

Fiske (1966) argued that it is more useful to analyse global concepts, such as sensation seeking into smaller, more homogenous constituents and construct items to reflect these subconstructs. On this basis, Pearson (1970) developed a Novelty Experiencing scale which has four subconstructs: 1) External sensation -- a tendency to like active participation in "thrilling" activities 2) Internal sensation -- a liking for the experience of unusual dreams, fantasy, or internally generated feelings 3) External cognitive -- a liking for new cognitive information which has practical applicability and 4) Internal cognitive -- a liking for unusual cognitive processes which are focused on explanatory principles and cognitive schemes.

Each of Pearson's subscales contains 20 items and subjects indicate whether they like or dislike the activity or experience described in each item. All items are keyed in the Like direction so that a high score on a subscale indicates a high level of the construct being measured. Pearson (1970, 1971) found her four subscales to be sufficiently independent to justify their conceptual distinction. She reports Kuder-Richardson reliabilities of .76 to .87 for the subscales and presents some evidence of construct validity. Only the Internal Sensation subscale was correlated with social desirability.

Kohn and Annis (1975) explored the validity of a modified version of Pearson's Novelty Experiencing scale. They made several changes in item content to produce a scale which they considered more appropriate for Canadian populations. Their findings were similar to Pearson's and they concluded that Pearson's measures "can be useful in determining what kind of novelty-seeking is important in relationships between novelty-seeking dispositions and behaviour" (p. 277). In connection with this conclusion, a pilot study was conducted using Kohn and Annis' modifications to determine which aspect or aspects of sensation seeking were related to migration. Results of this study showed that only scores on the external sensation subscale differentiated between those planning to move and those not planning to move with those planning to move scoring higher.

This finding supports that of Jacobs and Koeppel (1974) although they used Zuckerman's (Zuckerman et al, 1964) scale. However, Pearson (1970) reported a correlation of .68 between her external sensation subscale and Zuckerman's sensation seeking scale.

In summary, it was concluded that Kohn and Annis' (1975) modification of Pearson's (1970) external sensation subscale would be the most appropriate measure of sensation seeking for the following reasons:

1) it is related to planned mobility, the first stage in migration
2) it has a reasonably high correlation with Zuckerman's scale without the inappropriate items
3) it is much briefer than Zuckerman's scale -- an important practical consideration
4) the modifications remove the American references and yet maintain an equivalent scale.

The only problem with Pearson's (1970) scale and Kohn and Annis' (1975) version for use in India were some items which contained parochially North American references. These were changed so that they could be understood in India (e.g. "a high slope in the Rockies" became "a high slope in Kashmir").

For administration the external sensation scale was combined with Jackson's (1976) risk taking scale which necessitated modifying the format of the external sensation

scale. The items were changed from a phrase to which the subject responds "Like" or "Dislike" to a sentence beginning with "I would like. . ." to which the subject responds "True" or "False". The revised sensation seeking scale is in Appendix G.

Modernity

There have been two basic approaches to the measurement of individual modernity. In one approach, modernity is seen as "the movement of persons or groups along a cultural dimension from what is defined by the cultural norms as traditional toward what is defined by the same culture as modern" (Stephenson, 1968, p. 268). Hence, a different measuring instrument must be devised for use within each culture studied with items constructed in terms of the indigenous culture and the scaling of the items in terms of what is "modern" for that particular society. This culture-specific approach was taken by Dawson (1967, 1969, 1973) who developed a somewhat different scale for each cultural group he studied (Sierra Leone, Australian aboriginal, Japanese and Eskimo) and Doob (1967) who devised a scale for use with African samples. In contrast, Schnaiberg (1970) argued that modernism should be defined in an absolute, cross-culturally applicable fashion. In this way, it would be possible to compare the elements of modernism across many cultures. This approach was taken by Kahl

(1968) who used the same questionnaire to measure modernism in both Mexico and Brazil and found evidence to suggest that his definition of modernism may be cross-culturally valid. Similarly, Inkeles and Smith (Inkeles, 1966, 1969; Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Smith and Inkeles, 1966) developed a questionnaire to measure individual modernism and administered it to large samples of men in six developing countries: Argentina, Chile, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), India, Israel and Nigeria. They (Inkeles and Smith, 1974) concluded that the core content of the modernity syndrome was "basically the same in the different countries" (p. 116) and that the scale possessed discriminant validity both within each country and across the six countries.

However, the dispute over approaches to measuring modernity is of only peripheral interest since this study required a scale which could be used for an Indian population. Such a scale was developed by Inkeles and Smith (1974). The fact that it is also cross-culturally valid rather than valid only in India is not relevant in the present research.

Inkeles and Smith's original scales contained 78-164 items measuring attitudes, values and (in some versions) behaviours and take up to four hours to complete. Smith and Inkeles (1966) constructed a shorter version of their scale using the items which they found most effective in measuring modernity in all six countries.

This short form (OM-12) contains ten purely attitudinal items and has a correlation with the long form in India of .79. Inkeles and Smith report a median Kuder-Richardson reliability for this scale over all six countries of .62.

Inkeles and Smith (1974) suggest alternative questions and response categories for several of the items on OM-12 some of which they feel may be more appropriate for relatively modern populations. In accordance with this rather flexible approach to item inclusion, item content and response scaling, for this study 11 items were used and some response scales expanded in terms of number of categories (see Appendix H). (The actual changes made were based on the results of a pilot study.)

Inkeles and Smith (1974) propose an unusual scoring method for their scales which involves finding a median "cutting point" for each question and assigning a score of one to answers on the traditional side of the median and a score of two to answers on the modern side. (The modern and traditional ends of the response continuum were determined theoretically.) The overall score is obtained by summing the score for each question and dividing by the number of questions answered. The above-mentioned pilot study indicated that this scoring method was not only impractical but also could not be applied to all questions. It was therefore decided that responses should be analyzed on an item-by-item basis and groups compared

on either the distribution of response categories or an item mean determined by scaling continuous response categories.

In summary, Inkeles and Smith's (1966, 1974) OM-12 scale was the only realistic choice for measuring modernity in this study although some modifications were necessary.

Cross cultural validity

Cross cultural validity is a concern whenever a scale developed and validated in one culture is administered in a different culture for the purposes of intercultural comparison. Brislin (1983) refers to this as "the always-difficult methological problem area of obtaining equivalent measures of constructs in different cultures" (p. 364). It is a question of whether the scale is in fact measuring the same construct in both settings. This is especially important if the scale must be translated into another language since languages do not always have equivalent words and phrases for a concept[6]. In the present study, the concern is not as great because there is only one cultural group involved and it was not necessary to translate the scales used. However, even though scales are not translated they may not be conceptually equivalent in different cultures. If a scale which is not known to be cross culturally valid is used and results are not

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6. For a review of methods of dealing with translation problems, see Brislin (1970).

as predicted, it would not be clear whether the unexpected results were caused by the scale being invalid or did indeed represent lack of support for the hypothesis.

There are two general approaches for demonstrating cross cultural validity. First, internal structure may be shown to be similar by some form of item or factor comparison. This of course, requires testing comparable groups in both cultures which is outside the scope of the present study. The other approach is to "demonstrate convergent and discriminant validity in either concurrent or predictive contexts" (Dyal, in press), that is, "to show that similar relationships hold between our instrument and other psychological dimensions in the two cultures" (Dyal, in press). It was this second approach which was taken in the present study.

For the modernity scale, there was no question of its validity in India since India was one of the countries in which it was developed. In addition, Inkeles and Smith (1974) report the use of OM-12 in at least 50 studies in the first six years after it was originally published which suggests that it is widely applicable. The locus of control scale has been used in many cross-cultural studies (e.g. Carment, 1974a; Carment and Paliwal, 1973; Reitz and Jewell, 1979), the results of which supported

its cross-cultural validity. Unpublished research (L. Krishnan, personal communication, 1976) done in India suggested that Mehrabian's achievement motivation scale was valid in India. The cross-cultural validity of the two remaining scales used in this study (risk taking and sensation seeking) was determined in a pilot study which showed that differences between Indians and Canadians and between groups in India were as predicted and in line with previous research. Ultimately, the results of the present study supported the notion that the scales used were valid in India.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Although the research reported in this dissertation forms a unitary study, it is comprised of three different groups of subjects:

1) potential emigrants still resident in India who completed the questionnaire labelled Form E
2) nonemigrants in India who completed Form NE
3) Indian immigrants in Canada who completed a parallel version of Form E

All participants completed the same psychological scales except for minor changes noted elsewhere.

Applicants for immigration to Canada

It is the independent immigrant who is of interest in this research. However, the independent immigrant from India as well as from other countries has become a rarity due to economic conditions in Canada (see Chapter I). In a different economic climate, many more than is currently the case of those who apply would be accepted. In order to have a sufficient number of respondents, it was necessary to select subjects on the basis of their

Pre-Application Questionnaire (PAQ) as well as from files that had been opened. Although very few of the people selected from PAQ's will actually be accepted as immigrants, there is no reason to believe that they would not go to Canada if accepted and, therefore, they can be considered to represent emigrants who have not yet left India. The reasons they do not leave are not personal but are reasons that are external, that is Canadian immigration policy.

Subjects and Method

Subjects were selected from the PAQ's and the files. Other than the following exclusions representing small minorities, all current applicants were selected as subjects:

a) females -- Since it had been decided to restrict the study to males, all applicants who could be identified as female were excluded. However, because it was not always obvious that an applicant was female, an item regarding sex of respondent was included on the questionnaire so that any remaining females could be eliminated after the questionnaires were returned.

b) applicants resident in Sri Lanka and Goa -- Residents of Sri Lanka are not Indians, and are therefore unsuitable subjects. Residents of Goa, although Indian citizens since 1961, have a Portuguese colonial background rather than British and are therefore culturally somewhat

different from other Indians.

c) applicants with ethnic Chinese names -- These applicants may be Indian citizens but are not part of the mainstream Indian culture.

d) applicants not fluent in English -- Applicants who admitted to speaking, reading or writing English less than "well" on the PAQ were eliminated since they would be unable to complete the questionnaire without help.

e) illiterates -- This is the only excluded subset for which the criteria were not totally objective. Most applicants in this category had ten years or less of education, were from small villages and had typed answers on the PAQ. While ten years of education in Canada usually produces a literate or semi-literate, ten years in a village school in India does not, especially in the English language. A form that is typed indicates that the applicant has paid someone to complete it thus precluding elimination under (d) above. They would have been advised on the "best" way to answer (i.e. to say they spoke English "well"). In any event, these applicants would not likely be selected for immigrant visas even in a favourable economic climate in Canada and therefore cannot be included among potential emigrants.

In addition to name and address, other information about each applicant selected was recorded from the file or PAQ. This included marital status, year of birth,

education, occupation, intended occupation in Canada, relationship of any relatives in Canada and intended destination in Canada.

The first group of potential emigrants

Three hundred and ninety-five applicants, 15 from files and 380 from PAQ's were selected and sent Form E and the psychological scales. Two letters were included, one explaining the purpose of the research (see Appendix I) and one from the Immigration Section of the Canadian High Commission (see Appendix J). A stamped envelope was included with a return address in New Delhi in an area some distance from the Canadian High Commission. Since, as noted previously, PAQ applicants have low priority, most subjects received the questionnaires before receiving a response from the Immigration Section.

Ten questionnaires were returned as undeliverable, one applicant's brother wrote that the applicant had gone to the U.S.A. and 197 questionnaires were completed and returned. This is a response rate of 51.3%. Of the 197 questionnaires returned, one was from a female, one was completed in a frivolous manner, one was from an apparent non-English speaker and one was from a person who plannd only a very brief emigration. The final group size was 193.

According to Brandt (1972) the usual response rate for mailed questionnaires is 20%. The relatively high response rate in this case was probably due to many respondents apparently believing that answering the questionnaire would increase their chances of going to Canada even though both letters included with the questionnaire clearly stated that this was not the case. (Some included letters appealing for action on their immigration applications.) In addition, the return address for the questionnaire was different than that of the Canadian High Commission giving further support to the lack of connection with the government of Canada.

Comparison of applicants and respondents

Table 4-1 shows the distribution of applicants and respondents by area of residence. It was necessary to group states into areas for statistical analysis since some states had very low frequencies of both applicants and respondents. (For the states and Union Territories grouped in each area, see Appendix N.) There is no significant difference between applicants and respondents as to areas of residence ($\chi^2 = 3.396$, df = 4, n.s.)

Insert Table 4-1 about here

Table 4-1: Distributions of applicants and respondents by area of residence

Area	Applicants		Respondents	
	n	%	n	%
Central	37	9.4	20	10.4
East	63	15.9	39	20.2
North	108	27.3	43	22.3
South	66	16.7	35	18.1
West	115	29.1	50	25.9
Other*	6	1.5	6	3.1
Total	395	100	193	100

* includes those for whom state of residence could not be determined

Table 4-2 shows the distributions of applicants and respondents by marital and occupational status. Occupational status was estimated by Kuppuswamy's (1962) scale. This scale was deemed most appropriate because:

1) It is valid in India whereas scales developed in North America are not necessarily valid outside North America.

2) Although there are fewer categories compared to other scales (e.g. Blishen and McRoberts, 1976) Kuppuswamy's scale is as precise as the data warrant. Although applicants were told quite clearly on the PAQ to avoid using general terms such as service, business, engineer, etc., such terms were frequently used. Therefore the precise nature of the occupation was not always clear.

The category of "student" was added rather than classifying students as unemployed. There is no difference between groups in marital status ($\chi^2 = 0.252$, df = 1, n.s.) or occupational status ($\chi^2 = 6.288$, df = 6, n.s.).

Insert Table 4-2 about here

The mean age of respondents was 31.69 years (s.d.= 7.45) and the mean age of applicants was 32.15 years (s.d.=7.63). These means are not significantly different (t = 0.675, df = 586, n.s.).

It is evident that there is no response bias by

Table 4-2: Distributions of applicants and respondents by marital and occupational status

	Applicants		Respondents	
Marital status	n	%	n	%
Single	165	41.8	80	41.5
Married	213	53.9	113	58.5
Separated or divorced	2	0.5	0	0
Widowed	1	0.3	0	0
Not stated	14	3.5	0	0
Total	395	100	193	100
Occupational status				
Unemployed	5	1.3	3	1.5
Unskilled	0	0	0	0
Semi-skilled	25	6.3	5	5.6
Skilled	102	26.1	43	23.1
Clerical	84	21.3	37	19.5
Semi-professional	97	24.6	58	28.2
Professional	69	17.5	34	17.4
Student	13	3.3	8	3.6
Not stated	0	0	5	1.0
Total	395	100	193	100

area of residence, marital status, occupational status or age. It has been reported that questionnaire respondents may have a higher educational level than non-respondents (Brandt, 1972; Kanuk and Berenson, 1975). In this case it was very difficult to compare the educational levels of applicants and respondents since the questions on education were phrased and answered differently. On the PAQ the applicant was asked for the total years of education whereas on Form E the corresponding question asked the respondent to check off the appropriate level of education. On the PAQ, many applicants obviously included years of apprenticeship and on-the-job training with formal education. For example, on the PAQ a textile technician reported 20 years of education which is the same as that reported by doctors who have specialized. Often the educational level of the applicant could be determined from additional material submitted but this was not always the case. The best available method of comparing the educational levels of applicants and respondents is by means of occupational level since occupation is related to education. The fact that applicants and respondents have the same distribution of occupational levels suggests that they do not differ in educational level. There is therefore no detectable response bias and, as far as can be determined, respondents to Form E are representative of Indian immigrants to Canada before migrating.

The second group of potential emigrants

In order to have a more representative group of potential emigrants, a second sample of applicants was selected approximately one year after the first sample. Due to technical difficulties, demographic data were not available for this sample. However, ther is no reason to believe that this second sample was different in any significant way from the first. Four hundred and one applicants were sent a revised version of Form E (see Appendix K) along with the psychological scales. These revisions were made to clarify the meaning of a few questions. For example, in response to the question asking for "any major moves you have made from the area of your birth", many respondents included trips as a tourist. In the revised Form E, the order of questions was modified and the wording changed to "major residential moves" to clarify the question. Otherwise the same procedure as in the previous mailing was followed.

Of the 401 questionnaires sent, four were returned as undeliverable and two were returned with letters from a relative of the addressee explaining that the person was out of the country. One hundred and eighty-three completed questionnaires were returned giving a response rate of 46.3%. Out of these, 14 were unsuitable because they were from females, ethnic Chinese or apparent non-English speakers. This left 169 questionnaires which

could be used for the analysis.

The Nonemigrant Group

In order to determine how those who emigrate from their homeland differ from those who do not, it was necessary to find a suitable group of nonemigrants with which to compare the potential emigrants. These nonemigrants had to be as similar as possible to the emigrants on the demographic characteristics of sex, age, education, occupation and area of residence in order to control for the possible confounding effect of these variables on those being measured. In addition, the nonemigrants had to be accessible and motivated to complete a rather long questionnaire. Members of Rotary and Lions clubs appeared to fulfill these criteria. (Since Rotary and Lions clubs are located throughout India, it would be possible to match potential emigrants and nonemigrants on a geographical basis.) In addition to providing a reasonable match on demographic variables, the members are part of large organizations dedicated to service and it was thought that they would therefore be willing to aid with research which would increase knowledge. The Indo-Canadian Association of Madras also appeared to be a suitable source of nonemigrants.

Ideally, the nonemigrant (control) group would be selected from the entire population of India. Unfortunately this procedure was not possible and, in any case, would

be impractical for research of this scope. It could, perhaps, be argued that members of Lions and Rotary clubs are different than the potential emigrants in unknown but important and possibly confounding ways. However, this seems unlikely since there was some overlap between the groups, in that on the completed questionnaires some potential emigrants reported belonging to Lions or Rotary clubs. Also some in the nonemigrant group reported planning to emigrate in the past and/or future.

Secretaries or Presidents of Lions and Rotary clubs in the areas from which large numbers of applications for immigration were received were contacted by letter and then personally (see Figure 4-1 for cities). In Madras the secretary of the Indo-Canada Association was contacted. These executives were asked to allow access to their membership lists so that their members could be sent a questionnaire. The purpose of the research was explained and they were given a copy of the questionnaire(Form NE) (see Appendix C) and psychological scales, the covering letter (see Appendix L) and an announcement about the research suitable to be read at a meeting or inserted in a newsletter. All Secretaries or Presidents who could be contacted personally complied with the request and provided a copy of their membership list.

Insert Figure 4-1 about here

Figure 4-1: Cities in which nonemigrants resided

Some membership lists contained additional information about members. When age of members was included, members beyond the age range of immigration applicants were excluded. When the membership was small, all members, except the one contacted, were sent questionnaires. When the membership was large, every second or third member was sent a questionnaire. On this basis 1103 questionnaires (Form NE and psychological scales) were distributed along with the appropriate letter of explanation and a stamped return envelope which was coded to indicate the organization to which the respondent belonged. Five questionnaires were returned as undeliverable and 209 were completed and returned. This is a response rate of 19.0%, considerably lower than the rates of the emigrant groups. This lower rate was not surprising since the nonemigrant group could not be expected to have the same strong interest in migration and therefore the motivation to complete a long questionnaire.

Matching the Emigrant and Nonemigrant Groups

A preliminary perusal of the completed questionnaires from the nonemigrant group indicated that many of the respondents had considered emigrating in the past or planned to do so in the future and could therefore not really be considered nonemigrants. These 63 respondents were removed from the nonemigrant group, leaving a group size of 146. Similarly,

in the emigrant group, there were 101 respondents who did not plan to settle in Canada permanently and could not be considered emigrants in the same sense as those who planned a permanent emigration. Most (83.2%) of these "temporary emigrants" planned to return to India. These "temporary emigrants" were removed from the emigrant group for all comparisons of the emigrant and nonemigrant groups, leaving an emigrant group size of 261.

Before any analysis could be done, it was necessary to compare the emigrant and nonemigrant groups on the demographic variables for which a match was considered to be important, that is age, occupational category, education and area of residence.

The mean of age of the emigrant group was 32.78 years (s.d.=7.35) which was significantly less ($t=10.15$, $df=235$, $p < .001$) than that of the nonemigrant group ($\bar{x}=44.25$, s.d.=10.68). The range of age of the emigrant group was 21-56 years compared to a range of 21-74 years for the nonemigrant group. Table 4-3 shows the distributions of the emigrant and nonemigrant groups by occupational category. The nonemigrant group tended to have higher status occupations ($\chi^2=119.33$, $df=5$, $p < .001$)

Insert Table 4-3 about here

Table 4-3: Distributions of emigrants and nonemigrants by occupational category

	Emigrants		Nonemigrants	
Occupational category	n	%	n	%
Unemployed	2	0.8	0	0
Unskilled	1	0.4	0	0
Semi-skilled	10	3.8	0	0
Skilled	78	29.9	2	1.4
Clerical	39	15.0	6	4.1
Semi-professional	77	29.5	75	51.3
Professional	27	10.3	61	41.8
Student	17	6.5	0	0
Missing or indeterminate	10	3.8	2	1.4
Total	261	100	146	100

Because there was an obvious lack of matching on age and occupational level, it was decided to attempt to match the groups by restricting the ranges of both age and occupation. Age was restricted to the overlapping part of the ranges, i.e. 21-56 years inclusive, and occupational status to the semiprofessional and professional levels. These restrictions reduced the group sizes to 102 emigrants and 114 nonemigrants. However the groups were still not matched on age: emigrants now had a mean age of 32.78 years (s.d.=7.35) and nonemigrants 41.97 years (s.d.=7.87) ($t=8.84$, $df=214$, $p < .001$).

Since there did not appear to be any way to match the groups on mean age while retaining a reasonable group size, the possibility of age being a confound in the restricted groups was investigated in several ways (see Appendix M for details):

1) Correlation: None of correlations between age and attitudinal variables in either group was significant.

2) Stratified analysis: Stratified analyses by age within each group showed no differences in attitudinal variables among age categories.

3) Multiple regression: Multiple regressions with attitudinal variables, one at a time, as the dependent variable and group membership and age as the independent variables showed that in no case did the regression coefficient of age reach statistical significance.

It was concluded that age was not a confound (after the groups were restricted in range of age and occupational level) and that the difference in mean age between the groups could be disregarded.

In spite of the restricted ranges of age and occupational level, the groups were also not matched on occupational level (χ^2=8.49, df=1, p<.01). However, this was deemed to be unimportant for the following reasons:

1) There were only two occupational categories being used and these were very similar to each other and very different from the remaining categories.

2) There was not a sharp distinction between these two categories. Although respondents could be classified with confidence in other categories, the distinction between a semiprofessional and professional occupation was not always certain; that is, it was clear that the respondents involved belonged in one of these two categories, but which one was not always evident.

With the above restrictions on age and occupational level, the groups were compared with respect to the other variables to be matched. There was no difference between groups in education (χ^2=12.76, df=9, n.s.) or area of residence (χ^2=3.64, df=4, n.s.). Since occupation and education are related, the match on education gave support to the notion that the lack of an exact match on occupational category was unimportant.

To summarize, in the analyses, all comparisons of the emigrant and nonemigrant groups used only the respondents who satisfied the following criteria:

1) age from 21 to 56 years inclusive
2) semiprofessional or professional occupation
3) for the emigrant group, only those who did not plan to leave Canada permanently at any time after immigrating
4) for the nonemigrant group, only those who did not plan to emigrate and had never in the past considered doing so.

There were 102 emigrants and 114 nonemigrants who fulfilled the above criteria.

Indian Immigrants in Canada

Indian immigrants in Canada were selected from the membership lists of Indian organizations in Hamilton, Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver. All males on each list were sent a questionnaire (see Appendix D) and the psychological scales, a covering letter (see Appendix N) and a stamped return envelope. Approximately two months later a reminder letter was sent to all but those whose original questionnaire had been returned by the postal service as undeliverable.

One thousand eight hundred and five questionnaires were sent out, 352 were returned as undeliverable, 45 were returned by people who ~~were not~~ from India or were not of Indian origin and 289 were completed and returned. This is a response rate of 23.0% which must be considered a

minimal rate (i.e. the rate is at least 23% but may be higher) for two reasons:

1) The questionnaire was sent to many people for whom it was obviously not applicable, e.g. persons of Indian descent born and raised in Fiji, students in Canada only temporarily, persons of non-Indian ancestry, persons of Indian ancestry born in Canada, etc. There was no way to identify these people from the lists and there is no reason to expect that these people would be any more likely to respond (with an explanation) than those to whom the questionnaire applied. This unknown number of people are counted as non-respondents.

2) The efficiency of the postal service is doubtful. None of the reminder letters should have been returned since they were not sent to anyone whose original questionnaire was returned. However, many reminder letters were returned as undeliverable although the questionnaires for these people were never returned. Undeliverable letters and questionnaires were returned as long as 4-5 months after being sent. Consequently, it seems likely that a number of cases counted as non-resondents should be counted as undeliverable.

As in the emigrant group, there were those in the Canadian group who did not intend to remain in Canada and who could therefore not be considered true immigrants. There were also respondents who had been sponsored immigrants, i.e. not independent, unlike those in the emigrant group

who were all attempting to immigrate to Canada as independents. These nonpermanent and sponsored immigrants were removed since they did not meet the standards used for the emigrant group. Thirty-five respondents either were female, had immigrated as children, were born in Canada or had completed the questionnaire in a frivolous manner and were therefore also unsuitable for inclusion in the study. In order for the Canadian sample to be comparable to the other two samples, the same restrictions on age and occupational level as used in the other groups were imposed. Respondents used in all analyses involving the Canadian sample fulfilled the following criteria:

1) age from 21 to 56 years inclusive
2) semiprofessional or professional occupation
3) immigrated as an independent
4) did not plan to leave Canada permanently

The final size of the Canadian group was 114.

Statistical Analysis

Analysis of the data was accomplished by means of the computer programs contained in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Steinbrenner and Bent, 1975) and BMDP Statistical Software (Dixon, 1981).

CHAPTER V

APPLICANTS FOR IMMIGRATION: WHO APPLIES AND WHY

The two groups of immigration "hopefuls" who responded to the questionnaire (Form E and psychological scales) provided a wealth of information about the characteristics and goals of those who apply to come to Canada from India as independent immigrants. Although the major purpose of this study is a comparison of matched groups of potential emigrants and nonemigrants, it is important to know about those who apply to emigrate and from whom the potential emigrant group was selected. As was discussed in the previous chapter, there was no demonstrable response bias and therefore the respondents can be considered as representative of the sample of applicants. Although some of these respondents did not intend to settle in Canada permanently, they had begun the process of applying for an immigration visa and therefore are included in the sample of applicants to be discussed. This chapter consists of a comparison of respondents and the population of India on a number of demographic variables, analyses of the perceptions of these respondents of their situation in India and expectations for life in Canada. Unless otherwise specified, the group size is 362 and includes all (with the exceptions

noted on pages 104 and 110) who responded to the two mailings of the questionnaire.

Demographic characteristics

Age

The mean age of the respondents was 30.79 years (s.d.=7.57 years) with a range of 17-68 years. Table 5-1 shows the age distribution of respondents compared with the distribution of Indian males age 15 and over (Census of India 1971). The distributions are significantly different (χ^2=71.77, df=8, p<.001) with ages 25-34 over-represented among respondents and ages 45 and older under-represented. This is in accordance with the frequent observation (see p. 20) that younger persons tend to be more migratory than older persons.

Insert Table 5-1 about here

Marital status

Among the respondents, 49.7% were single, 49.7% were married, 0.6% were divorced or separated and none was widowed. The rate of marriage seems rather low in a country where "the greatest...curse is to remain unmarried" (Jha, 1979, p. 12). However, as Table 5-2 shows, the rate of

Table 5-1: Age distribution of respondents and Indian males of the same age range

Age group (years)	Respondents n	Respondents %	Population** %
15-19	11	3.1	15.4
20-24	61	16.9	13.1
25-29	106	29.5	12.2
30-34	88	24.4	11.1
35-39	43	11.9	10.4
40-44	34	9.4	9.2
45-49	10	2.8	7.5
50-54	4	1.2	6.8
55 and over	3	0.9	14.3
TOTAL	360*	100	100

* Two respondents did not give their age.

** 1971 Census of India

marriage increases with age suggesting that respondents have delayed marriage and will eventually marry. Support for this notion comes from a comparison of the average age of single respondents ($\bar{x}$=25.5 years, s.d.=3.74) with the average age of marriage for Indian males (22.24 years) (1971 Census of India). These ages are significantly different ($t=11.67$, $df=177$, $p<.001$) indicating that the average age of marriage for respondents is also significantly greater than the national norm. However, this delay in marrying may not be unusual for men with their levels of education. The low rate (by North American standards) of marriage breakup is similar ($z=1.74$, n.s.) to that of the total population: 0.2% (1971 Census of India). This low rate of divorce is due both to the difficulty in obtaining a divorce and the stigma attached to it (Jha, 1979; Walker and Nyman, 1984). The fact that none was widowed probably is a reflection of the relative youth of the respondents.

Insert Table 5-2 about here

Children

Married respondents had an average of 1.76 children (s.d.=1.25) which is much less ($t=31.56$, $df=179$, $p<.001$) than the national urban average of 4.7 children per family (1971 Census of India). These rather small families may

Table 5-2: Distribution of respondents by marital status and age

Age group (years)	Marital status: Single n	Single %	Married n	Married %	Divorced n	Divorced %	Percent of age group married
15-19	11	3.0	0	0	0	0	0
20-24	60	16.6	1	0.3	0	0	1.6
25-29	82	22.6	24	6.6	0	0	22.6
30-34	23	6.3	65	18.0	0	0	66.3
35-39	2	0.6	40	11.0	1	0.3	93.0
40-44	0	0	33	9.1	1	0.3	97.1
45-49	0	0	10	2.8	0	0	100
50-54	0	0	4	1.1	0	0	100
55+	0	0	3	0.8	0	0	100
TOTAL	178	49.1	180	49.7	2	0.6	
	2*	0.6					
	180	49.7	180	49.7	2	0.6	

* Two single applicants did not give their age.

be a reflection of the relative youth of the respondents, that is, many of the families of the respondents may be incomplete (16.1% of married respondents had no children) whereas the national average includes proportionately more older couples whose families are complete and therefore larger. The small family size may also be related to the relatively high educational level of the respondents reflecting the negative relationship between education and number of children.

Education

Table 5-3 shows the distribution of respondents by educational level. Although data on the distribution of the Indian population by education could not be obtained, these men were obviously well educated in a country where the average male literacy rate is 45.95% and even in urban areas reaches only 69.83% (1971 Census of India).

Insert Table 5-3 about here

The finding that these respondents (and potential migrants) were comparatively well educated is consistent with previous studies which indicated that relatively better educated people are more likely to migrate (see Chapter II).

Table 5-3: Distribution of respondents by education

Education level	n	%
did not attend school	0	0
elementary or middle school	6	1.7
some higher secondary	21	5.9
completed higher secondary	57	15.8
technical training	14	3.9
some university	21	5.9
university graduate	109	30.3
postgraduate or professional education	132	36.7
TOTAL	360*	100

* Two respondents did not answer this question.

Education of wives

Table 5-4 shows the distribution of applicants by the education of their wives. Although as a group the wives were not as educated as the respondents (χ^2=47.11, df=7, p<.001), they were well educated by Indian standards since the average female literacy rate is only 21.97% (1971 Census of India). In comparison with their husbands rather than the whole group of respondents, the wives, as a group, were also less educated (χ^2=32.53, df=7, p<.001). Nevertheless, 15.6% of wives had more education than their husbands and 30.2% had an equal level of education while 54.2% had less education.

Insert Table 5-4 about here

Occupation

Table 5-5 shows the distribution of respondents by occupational level. The preponderance of high level, that is professional and semi-professional, occupations is consistent with previous studies (see p. 21) which have found that professionals are more likely to migrate and are particularly overrepresented among long-distance migrants. This distribution is even more impressive in a population where 69.6% of working men are cultivators or agricultural labourers (1971 Census of India).

Table 5-4: Distribution of respondents by education of wife

Education level of wife	n	Percent of respondents	Percent of married respondents
did not attend school	7	1.9	3.8
elementary or middle school	18	5.0	9.9
some higher secondary	16	4.4	8.8
completed higher secondary	37	10.2	20.3
technical training	2	0.6	1.1
some university	14	3.9	7.7
university graduate	46	12.7	25.3
postgraduate or professional education	42	11.6	23.1
TOTAL	182*	50.3*	100

* These totals include divorced or separated respondents. One hundred and eighty (49.7%) of respondents were single.

Insert Table 5-5 about here

Size of home town

The respondents tended to have been raised in large communities as shown by Table 5-6. This distribution is striking when considered in comparison with the Indian population, 80.1% of whom live in villages. About 55% of these villages have a population of less than 500 and almost all have a population of less than 5,000 (1971 Census of India).

Insert Table 5-6 about here

Religion

All of the major religions of India were represented among the respondents as shown in Table 5-7. However, the distribution of respondents by religion is quite different from that of the Indian population ($\chi^2=170.35$, df=6, $p<.001$) with Hindus and Muslims underrepresented among respondents and Sikhs and Christians overrepresented. Even among Hindus, as far as can be determined, the distribution by caste was disproportional. Although caste is no longer a part of the Indian census, data from the 1931 census suggest that Brahmins represent no more than 5% of the population. (They

Table 5-5: Distribution of respondents by occupation

Occupational level	n	%
unemployed	5	1.4
unskilled	1	0.3
semi-skilled	11	3.0
skilled	87	24.1
clerical	53	14.7
semi-professional (including owners of small businesses)	121	33.5
professional (including owners of large businesses)	50	13.9
student	22	6.1
not specified*	12	3.0
TOTAL	362	100

* includes no response and responses such as "service" which could not be categorized

Table 5-6: Distribution of respondents by size of home town

Population of town	n	%
less than 5,000	44	12.3
5,000-20,000	55	15.4
20,000-50,000	33	9.2
50,000-100,000	34	9.5
100,000-500,000	61	17.1
more than 500,000	130	36.4
TOTAL	357*	100

* Five respondents did not answer this question.

may even be a considerably smaller proportion by now due to their relatively low fertility (Davis, 1951; Mamdani, 1972; Wyon and Gordon, 1971).) However, Brahmins were over-represented ($z=6.86$, $p<.001$) among respondents which is consistent with previous studies (Mamdani, 1972; Wyon and Gordon, 1971) which indicate that Brahmins are more likely to migrate than other castes. This excess of Brahmins may be related to their emphasis on education (Mamdani, 1972), that is, Brahmins are more likely to be well educated and the well educated are more likely to migrate.

Insert Table 5-7 about here

In line with the research of Meade (1968a, 1968b, 1972), the possibility that personality differences among religious groups could be responsible for the unrepresentative distribution was investigated. A stepwise discriminant analysis was performed using the BMDP7M program with F-to-enter and F-to-remove set at the default values of 4.0 and 3.9 respectively. The predictor variables were the four locus of control subscales (IE1, IE2, IE3, IE4), sensation seeking (EES), risk taking (RT) and achievement motivation (NACH). Groups were Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and Christians. (There were too few Jains and Buddhists to include them in the analysis.) The only variable which had sufficient

Table 5-7: Distribution of respondents and population by religion and caste

Religion/caste	Respondents		Population*
	n	%	%
Hindu-Brahmin	79	21.8	<5**
Hindu-Kshatriya	84	23.2	–
Hindu-Vaishya	36	9.9	–
Hindu-Shudra	10	2.8	–
Hindu-caste not specified	12	3.3	–
Total Hindu	221	61.0	82.72
Sikh	54	14.9	1.89
Muslim	15	4.2	11.20
Christian	54	14.9	2.60
Jain	9	2.5	0.48
Buddhist	1	0.3	0.71
Other***	8	2.2	0.40
TOTAL	362	100	100

* from 1971 Census of India data which do not include caste

** Davis, 1951; Zinkin, 1965

*** includes Zoroastrian, no religion and religion not stated

discriminating power to enter the single discriminant function was IE3 (belief in an unpredictable world), indicating that this is the only dimension along which the groups differ. Pairwise group comparisons on this variable using the Bonferroni approach showed that Christian respondents were more internal than the Hindu ($t=-4.02$, $p<.05$) and Sikh ($t=-4.38$, $p<.05$) respondents.

Hence, although a more internal locus of control may contribute to Christians being overrepresented, it cannot explain the observed distribution since Sikhs who were also overrepresented did not show a similar relatively internal locus of control.

Another possibility investigated was that Sikhs and Christians, as small minorities, experience religious discrimination. A comparison of religious groups on the basis of reasons for wanting to emigrate (see Table 3-4) showed some support for this notion. The rate of endorsing religious discrimination as a reason for emigrating differed among religious groups ($\chi^2=17.74$, $df=3$, $p<.001$). However, this overall difference was due mainly to Christians being more likely than any of the others to cite religious discrimination ($z=-2.613$, $p<.01$). Thus, although the perception of religious discrimination may contribute to the excess of Christians among respondents, it is not sufficient to account for the uneven distribution of respondents by religion

since Sikhs who were also overrepresented did not exhibit a similar rate of endorsing religious discrimination as a reason for leaving. It should be noted that although Christians and Sikhs are a minority of the Indian population, Sikhs are a majority (about 60%) in the state of Punjab whereas Christians are a minority in every state, never reaching more than 22% of a state's population.

The earliest Indian immigrants to Canada were Sikhs (see Chapter I). Thus it may be expected that a Sikh would likely have a contact in Canada. A comparison of religious groups on the basis of reporting relatives and/or friends who have immigrated to Canada (see Table 3-3) showed that Sikhs as well as Christians were more likely than other religious groups to have a relative in Canada ($\chi^2=20.08$, df=3, $p<.001$) or to have a friend in Canada ($\chi^2=9.49$, df=3, $p<.025$). Thus the most plausible explanation for the unrepresentative distribution of respondents by religion, from the available data, is that Sikhs and Christians were more likely than other religious groups to have a contact in Canada. These previous immigrants had, no doubt, encouraged the respondents in their decision to immigrate to Canada as part of a chain migration (see Chapter II). Some support for this interpretation comes from an analysis of the sources of information about Canada cited by applicants (see Table 3-3). Sikhs and Christians were more likely to report letters rather than impersonal sources such as books as their primary

source of information about Canada (χ^2=17.73, df=3, p<.001).

Area of residence

Respondents resided in all areas of India but not in proportion to the population of those areas (χ^2=53.67, df=4, p<.001) as shown in Table 5-8. The disproportional

Insert Table 5-8 about here

representation of areas is no doubt tied to other factors which have been shown to affect migration and which differ by area. First, the distribution of the major religions differs by area: for example, Sikhs represent 60.2% of the population of the state of Punjab (North area) but only 0.006% of the population of Kerala (South area) whereas Christians account for 21.1% of the population of Kerala but only 0.1% of Uttar Pradesh (Central). This uneven national distribution is reflected in the distribution of respondents by area and religion as shown in Table 5-9 (χ^2=111.45, df=12, p<.001). In addition, the literacy rate (and education, if this is used as an indicator) also varies greatly by state: for example, the male literacy rate of Maharashtra (West) is 59.40% whereas for Arunachel Pradesh (East) it is only 20.63% (1971 Census of India).

Table 5-8: Distribution of respondents by area of residence*

Area	Respondents		Population**
	n	%	%
Central	39	11.1	23.7
East	57	16.2	26.1
North	106	30.1	11.2
South	60	17.0	24.7
West	90	25.6	14.3
TOTAL	352***	100	100

* see Appendix O for grouping of states by area

** 1971 Census of India

*** Three respondents did not indicate area of residence and seven lived outside India

Insert Table 5-9 about here

In summary, the respondents were not a random selection from the Indian population. They tended to be relatively young and well educated. They married later than the national average and those who were married had well educated wives and relatively small families. They had relatively high status occupations and tended to have been raised in large communities. Sikhs and Christians were overrepresented among respondents as were residents of the Northern and Western areas of the country.

Situational factors

Reasons for emigrating

The respondents' perceptions of their situation in India are reflected in the reasons they give for wanting to emigrate. These reasons were assessed in a closed-format question (see Table 3-4) which allowed the three most important reasons to be ranked and any others that also applied indicated. Table 5-10 shows the distributions of responses to the various reasons. The numbers in Table 5-10 give percentages of the 362 respondents selecting each reason as first (1), second (2), third (3) or "also apply" (X) choice. The

Table 5-9: Distribution of respondents by religion and area of residence

Area	Religion							
	Hindu	Sikh	Muslim	Christian	Jain	Buddhist	Other*	Total
Central	25	8	3	3	0	0	0	39
East	45	0	2	10	0	0	0	57
North	51	41	1	7	4	1	1	106
South	31	0	6	21	0	0	2	60
West	67	2	3	11	4	0	3	90
Other**	2	3	0	2	1	0	2	10
Total	221	54	15	54	9	1	8	362

* see Table 5-7 for explanation

** see Table 5-8 for explanation

Insert Table 5-10 about here

total column gives the percent of respondents citing each reason without regard to the importance they attach to the reason. The last four reasons (16-19) were created from the written responses to "Other" and resulted from comments[7] such as the following:

16. Dislike of atmosphere of India, for example, "I want to get away from India to escape from its dirt and squalor, its general obscurantism and ignorance which exist in its social and political life; my heart is longing to blossom in a free, open, democratic and value-oriented Western society having faith in God" 17. Lack of job opportunities for wife, for example, "My wife, a _____ national, who is a _____ engineer by her profession is merely a housewife in India during her stay here since 19__. There is no chance of securing a job in future too" 18. Lack of social security, for example, "Unlike Canadian government we don't have old age security, education for children and medical benefit for family is not availed to us" 19. Miscellaneous, for example, "socio-problem due to present marital status" (Respondent was divorced.).

7. All quotations from respondents are reported verbatim et literatim with only identifying facts omitted.

Table 5-10: Percentages of respondents ranking each reason for wanting to emigrate

Reason	1	2	3	X	Total
1. Inadequate educational facilities for self	7.5	6.1	5.2	8.0	26.8
2. Inadequate educational facilities for children	3.6	4.4	2.8	3.3	14.1
3. Lack of suitable employment	15.7	14.4	8.8	12.7	51.6
4. Lack of opportunity for advancement in job	32.9	18.0	8.3	13.5	72.7
5. Political problems	0.6	1.7	1.9	4.7	8.9
6. Close family outside India	9.7	7.2	8.8	10.5	36.2
7. Inadequate housing	1.1	1.7	1.1	5.2	9.1
8. Poor standard of living	5.8	10.2	10.8	11.9	38.7
9. Inadequate income	11.9	11.6	10.5	15.5	49.5
10. Religious discrimination	0	1.1	1.7	4.7	7.5
11. To earn money for family responsibilities	9.1	9.7	9.4	10.5	38.7
12. Desire for travel or adventure	11.6	12.2	14.1	17.1	55.0
13. Crowded living conditions	1.4	1.1	4.4	8.3	15.2
14. Unpleasant climate	1.7	1.9	5.5	6.4	15.5
15. Family assests insufficient	1.1	2.8	3.3	3.6	10.8
16. Dislike of atmosphere of India	3.3	0.6	0.3	4.7	8.9

Table 5-10 continued

Reason	1	2	3	X	Total
17. Lack of job opportunities for wife	0	0	0	0.8	0.8
18. Lack of social security	0	0	0	1.1	1.1
19. Miscellaneous	0.6	0	0	1.9	2.5

Notes:
1. Percentages are calculated on the basis of 362 responses.
2. Columns do not sum to 100% because some respondents made more than one choice per rank and others did not make choices in all ranks. In the "X" choices respondents could choose as many as applied.
3. Entries in the "Total" column are the sums of entries in the corresponding row.

(Note: In the following paragraph, the numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding entries in Table 5-10.) The most frequent first reason given for wanting to emigrate was lack of opportunity for advancement in job or profession(4). A similar reason, lack of suitable employment opportunities(3), was the second most frequently occurring first choice. Together these two reasons represented almost half (48.6%) of the first choices. Purely monetary reasons, inadequate income(9) and to earn money for family responsibilities(11), represented a distant third and sixth standing among first choices. The two most frequently occurring second choices were the same as the two most frequently occurring first choices, lack of opportunity for advancement in job or profession (4) and lack of suitable employment (3). Desire for travel or adventure (12) was the most frequently occurring third and "also apply" (X) choice. Overall, career reasons, that is lack of opportunity for advancement in job or profession and lack of suitable employment, were the most important reasons given for emigrating in terms of both importance and overall frequency. Contrary to econometric studies (e.g. Lansing and Morgan, 1967) which assert the primacy of monetary factors in migration, inadequate income and earning money for family responsibilities played only a minor role in impelling the respondents to emigrate.

Gains from immigrating to Canada

Respondents were asked what they expected to gain by immigrating to Canada. The question was asked in open-ended format (see Table 3-4) and the responses could be assigned to eight categories: 1. Career-related responses, for example, "As a professional I want to work on latest computer technology and advanced computers" 2. Economic gain, for example, "I would expect to earn enough to support my family as well as save for future" 3. Higher standard of living, for example, "Better standard of living for myself and my family" 4. Better education for children 5. Travel experience, for example, "...experiencing a climate which is entirely in contrast with the one I live in be it geographical, social or politico-economical" 6. Join family members, for example, "Will overcome the feeling of lonliness by joining brothers and sisters seperated for years" 7. Atmosphere of Canada, for example, "Since I feel there is comparative honesty in general public and no corruption, I will gain a contentment of living amongst better people" 8. Miscellaneous, for example, "Upbringing the status of family in India".

Insert Table 5-11 about here

Table 5-11 shows the numbers and percentages of respondents who gave each response. Overwhelmingly, career-

Table 5-11: Perceived gains in immigrating to Canada

Gain	n	%*
1. Career-related	229	64.1
2. Economic gain	80	22.4
3. Higher standard of living	106	29.7
4. Better education for children	28	7.8
5. Travel experience	46	12.9
6. Join family members	25	7.0
7. Atmosphere of Canada	37	10.4
8. Miscellaneous	15	4.2

* based on 362 respondents

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100 since many respondents gave more than one response.

related advantages were the most important perceived gains from immigrating to Canada and were mentioned by the majority of respondents. In contrast, economic gain was cited by less than one quarter of the respondents.

Reasons for choosing Canada

Part of the migration process is choosing a potential destination. The reasons why a person chooses one location over others gives some additional insight into his perception of his present situation and what he hopes to gain by migration. The question about reasons for selecting Canada was asked in open-ended format (see Table 3-4). Answers to this question could be assigned to thirteen categories: 1. Relatives or friends in Canada, for example, "Because I am the only one in the family who is in India rest all are staying in Canada" 2. Career-related reasons, for example, "Employment opportunities are better for mining engineers" 3. High standard of living, for example, "Living conditions are good" 4. Economic, for example, "World's good paying country" 5. Geographical, for example, "Relative to its size, it is still grossly underpopulated. The pressure on land must therefore be considerably less" 6. National character, for example, "...racial problems are less compared to other nation like U.K." and "Canadians are very broad minded and adventurous" 7. Presence of other Indians in Canada, for

example, "...because many Indians are already settled there" 8. Advanced country, for example, "Because I consider Canada is an advanced country in all respects in the world" 9. Language, for example, "The only foreign language I know is English" 10. Canada is not the first or only choice, for example, "England and U.S.A. are equally good" 11. Peaceful, for example, "Life in Canada is more secured and peaceful" 12. Political, for example, "Because I like the very nice democratic administration of Canada" 13. Miscellaneous, for example, "I love it since my childhood and to come to Canada is my first and last wish".

Insert Table 5-12 about here

Table 5-12 shows the distribution of responses. The presence of relatives and/or friends in Canada (1) was the most frequently cited reason for choosing Canada although being near these relatives and/or friends was not a prominent reason for emigrating (see Table 5-10) or an expected gain (see Table 5-11). In line with previous studies (see Chapter II), the location of relatives and friends was important in the choice of destination although it did not appear to be of great significance in actually making the decision to migrate. In other words, the location of contacts directs migration rather than determining if it will occur. The

Table 5-12: Reasons for choosing Canada

Reason	n	%*
1. Relatives or friends in Canada	141	39.0
2. Career-related	122	33.7
3. High standard of living	32	8.8
4. Economic	17	4.7
5. Geographical	61	16.9
6. National character	73	20.2
7. Indians in Canada	8	2.2
8. Advanced country	54	14.9
9. Language	16	4.4
10. Canada not first choice	25	6.9
11. Peaceful	13	[illegible]
12. Political	23	6.4
13. Miscellaneous	11	3.0

* based on 362 respondents

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100 since many respondents gave more than one reason.

second most frequently occurring category contained career-related reasons (2). Considering the importance of career factors in deciding to emigrate (see Table 5-10) and in the expected gains of migration (see Table 5-11), it is not surprising that they should also be influential in choosing an appropriate destination. Once again, economic reasons (4) were relatively unimportant.

Considered together, responses to the three preceding questions (see Tables 5-10, 5-11, 5-12) suggest that career concerns are prominent in both the decision to migrate and the choice of destination and that they are of much greater importance than purely economic reasons. Potential emigrants perceived less scope for career development in India than in Canada. They distinguished between the financial rewards of their occupations and other less tangible rewards. It is these latter rewards which appear to be of primary importance in migration.

CHAPTER VI

A COMPARISON OF EMIGRANTS AND NONEMIGRANTS

Although it is of interest to know how migrants differ from the population as a whole, it is how they differ from those who are demographically and socioeconomically similar which will give insight into the "whys" of migration. Simply knowing that migrants tend to be, for example, relatively young and well-educated, does not provide information about their motivation--not all young, well-educated people migrate. Hence, as described in Chapter IV, matched groups of potential emigrants and nonemigrants were selected from the respondents to Form E and Form NE. The groups were matched on education, area of residence and range of age and occupation. This matching process resulted in 102 respondents (out of 362 described in the previous chapter) being included in the emigrant group and 114 in the nonemigrant group. This chapter consists of a comparison of these two groups on many situational and psychological variables as well as a few demographic variables. Unless otherwise indicated, the group sizes are as above.

A. Demographic variables

As discussed in Chapter IV, emigrants and nonemigrants were matched on education and area of residence. The groups were restricted to those with a semi-professional or professional occupation. Although the age range was limited to 21-56 years inclusive, the mean age of emigrants ($\bar{x}$=32.78 years) was less ($t=-8.84$, $df=214$, $p<.001$) than that of the nonemigrants ($\bar{x}$=41.97 years). However, it was demonstrated (see p. 116) that age is not a confound for the psychological variables (in the restricted groups) and therefore the difference in mean age could be disregarded when comparing groups on these variables.

Marital Status

Nonemigrants were more likely ($\chi^2=31.91$, $df=1$, $p<.001$) to be married than emigrants as shown in Table 6-1. However, a stratified analysis by age indicates that this difference is a result of the difference in age between the groups, that is, when the groups are compared by age categories, there is no difference in the proportion married within each age category. This lends further support to the notion proposed in Chapter V that it may not be unusual for men who are well-educated to marry later than the national norm.

Insert Table 6-1 about here

Table 6-1: Marital status of emigrants and nonemigrants

	Emigrants		Nonemigrants	
Marital status	n	%	n	%
Single	36	35.3	6	5.3
Married	64	62.7	108	94.7
Divorced	2	2.0	0	0
Widowed	0	0	0	0
Total	102	100	114	100

Size of hometown

Nonemigrants were more likely than emigrants to have been raised in very large cities ($\chi^2=14.15$, df=5, $p<.05$) as shown in Table 6-2. However, very few in either group were raised in rural areas by Indian standards (town population less than 5,000). Most in both groups were raised in large communities (population over 50,000).

Insert Table 6-2 about here

Other demographic variables

There are no differences between groups of any importance on the variables of education of respondent's wife, religion, others living in the home or area of birth.

B. Situational variables

The data for these variables are summarized in Table 6-3. In the discussion which follows, the numbers in parentheses refer to the corresponding entries in Table 6-3.

Insert Table 6-3 about here

Table 6-2: Distributions of emigrants and nonemigrants by population of home town

	Emigrants		Nonemigrants	
Population	n	%	n	%
less than 5,000	9	8.8	7	6.3
5,000-20,000	20	19.6	12	10.7
20,000-50,000	10	9.8	4	3.6
50,000-100,000	8	7.9	13	11.6
100,000-500,000	20	19.6	14	12.5
more than 500,000	35	34.3	62	55.3
Total	102	100	112*	100

* Two nonemigrants did not answer this question.

Table 6-3: Data summary for situational variables

A. Continuous variables

Variable	Emigrant $\bar{x}$	Emigrant s.d.	Nonemigrant $\bar{x}$	Nonemigrant s.d.
1. Number of moves				
(a) Total	2.50	2.61	1.48	1.68
(b) Childhood	1.03	1.35	0.72	0.92
(c) Adult	1.31	1.62	0.82	1.24
2. Frequency of travel for pleasure	3.15	0.58	3.09	0.65
3. Frequency of travel for business	2.88	1.03	3.31	0.79
4. Number of children	1.47	1.07	2.44	1.32
5. Frequency of home town visits	4.80	1.44	5.23	1.31
6. Number of club memberships	0.68	0.90	2.15	1.75
7. Occupational satisfaction	4.20	1.32	5.22	0.98

B. Discrete variables

Variable	Emigrant n	Emigrant %	Nonemigrant n	Nonemigrant %
8. Travel outside India	37	36.3	62	54.4
9. Areas visited				
(a) Asia	3	2.9	22	20.2
(b) Middle East	1	1.0	5	4.6
(c) Eastern Europe	5	4.9	4	3.9
(d) Western Europe	16	15.7	42	41.2
(e) Africa	4	3.9	4	3.7

Table 6-3 continued

Variable	Emigrant n	Emigrant %	Nonemigrant n	Nonemigrant %
(f) Britain	16	15.7	27	24.8
(g) U.S.A.	15	14.7	36	33.0
(h) Canada	14	13.7	12	11.0
(i) Australia	2	2.0	1	1.0
(j) South America	1	1.0	0	0
10. Relatives who have immigrated to				
(a) Asia	2	2.0	3	2.6
(b) Middle East	3	2.9	3	2.6
(c) Eastern Europe	0	0	1	0.9
(d) Western Europe	8	7.8	6	5.3
(e) Africa	12	11.8	6	5.3
(f) Britain	26	25.5	35	30.7
(g) U.S.A.	47	46.1	55	48.2
(h) Canada	51	50.0	16	14.0
(i) Australia	7	6.9	5	4.4
(j) South America	0	0	0	0
11. Friends who have immigrated to				
(a) Asia	3	2.9	6	5.3
(b) Middle East	11	10.8	13	11.4
(c) Eastern Europe	1	1.0	0	0
(d) Western Europe	9	8.8	11	9.6
(e) Africa	4	3.9	12	10.5
(f) Britain	37	36.3	53	46.5
(g) U.S.A.	69	67.6	71	62.2
(h) Canada	48	47.1	35	30.7
(i) Australia	7	6.9	8	7.0
(j) South America	0	0	3	2.6
12. Home ownership status				
(a) Own home	21	21.2	63	55.7
(b) Rent home	33	33.3	30	26.5
(c) Live with relatives	45	45.4	20	17.7
13. Land owners	33	33.0	57	50.9
14. Children sent to English medium school	47	92.2	91	88.3

Table 6-3 continued

Variable	Emigrant n	Emigrant %	Nonemigrant n	Nonemigrant %
15. Self-employed	15	14.7	84	73.7
16. Father's occupational status				
(a) Skilled	24	27.9	3	2.8
(b) Clerical	17	19.8	8	7.4
(c) Semi-professional	27	31.4	69	63.9
(d) Professional	18	20.9	28	25.9
17. Respondent's occupational status relative to father				
(a) Higher	47	54.7	34	31.4
(b) Same	30	34.9	68	63.0
(c) Lower	9	10.4	6	5.6

Note: Group sizes vary among variables due to nonresponse and responses which could not be categorized.

Previous mobility

Emigrants had made significantly more residential moves (1a) than nonemigrants ($t=3.31$, $df=196$, $p<.01$). This difference is especially striking since the emigrant group was younger than the nonemigrant group and therefore had had less time in which to move.

Moves made as a child may be considered involuntary since a child is simply taken along by his parents. However, moves made as an adult are at least partly, and often wholly, of one's own volition. Responses to the question on previous residential mobility (see Table 3-2) indicated both number of moves and the respondent's age at the time of the move thus allowing moves to be categorized by age. The total number of moves was split into those taken as a child (age 21 or less) and those taken as an adult. Emigrants and nonemigrants did not differ in the number of moves made as a child (1b) ($t=1.79$, $df=196$, n.s.) but emigrants had made more adult age moves (1c) than nonemigrants ($t=2.46$, $df=196$, $p<.02$). Thus emigrants and nonemigrants had made the same number of involuntary (childhood) moves but emigrants had made more voluntary (adult) moves. Hence the difference in total moves between groups is a result of more frequent voluntary moves made by the emigrants rather than the emigrants having had more mobile families. Nevertheless, childhood mobility is related to adult mobility since there is a signifi-

cant correlation between them (r=.27, p<.01). It should also be noted that childhood moves are based on the same number of years (21) for both groups but adult moves are based on fewer years for the emigrants since they were younger than the nonemigrants. The difference in number of adult moves would no doubt have been even greater if the groups had been matched for age.

Another aspect of mobility is travel. Although the frequency of travel for pleasure (2) is the same for both groups (t=0.67, df=206, n.s.), the nonemigrant group was more likely to travel for business (3) purposes (t=3.32, df=195, p<.01). Nonemigrants were also more likely to have travelled outside India (χ^2=7.11, df=1, p<.01): 54.4% of nonemigrants had been outside India (8) whereas only 36.3% of emigrants had. In terms of areas visited, nonemigrants were more likely than emigrants to have visited other parts of Asia (9a) (χ^2=15.00, df=1, p<.01), Western Europe (9d) (χ^2=13.80, df=1, p<.01) and the U.S.A. (9g) (χ^2=9.65, df=1, p<.01). Visits to other areas (e.g. Africa, Britian, Canada) did not differ between groups. Thus, the nonemigrants were more likely to have been outside India and to have visited some highly developed countries but never considered emigrating. These findings on travel are in contrast to previous studies (e.g. Taylor, 1969) which have shown that migrants have travelled more than nonemigrants. The reason for this contra-

diction is not clear but these results do show that merely seeing other places is not sufficient to induce migration.

Contacts outside India

Previous researchers (see Chapter II) have suggested that having relatives and friends in a distant location encourages and directs migration. However, in this study, emigrants were no more likely than nonemigrants to have relatives (10) and friends (11) who had migrated to all areas of the world except Canada. Emigrants were more likely to have relatives (10h) (χ^2=32.54, df=1, p<.001) and friends (11h) (χ^2=6.40, df=1, p<.01) in Canada. Thus, it appears that having relatives and friends in another country is not enough to stimulate emigration but once the decision to migrate has been made, the location of relatives and friends directs the migrant.

Community ties

Community ties may be created in many ways and are an important impediment to migration (see Chapter II). Those who have moved more frequently in the past may be expected to have weaker ties to any given location. Thus, simply on the basis of greater previous residential mobility, emigrants may be expected to have weaker community ties than nonemigrants. However, these weaker ties may be manifest

in several ways. Emigrants were less likely than nonemigrants to be homeowners (12a) (χ^2=29.96, df=2, p<.001) and less likely to own land (13) other than their home (χ^2=6.92, df=1, p<.01). (It should be noted that the greater proportion of homeowners among nonemigrants may not be due to the greater proportion who were married since in India, married men usually live in their parents' home.) However, as was pointed out in Chapter II, it is not clear whether home (and land) ownership impedes migration or mobility expectations impede home ownership. Married emigrants had fewer children (4) than married nonemigrants (t=-4.97, df=172, p<.001) but this was due to the age difference between the two groups. There was no difference (χ^2=0.531, df=1, n.s.) between the groups in the proportion who sent, or intended to send, their children to an English medium school (14). Indeed, almost all in both groups (about 90%) did so.

Emigrants who had left their home town visited it (5) less frequently than did nonemigrants (t=1.94, df=151, p<.05) suggesting that emigrants had weaker ties to an area to which most Indians are very attached (see p. 33). Emigrants belonged to fewer clubs and organizations (6) than nonemigrants (t=7.38, df=199, p<.001). Indeed, about half (51.02%) of the emigrants belonged to no organizations. However, this difference in club membership may not be entirely due to the potential migration status of the emigrants. The nonemi-

grants were selected from membership lists and it may be that persons who belong to one organization are more likely to belong to others, that is, they may be "joiners".

The wives of emigrants were generally happy about leaving: 87.9% of married emigrants reported that their wives were either happy or very happy about the prospects of emigrating. It could be argued that the wives' true attitudes may have been much less positive than their husbands reported. However, even if this is so, it is irrelevant since it is the emigrant's perception of his wife's attitude that determines how strong this tie to India is.

In summary, the emigrants' weaker ties to their homeland were manifested in their less frequent visits to their home towns and the positive attitudes about emigration they perceived in their wives. Somewhat more ambiguously, these weaker ties also may be seen in their lack of club membership and home and land ownership.

Occupational variables

Although both the emigrant and nonemigrant groups were restricted to those with a semiprofessional or professional occupation, they differed on type of employment. Nonemigrants were more likely ($\chi^2=75.08$, df=1, $p<.001$) than emigrants to be self-employed or own a business (15). Emigrants were more likely ($\chi^2=43.81$, df=1, $p<.001$) than nonemigrants to

have come from a lower socioeconomic status background, that is, emigrants were more likely to report their father's occupation (16) as non-professional (clerical or skilled manual). From a different perspective, emigrants were more likely to have a higher socioeconomic status than their fathers (17). (Nonemigrants, however, coming predominantly from the highest socioeconomic classes could rise no higher.) Indeed, 54.7% of the emigrants had risen above the socioeconomic level into which they were born. This improvement in status is particularly striking in a country where for hundreds of years a man's occupation has been determined at birth by the traditional occupation of the caste of his family (Zinkin, 1965). Thus, upward mobility was virtually nonexistant until recently. It is also apparent that emigrants do not begin to improve their status only after migrating; they have already started on the road to a higher status relative to their fathers.

In spite of having moved upward in occupational status, emigrants were less satisfied with their current occupation (7) than were nonemigrants ($t=6.47$, $df=216$, $p<.0001$). This lesser satisfaction in the emigrant group was not due to the greater proportion of those who were employed by others rather than self-employed since in neither group was there any difference in occupational satisfaction between employees and the self-employed. This lack of occupational satisfaction was reflected in the reasons emigrants

gave for wanting to leave India (see Chapter V). Primary among these reasons were lack of suitable job opportunities and lack of opportunity for advancement. Lack of satisfaction was not due to an ill-chosen career since most (93.6%) of the emigrants planned to pursue the same occupation in Canada if they were allowed to immigrate. Moreover, comparatively few (38.6%) planned any eventual change from this occupation. It appears, then, that the source of the emigrants' dissatisfaction was not in the occupation per se but in the lack of opportunities in India.

C. Psychological variables

The personality variables measured (see Chapters II and III) were locus of control, sensation seeking (ESS), risk taking (RT), achievement motivation (NACH) and modernity. The locus of control scale used has four subscales: belief in a difficult world (IE1), belief in an unjust world (IE2), belief in a world governed by luck (IE3) and belief in a politically unresponsive world (IE4), each of which was treated as a separate variable. As was discussed in Chapter III, it was necessary to analyse the modernity scale on an item by item basis and compare groups on either the distribution of response categories or a mean response.

A preliminary examination of the distributions of responses to the scales showed that, except for several items on the modernity scale, distributions were approximately

normal for each group. For the modernity scale, items 2 to 7 inclusive had severely skewed distributions with most respondents in both groups endorsing the "modern" alternative. Since there was little variability within groups and no difference between groups, these items were omitted from further analyses. For item 8 ("Which one of these kinds of news interests you most? World events, The nation, Your hometown, Sports, Religious events") the first two categories accounted for almost all choices (95% of emigrants and 98% of nonemigrants). The remaining three categories were used almost exclusively by those (about 15% of respondents) making multiple responses (contrary to directions). Since the last three categories were infrequently chosen, were usually part of a multiple response and did not differ between groups, they were disregarded. Each of the first two categories was a replication of the information contained in the other, that is, if "World events" was chosen "The nation" was not and vice versa. Since only one of the two categories could be used as a variable in the analyses, "World events" (OM8W) was selected.

To summarize, the personality variables used in the analyses to be reported are four locus of control subscales (IE1, IE2, IE3, IE4), sensation seeking (ESS), risk taking (RT), achievement motivation (NACH) and five modernity scale items: concern about public issues (OM1), interest in world

news (OM8W), understanding of others (OM9), need for religion (OM10) and preference for new people (OM11). All are continuous except for OM8W which is a dichotomous variable. The locus of control subscales are all coded so that a high score indicates relatively external belief. Sensation seeking, risk taking and achievement motivation are coded so that a high score indicates a high level of the trait. A high score on OM1 indicates frequent concern about public issues. OM9, OM10 and OM11 are coded so that a low score indicates, respectively, belief that a man can be truly good without religion, confidence that the respondent could understand a person from another culture and preference for associating with new people rather than those already known.

As an initial step in the analyses, a search was made for multivariate outliers using the BMDP7M program. Outliers were defined as cases for which Mahalonobis' distance (D^2) was significant with $p<.01$. Three such cases were identified in each group. Rather than delete them (and thus change the sample) or deal with them in other ways (such as those suggested by Tabachnich and Fidell, 1983), all multivariate analyses to be reported were performed both with and without these cases. The results were virtually identical in both situations indicating that the outlying cases did not have a disproportionate influence. Hence, all analyses will be reported with these cases included.

Table 6-4 shows the means and standard deviations of the continuous personality variables for each group. Since the multivariate analyses to be reported require that cases have no missing data, incomplete cases are not included. This reduced the sample sizes to 96 for the emigrant group and 107 for the nonemigrant group. Missing data were scattered over cases and variables with no evident patterning.

Insert Table 6-4 about here

The distribution of the dichotomous variable OM8W is shown in Table 6-5.

Insert Table 6-5 about here

The emigrant and nonemigrant groups were compared on the 11 continuous personality variables using the Hotelling T^2 option of BMDP3D. The analysis indicated an overall significant difference between groups (T^2=53.18, $F(11,196)$=4.59, $p<.0001$). In order to determine which of the variables contributed to this overall difference and the relative contribution of each, a stepwise discriminant analysis (as recommended by Pedhazur, 1982) was performed using SPSS DISCRIMINANT. The discriminant function which was calculated

Table 6-4: Means and standard deviations of personality variables

Variable	Emigrant $\bar{x}$	Emigrant s.d.	Nonemigrant $\bar{x}$	Nonemigrant s.d.
IE1	32.81	6.48	35.71	5.89
IE2	24.65	4.53	24.22	3.98
IE3	18.38	5.38	20.93	4.74
IE4	24.38	4.94	25.90	4.82
ESS	9.15	4.37	7.28	4.63
RT	8.60	3.52	7.35	3.96
NACH	8.13	18.34	6.02	18.05
OM1	3.17	1.12	2.79	0.87
OM9	2.31	1.09	2.27	1.01
OM10	2.62	1.63	2.59	1.61
OM11	1.88	0.89	2.28	0.94

Table 6-5: Distributions of responses to OM8W: Interest in world news

Response	Emigrant n	Emigrant %	Nonemigrant n	Nonemigrant %
Yes	77	80.2	53	49.5
No	19	19.8	54	50.5
Total	96	100	107	100

had a $\chi^2(8)=45.75$, ($p<.0001$) and accounted for 21% of the variance ($R=.46$). The variables which had sufficient discriminating power to enter the discriminant function with F-to-enter and F-to-remove set at the default value of 1.0 were (in order entry): IE3, ESS, OM11, IE2, OM1, IE1, NACH and RT. No variable which entered was subsequently removed. The remaining variables which did not enter the function were IE4, OM9 and OM10.

The standardized discriminant function coefficients, as shown in Table 6-6, indicate that the primary predictors separating emigrants from nonemigrants were belief in a world governed by luck (IE3), sensation seeking (ESS) and preference for meeting new people (OM11).

Insert Table 6-6 about here

A second stepwise discriminant analysis was performed adding the dichotomous variable, OM8W (interest in world news). (Note that this variable was not used previously since dichotomous variables violate the assumption of continuity required for Hotelling's T^2.) There was again a statistically significant discrimination between the groups, $\chi^2(9)=60.52$, ($p<.0001$) with the discriminant function accounting for 27% of the variance ($R=.51$). This is a considerable portion of the variance to be accounted for by personality variables since

Table 6-6: Standardized discriminant function coefficients for first discriminant analysis

Variable	Coefficient
IE1	.40
IE2	-.34
IE3	.50
ESS	-.45
RT	-.21
NACH	.30
OM1	-.36
OM11	.41

such factors typically are found to account for less than 10% of the variance (Rorer and Widiger, 1983). The variables which now entered the discriminant function were (in order of entry): OM8W, IE3, ESS, OM1, OM11, IE2, IE1, NACH and RT. The variables which did not enter the function were the same as previously.

The standardized discriminant function coefficients, as shown in Table 6-7, indicate that the primary personality predictors separating emigrants from nonemigrants were interest in world news (OM8W), belief in a world governed by luck (IE3) and sensation seeking (ESS).

Insert Table 6-7 about here

Emigrants were more likely to indicate an interest in world news (OM8W) than were nonemigrants. While this difference was in the expected direction, it was somewhat surprising in this case since nonemigrants were more likely to have previously been outside India (see p. 161); it may be expected that international travel would be associated with an interest in international news. Emigrants had a more internal locus of control (IE3), that is, they were less likely to attribute events to luck or fate. This belief in the efficacy of their own actions was an important precursor of the decision

Table 6-7: Standardized discriminant function coefficients for second discriminant analysis

Variable	Coefficient
IE1	-.31
IE2	.32
IE3	-.45
ESS	.39
RT	.17
NACH	-.27
OM1	.34
OM8W	.53
OM11	-.32

to emigrate. Emigrants also scored higher than nonemigrants in sensation seeking (ESS), that is, they were more likely to prefer "thrilling" events. It is not difficult to see how such a personality disposition would be involved in migration, especially to a very different culture half a world away.

Overall 70% of respondents were correctly classified by the discriminant function. With 142 correct predictions out of 203 total cases, tau=.40, indicating that classification based on personality variables only made 40% fewer errors than would be expected by random assignment (i.e. 61 actual errors versus 102 expected by chance). The discriminant function was slightly more successful in classifying nonemigrants (72% correct) than emigrants (68%).

D. Psychological and situational factors

Although psychological factors are important in the decision to emigrate, it is the examination of psychological factors in conjunction with situational factors which was the purpose of this research. Hence, a third stepwise discriminant analysis was performed adding the situational variables of occupational satisfaction (OCCSAT) and number of previous residential moves (MOVES) to the personality variables used previously. The pooled within-groups correlations of the variables and the correlations of the variables with group membership (i.e. emigrant or nonemigrant) are shown in Table 6-8.

Insert Table 6-8 about here

Of the 14 variables used, nine entered the discriminant function resulting in a statistically significant discrimination, $\chi^2(9)=87.51$, $p<.0001$. The discriminant function accounted for 38% of the variance ($R=.62$). The variables entered (in order of entry) were: OCCSAT, OM8W, IE3, ESS, OM1, OM11, IE1, NACH and IE2. To the variables which did not enter in the two previous discriminant analyses were added RT and MOVES.

The standardized discriminant function coefficients, as shown in Table 6-9, indicate that the most important predictors (i.e. the variables with the largest coefficients, without regard to sign) separating the groups are occupational satisfaction (OCCSAT), sensation seeking (ESS), interest in world news (OM8W) and belief in a world governed by luck (IE3).

Insert Table 6-9 about here

An alternative index of the relative importance of a variable to group separation is the correlation of that variable with the discriminant function. It is argued (e.g.

Table 6-8: Pooled within-groups correlation matrix and correlations with group membership

	IE1	IE2	IE3	IE4	ESS	RT	NACH	OM1	OM8W	OM9	OM10	OM11	MOVES	OCCSAT
IE1	1.00													
IE2	.24	1.00												
IE3	.50	.45	1.00											
IE4	.38	.33	.32	1.00										
ESS	-.01	.06	.08	-.12	1.00									
RT	-.09	.08	-.01	-.16	.42	1.00								
NACH	-.30	-.06	-.15	-.20	.31	.43	1.00							
OM1	.08	.05	.04	.18	-.10	-.05	-.03	1.00						
OM8W	-.05	-.04	-.01	-.07	.04	.04	.05	-.05	1.00					
OM9	.27	.17	.10	.11	-.09	-.11	-.18	.10	-.08	1.00				
OM10	.19	.04	.14	.20	-.14	-.08	-.12	.05	-.03	.23	1.00			
OM11	.03	.11	.08	.15	-.09	-.11	-.10	.06	-.08	.02	.00	1.00		
MOVES	-.13	-.07	-.16	-.04	-.04	.02	.01	.04	-.06	-.01	-.12	.05	1.00	
OCC-SAT	-.13	-.13	-.12	-.06	.10	-.03	.01	.05	.01	.02	-.04	-.04	-.14	1.00
GROUP	-.20	.03	-.25	-.16	.25	.16	.06	.19	.29	.01	.01	-.21	.18	-.40

Table 6-9: Standardized discriminant function coefficients for third discriminant analysis

Variable	Coefficient
IE1	.28
IE2	-.18
IE3	.37
ESS	-.47
NACH	.23
OM1	-.33
OM8W	-.38
OM11	.27
OCCSAT	.67

Klecka, 1980; Tabachnick and Fidell, 1983) that this method of interpretation is less biased and a better guide to the importance of a variable than the standardized discriminant function coefficients. These correlations, for all variables used, are shown in Table 6-10 and present further confirmation of the importance of ($|r| \geq .30$) of OCCSAT, OM8W, LE3 and ESS.

Insert Table 6-10 about here

Although a univariate test showed that emigrants had made more residential moves than nonemigrants (see p. 160), this variable (MOVES) did not enter the discriminant function. This is quite likely due to the variable sharing much of its discriminating information with one or more of the other variables which did enter. In such a situation, an important discriminator may not enter the function using a stepwise procedure because its unique contributions are not as great as those of other variables (Klecka, 1980).

Overall, 79.2% of cases (160 out 202) were correctly classified (tau=.58). Nonemigrants were somewhat more likely to be correctly classified (83%) than emigrants (75%).

The stability of the classification procedure was checked by a cross-validation run. Approximately 25% of the cases were withheld from calculation of the classifidation

Table 6-10: Pooled within-groups correlations between canonical discriminant functions and discriminating variables

Variable*	Correlation
OCCSAT	.54
OM8W	-.39
IE3	.32
ESS	-.32
OM11	.30
IE1	.27
OM1	-.22
RT	-.17
IE4	.14
MOVES	-.13
OM10	.10
OM9	.09
NACH	-.07
IE2	-.05

*Variables are ordered by magnitude of correlation.

function in this run. For the 75% of the cases from whom the functions were derived, there was a 76.1% correct classification rate. For the cross-validation cases, 81.3% were correctly classified. This indicates a high degreee of consistency in the classification scheme.

According to Klecka (1980), a stepwise discriminant analysis is a valuable tool in exploratory research and produces an optimal set of discriminating variables, but the variables selected may not be the best (maximal) combination. To obtain such a solution, it would be necessary to test all possible combinations of variables--a long and expensive procedure. "The stepwise procedure is a logical and efficient way to seek the best combination but it cannot guarantee that the end product is indeed superior to all others" (Klecka, 1980, p. 53). Hence, variables such as risk taking which were not entered in the final discriminant function but for which there were compelling theoretical reasons for inclusion in the study, may with a different combination of variables prove to be more important than they appear at present.

CHAPTER VII

THE AFTERMATH OF MIGRATION

> "Canada is the place for me. I want to bury my bones here. I never expected to do so well here." (Canadian respondent)

After immigration comes the process of establishing a new life in a new country. Indians who have chosen to settle in Canada face not only the problems, such as finding a job and a place to live, which are inherent in any move but they also must adjust to a very different culture and way of life. With this in mind, a sample of Canadians who were born in India (hereafter referred to as Canadians) was selected from among those who completed a questionnaire (see Appendix D) parallel to that sent to applicants at the Canadian High Commission in India. As described in Chapter IV, the criteria for inclusion were:

1) age from 21 to 56 inclusive
2) semiprofessional or professional occupation
3) immigrated as an independent
4) planned to remain in Canada permanently.

This resulted in a group of 114. Included with the Canadian

data are data from a pilot study (n=20). As a consequence of this study the wording and format of several questions were changed to the final form shown in Appendix D and some questions were added. Hence, data for some variables for this pilot group do not exist or are not based on comparable questions and therefore have not been used. In these instances the decreased group size is due to the elimination of the respondents in the pilot study. Otherwise the slightly varying numbers are due to nonresponse or answers which could not be classified. In order to assess changes over time and the experience of settling in Canada, the Canadians were compared to the emigrants on appropriate variables. This chapter is a report of that comparison.

A. Demographic variables

Age

The Canadians were older ($\bar{x}$=41.66 years, s.d.=6.54) than the emigrants ($\bar{x}$=32.78 years, s.d.=7.35) ($t=9.39$, $df=214$, $p<.001$) but since they had been in Canada an average of 12.34 years (s.d.=4.68, range=3-30 years) at the time of entry to Canada their mean age would have been 29.34 years (s.d.=5.66) which was younger ($t=3.88$, $df=214$, $p<.001$) than the age of those applying for immigrant status.

Marital Status

Table 7-1 shows the distribution of emigrants by marital status and the distribution of Canadians by present marital status and marital status at the time of entry to Canada. Although emigrants and Canadians differed on present marital status (χ^2=34.12, df=2, p<.0001), emigrants did not differ from Canadians on marital status at time of immigration (χ^2=1.69, df=1, n.s.). This again adds support to the notion suggested previously (see p. 125 and 153) that well-educated Indians tend to marry at later ages.

Insert Table 7-1 about here

Of those Canadians who were single at the time of migration, 49% (20/41) returned to India to marry. This rather high percentage no doubt reflects in part the paucity of suitable prospective wives in Canada at that time.

Other demographic variables

There is no difference between Canadians and emigrants in education, education of their wives, area of birth or size of home town.

Table 7-1: Marital status of emigrants and Canadians

	Emigrants		Canadians			
			Present		At entry	
Marital status	n	%	n	%	n	%
Single	36	35.3	6	5.3	51	44.7
Married	64	62.7	108	94.7	63	55.3
Divorced	2	2.0	0	0	0	0
Widowed	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	102	100	114	100	114	100

B. Situational variables

In this section, it should be kept in mind that many of the variables measured for the Canadian group represent retrospective data with all the problems, such as memory loss and rationalization, which this type of data involves. When appropriate, the implications of this caveat will be discussed. The means and standard deviations of the continuous variables and the distributions of discrete variables are shown in Table 7-2. The numbers in parentheses in the following discussion refer to the corresponding entries in this table.

Insert Table 7-2 about here

Previous mobility

There was no difference between emigrants and Canadians before emigrating from India in the number of residential moves (1) made ($t=1.29$, $df=198$, n.s.), the frequency of travel for pleasure (2) ($t=0.30$, $df=196$, n.s.) or the frequency of travel for business (3) ($t=-0.25$, $df=185$, n.s.). Emigrants were more likely than Canadians (before emigration) to have visited Western Europe (11d) ($\chi^2=8.72$, $df=1$, $p<.01$), Britain (11f) ($\chi^2=8.72$, $df=1$, $p<.01$), U.S.A. (11g) ($\chi^2=7.78$, $df=1$, $p<.01$) and Canada (11h) ($\chi^2=13.89$, $df=1$, $p<.01$). This increased international travel may reflect the general increase in

Table 7-2: Data summary for situational variables

A. Continuous variables

Variable	Emigrant $\bar{x}$	Emigrant s.d.	Canadian $\bar{x}$	Canadian s.d.
1. Number of moves	2.50	2.61	2.09	1.87
2. Frequency of travel for pleasure	3.15	0.58	3.12	0.71
3. Frequency of travel for business	2.88	1.03	2.92	1.15
4. Assistance expected from relatives and friends	3.08	0.99	2.06	0.95
5. Assistance received from relatives and friends	----	----	2.34	1.13
6. Assistance expected from government	2.67	0.95	1.72	0.92
7. Assistance received from government	----	----	1.37	0.75
8. Number of clubs	0.68	0.90	2.69	2.35
9. Wife's attitude toward emigration	4.47	0.71	3.78	1.04
10. Occupational satisfaction	4.20	1.32	5.28	1.00

Table 7-2 continued

B. Discrete variables

Variable	Emigrant n	Emigrant %	Canadian n	Canadian %
11. Areas visited				
(a) Asia	3	2.9	3	3.2
(b) Middle East	1	1.0	4	4.3
(c) Eastern Europe	5	4.9	0	0
(d) Western Europe	16	15.7	3	3.2
(e) Africa	4	3.9	5	5.3
(f) Britain	16	15.7	3	3.2
(g) U.S.A.	15	14.7	3	3.2
(h) Canada	14	13.7	0	0
(i) Australia	2	2.0	0	0
(j) South America	1	1.0	0	0
12. Relatives who have immigrated to				
(a) Asia	2	2.0	5	5.6
(b) Middle East	3	2.9	7	7.8
(c) Eastern Europe	0	0	0	0
(d) Western Europe	8	7.8	1	1.1
(e) Africa	12	11.8	6	6.7
(f) Britain	26	25.5	21	23.3
(g) U.S.A.	47	46.1	19	21.1
(h) Canada	51	50.0	19	21.1
(i) Australia	7	6.9	2	2.2
(j) South America	0	0	1	1.1
13. Friends who have immigrated to				
(a) Asia	3	3.0	4	4.4
(b) Middle East	11	10.9	5	5.5
(c) Eastern Europe	1	1.0	0	0
(d) Western Europe	9	8.9	9	9.9
(e) Africa	4	4.0	6	6.6
(f) Britain	37	36.6	33	36.3
(g) U.S.A.	69	68.3	39	42.9
(h) Canada	48	47.5	30	33.0
(i) Australia	7	6.9	7	7.7
(j) South America	0	0	1	1.1

Table 7-2 continued

Variable	Emigrant n	Emigrant %	Canadian n	Canadian %
14. Source of information about Canada*				
(a) Letters	52	51.0	25	22.3
(b) Books	42	41.2	32	28.6
(c) Newspapers	46	45.1	37	33.0
(d) Radio and television	12	11.8	4	3.6
(e) Canadian government publications	27	26.5	34	30.4
(f) Other	18	17.6	29	25.9
* Percentages do not sum to 100 due to multiple response.				
15. Home ownership status				
(a) Own home	21	21.2	86	89.6
(b) Rent home	33	33.3	10	10.4
(c) Live with relatives	45	45.5	0	0
16. Membership in at least one				
(a) Social club	12	11.9	47	50.0
(b) Service club	14	13.9	14	14.9
(c) Athletic club	8	7.9	6	6.4
(d) Occupational club	18	17.8	25	26.6
(e) Religious club	2	2.0	24	25.5
(f) Political club	0	0	4	4.3
17. Wife as source of advice about emigrating	27	40.9	10	16.1
18. Self-employed	15	15.0	23	24.5
19. Father's occupational status				
(a) Skilled	24	27.9	24	22.0
(b) Clerical	17	19.8	11	10.1
(c) Semiprofessional	27	31.4	53	48.6
(d) Professional	18	20.9	21	19.3
20. Respondent's occupational status relative to father				
(a) Higher	47	54.6	57	52.3
(b) Same	30	34.9	39	35.8
(c) Lower	9	10.5	13	11.9

such travel and increased affluence in India as well as perhaps the increased affluence of those Indians who have previously settled in these areas and are now able to assist relatives and friends who wish to visit.

Contacts outside India

Emigrants were more likely than Canadians (before emigrating) to have relatives in Canada (12h) (χ^2=17.23, df=1, $p<.0001$) and to have friends in Canada (13h) (χ^2=4.21, df=1, $p<.05$) as well as relatives (12g) (χ^2=13.21, df=1, $p<.001$) and friends (13g) (χ^2=12.61, df=1, $p<.001$) in the United States although they did not differ for other areas. These differences are most likely due to changing immigration policies. When most of the Canadian group immigrated (before 1970) Canadian immigration regulations had recently been changed to allow large numbers of Indians to enter Canada (see Chapter I). Thus when the Canadians arrived, there were relatively few Indians in Canada and they would therefore be less likely to have a relative or friend among them. Conversely, at the time the emigrant group applied, India was a leading source country of immigrants to Canada and they would be more likely to have a friend or relative among the larger population of Indians settled in Canada. A similar situation may be the case in the United States.

Among those in both groups who had relatives and/or

friends in Canada, emigrants expected to receive more assistance in settling (4) from them ($t=6.45$, $df=152$, $p<.001$) than Canadians reported having expected. In addition, the Canadians also reported having received less assistance (5) than the emigrants expected to receive ($t=5.09$, $df=152$, $p<.01$) and less than they expected ($t=2.47$, $df=66$, $p<.05$). There are at least two interpretations, not mutually exclusive, for these findings. Since there are more Indians in Canada now (due both to a cumulative effect and to increased immigration from India), the emigrants may have more and/or closer relatives and friends in Canada than did the Canadians. They may therefore be quite realistic in expecting a relatively high level of assistance as compared to the Canadians. On the other hand, the Canadians may actually have expected a great deal of help at the time of immigration but received little and over the years their recollections of their experiences have been rationalized so that their memory of expectations corresponds more nearly to what actually happened. A similar fate may await the emigrants should they actually immigrate to Canada. A parallel pattern emerges with the amount of assistance expected from Canadian government agencies. The emigrants expected more help than the Canadians did ($t=7.46$, $df=214$, $p<.001$) and the Canadians received less help than they expected ($t=4.63$, $df=111$, $p<.01$).

Consistent with the higher proportion of emigrants who have friends and/or relatives in Canada is the finding

that they (51%) were more likely than Canadians (22%) to report letters as a major source of information about Canada (14d) (χ^2=19.06, df=1, p<.0001). Of interest also, although there is no difference between groups, is that about 30% of each group reported Canadian government publications as a major source of information about Canada (14e). These percentages may be compared with those of independent immigrants from many countries to Canada: 47% report friends and relatives and 39% report Canadian immigration officials as their main sources of information (Manpower and Immigration, 1974c).

Community ties to present location

Comparing emigrants and Canadians on the basis of their ties to the community in which they lived is also an evaluation of the "roots" which the Canadians have put down since arriving in Canada. Canadians were much more likely than emigrants to own their own home (15) (χ^2=96.77, df=2, p<.0001). It could perhaps be argued that Canadians did not have the option of living in their parents' home and were therefore forced to buy. However, they had the option of renting if they did not wish ties but few (10%) had done so. In addition, this higher rate of home ownership was not due simply to the greater age of the Canadians since the nonemigrants whose age was similar (t=0.324, df=226, n.s.) had a lesser rate of home ownership (see Table 6-3)

($z=5.40$, $p<.01$) than the Canadians. Canadians were more likely to belong to a club or organization than were emigrants ($\chi^2=22.94$, $df=1$, $p<.01$) and belonged to more clubs than emigrants (8) ($t=-7.91$, $df=204$, $p<.001$). These differences were a result of the greater proportion of Canadians belonging to at least one social club (16a) ($\chi^2=33.53$, $df=1$, $p<.01$) and religious organization (16e) ($\chi^2=24.73$, $df=1$, $p<.01$). The difference in rate of club membership suggests ties but the differences in type of clubs requires another explanation. If the social clubs had mainly Indian members as the religious organizations most probably did (recall that most Indian immigrants are Hindu or Sikh (see p. 135) and almost all Hindus and Sikhs are Indian), this membership may represent an effort to maintain their cultural identity. In any event, these differences must be interpreted with caution since the Canadians were selected from membership lists and thus may be more likely to join organizations (see also p. 163).

Ties to India

For those who are married, an important tie to an area can be a wife who is unwilling to move. Of those who were married at the time of emigration, Canadians reported that their wives were less happy about the prospect of leaving India (9) than the wives of the emigrants ($t=4.39$, $df=123$, $p<.001$). In addition, the Canadians were less likely to

report their wives as a source of advice about emigrating (17) (χ^2=9.55, df=1, p<.01). While both of these differences may simply reflect inaccurate memory of the Canadians, there are other possible explanations:

1) The emigrants may not have accurately perceived their wives' attitude (i.e. they projected their own enthusiasm onto their wives) whereas the Canadians, over time, had become more realistic about their wives' feelings at the time of emigration.

2) The status of women may have improved so that men whose wives were unhappy about emigrating were less likely to apply. That is, men in 1979-1980 were more attuned to and considerate of their wives' attitudes than were men who emigrated earlier.

Perhaps one of the most revealing aspects of ties to a homeland is what a person perceives he will miss if he leaves or what he actually misses after leaving. Responses to this open-ended question (see Table 3-5) could be categorized as follows: 1) People, for example, "I would miss my close relatives and friends" 2) Food, for example, "Indian mangoes and Mughlai dishes" 3) Social atmosphere, for example, "The togetherness, warmth and hospitality of the people" 4) Culture, for example, "Indian fine arts such as music, dance and drama" 5) Religion, for example, "Marriage ceremony, religious rituals" 6) Geography, for example, "good climate

and natural beauty" 7)Nothing, for example, "No aspect of India, I think so, if I leave India" 8) Patriotism, for example, "motherland affection" 9) Miscellaneous, for example, "If I leave India, I will miss the cost of living which is cheaper comparatively to any other country in the world". Table 7-3 shows the distributions of responses to this question for emigrants and Canadians. These distributions are significantly different (χ^2=19.05, df=8, p<.02) with the major differences being that Canadians were more likely to miss the social atmosphere of India and less likely to miss nothing. Apparently, living outside India for many years is more likely to give a person time to miss something and that something is quite likely to be the social atmosphere which more than one third of Canadians cited. The most frequent response for both groups was people (friends and relatives) which could be expected of any group which is leaving or has left their homeland. That about half of each group expected to miss or missed friends and relatives and yet planned to leave or had left permanently attested to the weakness of their ties to India and to the importance of other variables in the migration decision.

Insert Table 7-3 about here

Table 7-3: Aspects of India missed

Aspect	Emigrant n	Emigrant %*	Canadian n	Canadian %**
1. People	45	45.9	56	59.6
2. Food	3	3.1	7	7.4
3. Social atmosphere	14	14.3	34	36.2
4. Culture	17	17.3	17	18.1
5. Religion	7	7.1	6	6.4
6. Geography	6	6.1	11	11.7
7. Nothing	17	17.3	5	5.3
8. Patriotism	8	8.2	5	5.3
9. Miscellaneous	3	3.1	2	2.1

* based on 98 emigrants

** based on 94 Canadians

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100 due to multiple response.

Reasons for leaving

Reasons for wanting to emigrate were assessed in a closed-format question (see Table 3-4) which allowed for ranking of reasons and inclusion of any not already listed. The categories of responses created as a result of these additional reasons are explained on page 142. Table 7-4 shows the distributions of responses to the various reasons for the emigrant and Canadian groups. The numbers in the table give the percentages of each group selecting each reason as first (1), second (2), third (3) or "also apply" (X) choice. The total column gives the per cent of the group citing each reason without regard to the importance they attached to the reason. The rows labelled E and C refer to the emigrant and Canadian groups respectively.

Insert Table 7-4 about here

Although occupational reasons (lack of suitable employment (3) and lack of opportunity for advancement in their job (4)) were important first choices for both groups, the Canadians were more likely to cite inadequate educational facilities for themselves (1) and a desire for travel or adventure (12) as reasons for emigrating. However, it could be argued that inadequate educational facilities is an occupa-

Table 7-4: Percentages of emigrants and Canadians ranking each reason for wanting to emigrate

Reason		1	2	3	X	Total
1. Inadequate educational facilities for self	E	11.8	1.0	5.8	6.9	25.5
	C	21.9	5.2	2.1	7.3	36.5
2. Inadequate educational facilities for children	E	5.8	4.9	4.9	2.9	18.6
	C	3.1	1.0	0	3.1	7.3
3. Lack of suitable employment	E	14.7	16.7	6.9	12.7	51.0
	C	12.5	11.5	5.2	5.2	34.4
4. Lack of opportunity for advancement in job	E	30.4	19.6	8.8	15.7	74.5
	C	18.8	12.5	9.4	4.2	44.8
5. Political problems	E	0	2.0	2.0	5.8	9.8
	C	2.1	2.1	3.1	1.0	8.3
6. Close family outside India	E	5.8	8.8	6.9	7.8	29.4
	C	2.1	5.2	2.1	6.3	15.6
7. Inadequate housing	E	0	2.9	1.0	5.8	9.8
	C	1.0	0	3.1	2.1	6.3
8. Poor standard of living	E	7.8	11.8	13.7	10.8	44.1
	C	2.1	3.1	6.3	6.3	17.7
9. Inadequate income	E	10.8	11.8	11.8	13.7	48.0
	C	6.3	3.1	6.3	2.1	17.7
10. Religious discrimination	E	0	2.9	2.0	3.9	8.8
	C	1.0	1.0	1.0	2.1	5.2
11. To earn money for family responsibilities	E	3.9	7.8	7.8	12.7	32.4
	C	5.2	8.3	3.1	5.2	21.9
12. Desire for travel or adventure	E	10.8	10.8	15.7	19.6	56.9
	C	19.8	20.8	16.7	10.4	67.7
13. Crowded living conditions	E	2.9	0	5.8	7.8	16.7
	C	1.0	0	0	5.2	6.3
14. Unpleasant climate	E	1.0	1.0	7.8	9.8	19.6
	C	0	1.0	0	4.2	5.2

Table 7-4 continued

Reason		1	2	3	X	Total
15. Family assets insufficient	E	1.0	0	2.0	3.9	6.9
	C	1.0	1.0	0	1.0	3.1
16. Dislike of atmosphere of India	E	6.9	0	0	5.8	12.7
	C	2.1	0	1.0	1.0	4.2
17. Lack of job opportunities for wife	E	0	0	0	1.0	1.0
	C	0	0	0	0	0
18. Lack of social security	E	0	0	0	1.0	1.0
	C	0	0	0	0	0
19. Miscellaneous	E	1.0	0	0	4.9	5.9
	C	1.0	0	1.0	1.0	3.1

Notes:

1. Percentages are calculated on the basis of 102 emigrants and 96 Canadians.

2. The letters E and C beside rows refer to percentages for emigrants and Canadians respectively.

3. Column entries for each group do not sum to 100% because some respondents made more than one choice per rank and others did not make choices in all ranks. In the "X" choices respondents could choose as many as applied.

4. Entries in the "Total" column are the sums of entries in the corresponding row.

tional reason in that educational preparation is part of a career. Considered this way, occupational reasons (1,3,4) account for a similar percentage of the first reasons in each group: 56.9% for the emigrants and 53.1% for the Canadians ($z=0.565$, n.s.). In addition, the higher percentage of Canadians citing inadequate educational facilities for themselves may be related to the younger average age of the Canadians at the time of immigration (see p. 184), that is, more of the Canadians may have entered Canada as students and students tend to be younger. (Note that it was possible, before 1974, to obtain landed immigrant status as a student and to apply for such status from inside Canada. Indeed, 28.2% of Canadians gave their occupation in India as "student" adding support to the notion that more of them entered Canada to obtain further education.) Overall, there is no significant difference between the groups in first choices ($\chi^2=23.67$, df=16, n.s.). Although the groups differ in "Total" ($\chi^2=38.59$, df=18, $p<.01$), this difference is difficult to interpret since the emigrants gave a greater average number of reasons (4.72) than the Canadians (3.05).

Gains from immigrating to Canada

Responses to this open-ended question (see Table 3-4) about what the respondent expects (or expected) to gain from immigrating to Canada could be assigned to eight

categories (see p. 146 for an explanation of the categories). Table 7-5 shows the distributions of responses given by emigrants and Canadians. The majority of both emigrants and Canadians cited career-related improvements as at least one expected gain. Overall, the distributions do not differ (χ^2=1.39, df=7, n.s.).

Insert Table 7-5 about here

Reasons for choosing Canada

The reasons for choosing Canada as a destination rather than another country were assessed in an open-ended question (see Table 3-4). Answers could be assigned to thirteen categories (see p. 148 for explanation of categories). Table 7-6 shows the distributions of reasons for choosing Canada given by emigrants and Canadians. Career-related factors were the most frequently cited reasons for both groups. However, there is an overall difference in the distributions (χ^2=50.51, df=11, $p<.001$). The major differences between the groups arise from the Canadians having more frequently stated that Canada was not their first choice of destination and less frequently stated that Canada is an advanced country and that they had friends or relatives in Canada. This last difference is not surprising in view

Table 7-5: Perceived gains from immigrating to Canada

Gain	Emigrant		Canadian	
	n	%*	n	%**
1. Career related	68	68.7	67	60.9
2. Economic gain	16	16.2	20	18.2
3. Higher standard of living	35	35.4	36	32.7
4. Better education for children	10	10.1	10	9.1
5. Travel experience	13	13.1	10	9.1
6. Join family members	6	5.4	4	3.6
7. Atmosphere of Canada	17	17.2	21	19.1
8. Miscellaneous	6	5.4	6	5.5

* based on 99 emigrants

** based on 110 Canadians

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100 since many respondents gave more than one response.

of the finding (see p. 191) that Canadians were less likely to have either friends or relatives in Canada before immigrating.

Insert Table 7-6 about here

Considered together, the results presented in the last three sections, Reasons for leaving, Gains from immigrating to Canada and Reasons for choosing Canada indicate the importance of career considerations in migration and the stability over time (up to 30 years) of these reasons. They also indicate that purely economic factors are infrequently cited reasons for emigrating, contrary to the assumptions and findings of other studies (e.g. Lansing and Morgan, 1967).

Occupational variables

(Note: The numbers in parentheses in this section refer to entries in Table 7-2.)

Both the emigrant and Canadian groups were restricted to those with a semiprofessional or professional occupation. However, unlike the nonemigrants, emigrants and Canadians were similar in other ways: there was no difference in the proportion who were self-employed or owned their own business (18) (χ^2=2.76, df=1, n.s.), their fathers had similar

Table 7-6: Reasons for choosing Canada

Reason	Emigrant n	Emigrant %*	Canadian n	Canadian %**
1. Relatives or friends in Canada	34	34.3	13	11.6
2. Career related	39	39.4	45	40.2
3. High standard of living	11	11.1	6	5.4
4. Economic	8	8.1	5	4.5
5. Geographical	20	20.2	7	6.3
6. National character	22	22.2	35	31.3
7. Indians in Canada	3	3.0	0	0
8. Advanced country	22	22.2	5	4.5
9. Language	5	5.1	8	7.1
10. Canada not first choice	6	6.1	28	25.0
11. Peaceful	5	5.1	5	4.5
12. Political	9	9.1	14	12.5
13. Miscellaneous	5	5.1	7	6.3

* based on 99 emigrants

** based on 112 Canadians

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100 since many respondents gave more than one reason.

occupational status (19) (χ^2=8.15, df=4, n.s.) and there was no difference in the proportion who had improved their occupational status relative to their fathers (20) (χ^2=0.15, df=2, n.s.). In spite of these similarities, there was a significant difference in occupational satisfaction (10): Canadians were more satisfied than emigrants (t=-6.52, df=200, p<.0001). This suggests that immigration to Canada provided the Canadians with the occupational opportunities they sought.

C. Psychological variables

The personality variables measured (see Chapters II and III) are sensation seeking (ESS), risk taking (RT), achievement motivation (NACH), locus of control and modernity. The locus of control scale used has four subscales (IE1, IE2, IE3, IE4) and the modernity scale was analysed on an item by item basis. As was discussed in the previous chapter (see p. 167), several items on the modernity scale were dropped from the analyses. In addition to these omissions, the dichotomous variable, OM8W (interest in world news), was not used in the present comparisons since for the Canadian group, interest in world news could not be distinguished from interest in Indian news alone, that is, the interpretation of this item was ambiguous since any Canadians who were interested mainly in news about India were forced to endorse world news by the design of the question.

To summarize, the personality variables to be used in the analyses discussed in this section are belief in a difficult world (IE1), belief in an unjust world (IE2), belief in a world governed by luck (IE3), belief in a politically unresponsive world (IE4), sensation seeking (ESS), risk taking (RT), achievement motivation (NACH), concern about public issues (OM1), understanding of others (OM9), need for religion (OM10) and preference for meeting new people (OM11). All variables are continuous. The locus of control subscales are all coded so that a high score indicates relatively external belief. Sensation seeking, risk taking and achievement motivation are coded so that a high score indicates a high level of the trait. A high score on OM1 indicates frequent concern about public issues. OM9, OM10, and OM11 are coded so that a low score indicates, respectively, belief that a man can be truly good without religion, confidence that the respondent could understand a person from another culture and preference for associating with new people rather than those already known.

One case in the Canadian group was identified as a multivariate outlier with $p<.01$. Since results of the analyses were very similar with and without this case, it was not deleted.

Table 7-7 shows the means and standard deviations of the personality variables for each group. Since the

multivariate analyses to be reported require that cases have no missing data, incomplete cases are not included. This reduced the sample sizes to 96 for the emigrant group and 85 for the Canadian group. Missing data were randomly scattered over cases and variables with no evident patterning.

Insert Table 7-7 about here

Table 7-8 shows the pooled within-groups correlation matrix and the correlations of the variables with group membership (i.e. emigrant or Canadian).

Insert Table 7-8 about here

The emigrant and Canadian groups were compared on the 11 personality variables using the Hotelling T^2 option of BMDP3D. The analysis indicated an overall significant difference between groups (T^2=121.32, $F(11,196)$=10.49, $p<.0001$). In order to determine which of the variables contributed to this overall difference and the relative contribution of each, a stepwise discriminant analysis was performed using SPSS DISCRIMINANT. The discriminant function which

Table 7-7: Means and standard deviations of psychological variables for emigrants and Canadians

	Emigrant		Canadian	
Variable	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
IE1	32.63	6.47	30.39	5.82
IE2	24.59	4.79	25.56	5.26
IE3	18.11	5.61	19.39	3.96
IE4	24.20	5.23	22.60	4.88
ESS	9.26	4.51	5.92	3.86
RT	8.67	3.53	7.86	4.00
NACH	8.75	19.00	5.33	19.36
OM1	3.07	1.13	2.69	0.87
OM9	2.27	1.06	2.19	0.85
OM10	2.55	1.61	2.20	1.37
OM11	1.86	0.87	2.76	0.92

Table 7-8: Pooled within-groups correlation matrix and correlations with group membership

	IE1	IE2	IE3	IE4	ESS	RT	NACH	OM1	OM9	OM10	OM11
IE1	1.00										
IE2	.28	1.00									
IE3	.50	.37	1.00								
IE4	.47	.43	.41	1.00							
ESS	.01	-.08	-.03	-.18	1.00						
RT	-.05	-.10	-.08	-.23	.38	1.00					
NACH	-.28	-.22	-.21	-.25	.19	.38	1.00				
OM1	-.02	.02	-.01	.12	-.24	-.11	-.06	1.00			
OM9	.22	.10	.20	.06	-.18	-.04	-.17	-.04	1.00		
OM10	.20	-.01	.14	.17	-.12	-.11	-.13	.07	.16	1.00	
OM11	-.05	.05	.07	.09	-.21	-.24	-.09	.07	.07	-.00	1.00
GROUP	.18	-.09	-.14	.16	.36	.06	.08	.24	.06	.13	-.41

was calculated had a $\chi^2(8)=82.03$ ($p<.0001$) and accounted for 37% of the variance between groups ($R=.61$). The variables which had sufficient discriminating power to enter the discriminant function with F-to-enter and F-to-remove set at the default value of 1.0 were (in order of entry): OM11, ESS, OM1, IE4, IE3, OM9, IE2 and IE1. The remaining variables which did not enter the function were RT, NACH and OM10.

The standardized discriminant function coefficients, as shown in Table 7-9, indicate that the primary predictors separating emigrants from Canadians were preference for meeting new people (OM11), sensation seeking (ESS), belief in a politically unresponsive world (IE4) and concern about public issues (OM11). Canadians, compared to emigrants, were less likely to prefer meeting new people (i.e. they were more likely to prefer spending time with those they already knew), scored lower on sensation seeking (i.e. were less likely to prefer "thrilling" activities), believed the world was more politically responsive and were more often concerned about public issues. The direction of the differences on OM11, ESS and OM1 all suggest again that the Canadians had "put down roots" in Canada and had developed ties to their community. The direction of the difference on IE4 may be due to experience with Canadian public affairs.

Insert Table 7-9 about here

Table 7-9 : Standardized discriminant function coefficients

Variable	Coefficient
IE1	.18
IE2	-.19
IE3	-.35
IE4	.45
ESS	.58
OM1	.38
OM9	.24
OM11	-.57

Correlations between the 11 personality variables and the discriminant function, as shown in Table 7-10, also indicate that the primary predictors ($|r|>.30$) separating the groups were OM11 and ESS.

Insert Table 7-10 about here

Overall, 79.2% of the cases (145 out of 183) were correctly classified. Canadians were somewhat more likely to be correctly classified (83.7%) than emigrants (75.3%).

It is apparent that the Canadians differed from the emigrants on at least some personality traits. There are three possible explanations for this: 1) the Canadians may have been different from the emigrants at the time of immigration, that is, there may have been a change over the years in the type of person who applies to immigrate to Canada 2) the groups were the same at the time of immigration but the Canadians are now older and age may have changed them 3) the groups were the same at the time of immigration but the experience of living in Canada may have changed the Canadians, independent of the concurrent increase in age. The first explanation, while possible, seems unlikely since the two groups were similar in so many other ways. The second possibility was tested by means of a stepwise

Table 7-10: Pooled within-groups correlations between discriminant function and personality variables

Variable*	Correlation
OM11	-.65
ESS	.51
OM1	.24
RT	.24
IE1	.24
IE4	.20
IE3	-.17
IE2	-.13
OM10	.06
NACH	.06
OM9	.06

* Variables are ordered by magnitude of correlation.

discriminant analysis using age in addition to the personality variables. Although age was the first variable to enter the discriminant function, all the personality variables which entered in the previous discriminant analysis still had sufficient discriminating power to enter after age (see Table 7-11 for summary) indicating that personality differences between the two groups were not dependent on the age difference. In addition, only one of the personality variables (IE1) had a significant partial correlation with age for the Canadians when the number of years in Canada was partialled out (see Table 7-12) and this variable was of minor importance in distinguishing between the groups (see Tables 7-9 and 7-10).

Insert Table 7-11 about here

Insert Table 7-12 about here

This leaves the time the Canadians had spent in Canada as the most likely cause of the personality differences and there is some support for this possibility. Several of the partial correlations of personality variables with years in Canada when age is partialled out were significant

Table 7-11: Summary of stepwise discriminant analysis using age and personality variables

Variable*	Standardized coefficient	Correlation with discriminant function
AGE	.67	.68
OM11	.44	.51
IE4	-.38	-.16
IE2	.27	.10
ESS	-.33	-.40
IE3	.30	.13
IE1	-.25	-.18
OM1	-.16	-.19
OM9	-.15	-.04
RT	.12	-.11

$X^2(10)=120.70$, $p<.0001$

R=.71

Percent of cases correctly classified=84.7

* Variables are listed in order of entry.

Table 7-12: Partial correlations of personality variables with age for Canadian group (number of years in Canada partialled out)

Variable	Partial correlation
IE1	.30*
IE2	.04
IE3	.11
IE4	.21
ESS	-.10
RT	-.15
NACH	-.09
OM1	-.08
OM9	.20
OM10	.18
OM11	-.06

* $p<.01$

(see Table 7-13). Further investigation of this possibility is hampered by the fact that the most recently arrived Canadian had been here three years. Indeed, only five Canadians had been here less than five years. It may be that if personality changes do occur after immigration, much of that change might take place in the first few years but data for this critical time were missing. It must be concluded that although the experience of living in Canada is the most likely reason for the personality differences between the groups, it can not be strongly supported from the available data. Investigation of this interesting possibility awaits future research, perhaps a longitudinal study.

Insert Table 7-13 about here

Table 7-13: Partial correlations of personality variables with number of years in Canada (age partialled out)

Variable	Partial correlation
IE1	-.16
IE2	-.10
IE3	-.22*
IE4	-.32**
ESS	.01
RT	.07
NACH	.17
OM1	-.17
OM9	.00
OM10	-.24*
OM11	.09

* p<.05

** p<.01

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The study reported in this thesis identified a number of psychological and situational differences between Indians who wished to emigrate and a matched sample of Indians who had never considered emigrating. It was found that potential emigrants differed from nonemigrants in several ways, chief among which were occupational satisfaction, sensation seeking, interest in world news and belief in an unpredictable world. As a group, emigrants were less satisfied with their present occupation, showed a greater preference for "thrilling" activities, were more likely to express an interest in world news, and were less likely to believe that the world is unpredictable or governed by luck. The roots of these differences most likely lie in childhood experience and perhaps even, at least in the case of sensation seeking, in genetic factors.

The reasons the emigrants gave for wanting to emigrate, for choosing Canada and the gains they expected relate to these differences in personality and situational factors. The primary "pushes" and "pulls" were career-related and are clearly associated with occupational satisfaction.

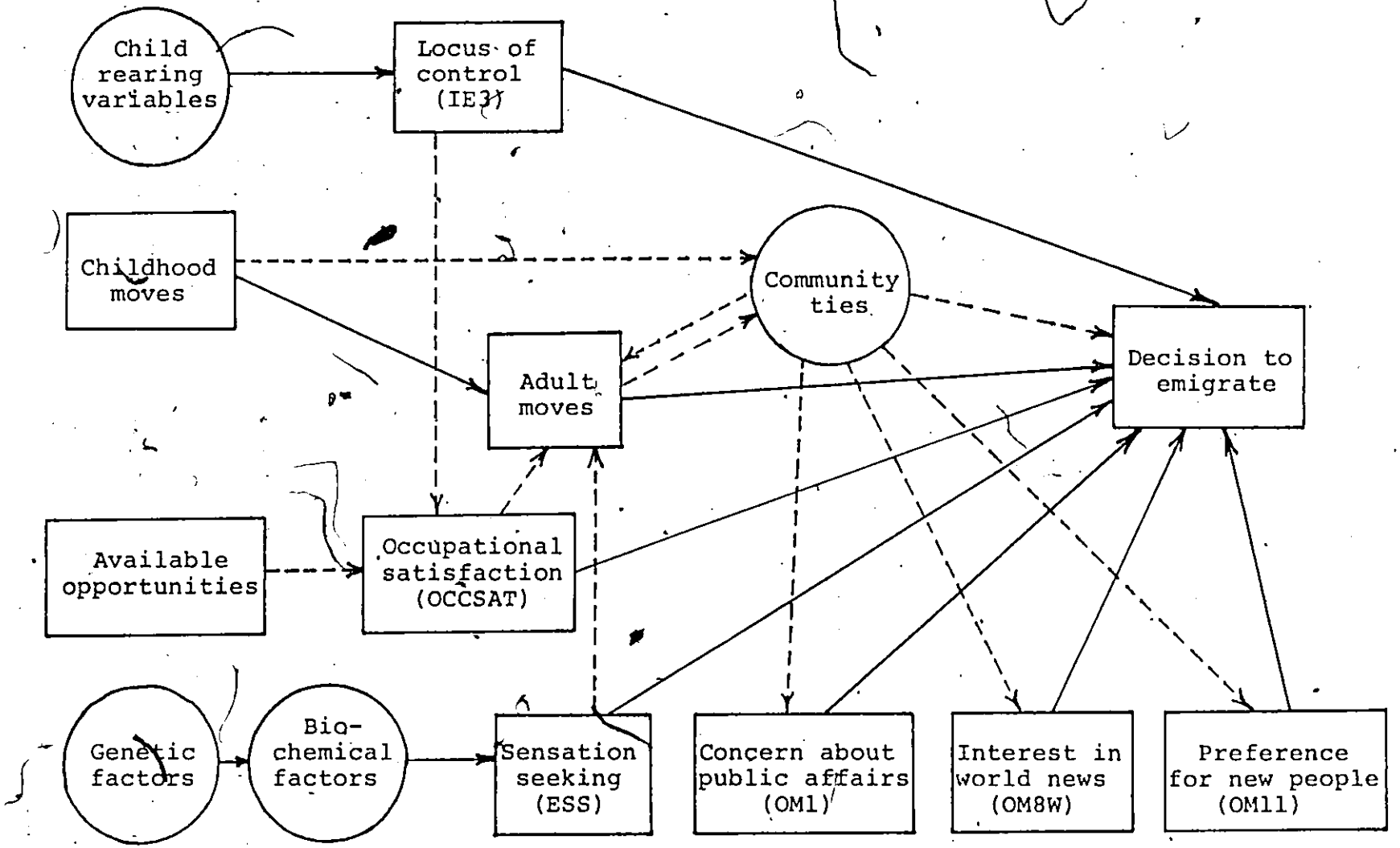
They are related to locus of control since emigrants, with a relatively internal locus of control (belief that the world is predictable), believed that events in their lives were controlled by their own actions and emigration was designed to improve their career prospects. Of interest also is the observation that over half of the emigrants gave "desire for travel or adventure" as a reason for emigrating (although this reason was not prominent among first choices) and travel is one manifestation of high levels of sensation seeking.

As a summary of these findings and an integration of them with previous research (see Chapter II), a model of some of the factors which lead to a decision to emigrate from India was developed (see Figure 8-1). Factors which were investigated in this study are shown in rectangles while those added from previous studies are shown in circles. Hypothesized relationships are shown with broken arrows.

Insert Figure 8-1 about here

Child-rearing variables, such as consistency in discipline, are thought to be important determinants of beliefs regarding locus of control which in turn affect the migration decision. Locus of control is also thought

Figure 8-1: A model of some factors in migration



to be related to occupational satisfaction. Residential mobility during childhood influences mobility as an adult as well as the strength of community ties. Moves as an adult have a reciprocal relationship with community ties in that mobility weakens ties and weak ties encourage mobility. (All relationships with "community ties" are shown as hypothesized since this variable was not adequately measured (see p. 164).) Mobility as an adult also has a direct effect on the decision to emigrate just as childhood mobility has a direct effect on adult mobility.

Emigrants cited lack of job opportunities and lack of opportunity for advancement as major reasons for wishing to leave India and job related factors as reasons for choosing Canada (see Chapter V). The available opportunities were no doubt a determinant of occupational satisfaction which had a direct influence on the emigration decision. Occupational satisfaction was also likely involved in previous moves as an adult although the reasons for these moves was not determined.

Genetic influences are responsible for the biochemical factors which lead to expressions of sensation seeking (see p. 50). Some of these expressions are travel and the search for variety which in this case were manifested in the decision to emigrate. Similarly, sensation seeking was likely implicated in previous adult moves.

Concern about local public affairs, interest in world news and preference for new people all have a direct bearing on emigration. It is hypothesized that all of these are influenced by the strength of community ties. Strong community ties should be related to high concern about public issues affecting that community. Similarly, strong community ties can be expected to lead to greater interest in community news and therefore relatively less interest in news from outside the community, that is, world news. In addition, since known people are part of the ties to a community, those most tied to the community presumably are more likely to prefer to spend their time with people they already know.

Although many of the relationships shown in the model are hypothetical, they are consistent with the findings of this study. In addition, there are of course variables not considered in this study which contribute to the migration decision. These variables await future research.

An additional component of the study was an investigation of those who have immigrated to Canada. This part of the research indicated that the demographic characteristics of migrants and their perceptions of migration had, for the most part, remained stable over three decades. However, from the data presented it was not possible to definitely conclude that personality changes occurred as a result of immigration although there was some evidence

for this possibility.

There are several novel features of the research design used. First, the potential emigrants were identified and contacted before leaving. The value of this lies in obtaining data uncontaminated by the migration experience which may alter perceptions and/or personality factors. These emigrants then were compared with a demographically and socioeconomically similar group of nonemigrants in order to eliminate the effect of these variables. While previous research as well as that presented in Chapter V of this thesis has shown that migrants are demographically different from the population of which they are a part, the present study by means of matched groups, has shown that migrants are not a random selection from those with a given set of demographic characteristics but are further differentiated on the basis of personality and situational factors. Rather than using aggregate data, individuals were contacted and questioned. It was this microlevel approach which showed that purely monetary factors were not major influences in the decision to emigrate, contrary to the conclusions of studies based on aggregate data such as income differentials. A multivariate method allowed the simultaneous examination of many factors and the utility of this method can be seen in the improved prediction achieved. Whereas, according to Linton and Gallo (1975), "Judging from the present state of the art in the behavioral sciences, any time you can

account for more than 10% of the variance, you are doing better than the vast majority of studies" (p. 331), the research reported in this thesis accounted for 27% of the variance when only psychological factors were included and 38% when situational factors were added. This considerable improvement is due to a great extent to the use of a multivariate design.

The theoretical value of the research reported is in several areas. First and of primary importance, the results emphasize the sizeable contribution of psychological factors to the migration decision. Migration differentials are not only demographic in nature but include personality variables. This research has also shown the utility of a multivariate approach. Migration has multiple determinants and only by simultaneously considering these can migration be adequately understood. The value of microlevel studies was also demonstrated. The results of this study, based on individual data, discredit the notion of the supremacy of monetary factors in migration. This contradictory result may be due to a confounding of income with opportunity in other studies in that higher average income at a potential destination may be associated with better career opportunities. However, potential migrants are attracted by the opportunities rather than the income part of the "package". Such information cannot be obtained from macrolevel studies or aggregate data.

On a more practical level, this research is suggestive only. If the source of the emigrants' career dissatisfaction in India could be identified and rectified, it may be possible to stem the "brain drain" of people from a developing country where they are desperately needed. It is clearly not just a matter of increasing their income which in any event would be difficult or impossible to do on a large scale. If factors within the employment structure could be altered many of these men might decide to stay. On the Canadian side, it is clear that those who apply to immigrate to Canada may be distinguished from their countrymen on the basis of psychological factors and it is probable that some personality changes take place after immigrants arrive in Canada. If the importance of these factors in successful establishment in Canada could be assessed by means of a longitudinal study, it would aid in the selection process and spare the personal tragedy of those who are unable to adapt to Canada. Such a study is not possible at present since there are very few independent immigrants arriving in Canada.

Future directions for research in this area ought to include an improved model of the influence of psychological and situational factors of migration. The model presented on page 222 could be the basis for such a model. However, the testing and elaboration of this model should

use a better matched control group selected if possible from the general population of nonemigrants. It is likely that the importance of some variables has been underestimated in the present study since entrepreneurs were overrepresented among nonemigrants and such men have been shown to possess relatively high levels of achievement motivation and may possess levels of other variables which are not representative of the general population. The fact that differences were found in spite of a highly motivated control group attests to the importance of the variables considered and the value of this line of enquiry.

Appendix A: Pre-application questionnaire

CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION

Immigration Section,
Shanti Path, Chanakyapuri,
P.O. BOX 5209,
New Delhi-110021.

HAUT COMMISSARIAT DU CANADA

Section de l'Immigration,
Shanti Path, Chanakyapuri,
C.P. 5209, New Delhi-110021.

Thank you for your recent enquiry concerning immigration to Canada.

The information you have provided is not sufficient to enable us to form an opinion about your admissibility or about your chances for successful establishment in Canada. Would you please, therefore, complete the questionnaire on the reverse of this letter and return it to this office at your convenience.

If you have guaranteed employment in Canada, you should forward the offer of employment you have received with the completed questionnaire. In answering question 9, please describe the occupations you have worked at previously. The occupational description you use should give a clear indication of the nature of the work you do and of the occupational duties you perform. General terms such as service, employee, engineer are not clear, and accurate occupational descriptions should be used.

Upon receipt of the questionnaire, we will write to you again.

Yours truly,

Counsellor (Immigration)

G-10
(12-78)

P.T.O.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Family Name — Given Names — For official use on

2. Address

3. Date of Birth — 4. Total Years of Education Successfully Completed

5. Years of Education Successfully Completed AT

____ ____ Primary/Elementary School ____ Secondary School

____ ____ University/College ____ ____ Vocational/Trade School

____ ____ Formal Apprenticeship ____

6. Do you have guaranteed Employment in Canada ?
☐ Yes ☐ No.

7. If answer to 6 is YES, attach job offer.
Job offer attached ☐ YES ☐ No.

8. Present Occupation

9. Intended Occupation in Canada

10. Years of Experience in intended Occupation

11. During the past 10 years I have worked at the following occupations (describe precisely)

From ____ To

12. Indicate Your ability in Canada's official languages Circle the right answer.

English	French
Speak — Well With Difficulty Not at all	Speak — Well With Difficulty Not at all
Read — Well With Difficulty Not at all	Read — Well With Difficulty Not at all
Write — Well With Difficulty Not at all	Write — Well With Difficulty Not at all

13. What is your intended destination in Canada ?

14. The name and address of your closest relative (if any) in Canada :

15. What is the relationship to you of the person named above ?

16. How long has your closest relative been in Canada ?

17. Is this relative a permanent resident in Canada ? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Is this relative a Canadian citizen ? ☐ Yes ☐ No

18. Are you
☐ Unmarried (never married) ☐ married ☐ widowed ☐ divorced ☐ separated ?

19. How many children do you have between the ages of 18 and 21 ?

Appendix B: Questionnaire for emigrants

Form E

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal Information

1. Age:_____ 2. Sex: male_____ female_____

3. Marital status: single_____ married_____ divorced or separated_____ widowed_____

4. Education:

did not attend school_____ technical training_____

elementary or middle school only____ some university_____

some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____

completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

5. If married, your wife's education:

did not attend school_____ technical training_____

elementary or middle school only____ some university_____

some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____

completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

6. If you have children:

number of female children_____ ages_____

number of male children_____ ages_____

7. If you have children, is English the medium of instruction in the school they attend or will it be if they have not yet started school? yes_____ no_____

8. Religion:_____ If Hindu, please specify caste:

Brahmin_____ Kshatriya_____ Vaishya_____ Shudra_____

9. In what state or region were you born? _____

10. List any major moves you have made from the area of your birth:

From	To	Distance	Age

11. How large was the village or town in which you grew up?
    less than 5,000_____ 50,000-100,000_____
    5,000-20,000_____ 100,000-500,000_____
    20,000-50,000_____ more than 500,000_____

12. Do you visit your home town or village?
    several times each month_____ about once a year_____
    about once a month_____ less than once a year_____
    several times each year_____ never_____

13. Do you: own your own home_____ rent your home_____
    live with parents or relatives_____

14. Do you own any land other than your residence? yes_____no_____

15. Which, if any, of the following relatives (not including your wife and children) share your home with you?
    mother_____ mother-in-law_____ none_____
    father_____ father-in-law_____ other (please specify)
    sister_____ sister-in-law_____ _____
    brother_____ brother-in-law_____ _____

16. Are you an active member of any clubs or organizations? yes___ no___
    If yes, what are they? _____
    _____ _____
    _____

17. What was the principal occupation of your father while you were growing up? _____

18. What is your present occupation? _____

19. Do you own your own business or are you self-employed? yes___no___
    If yes, how many employees do you have? _____

20. How satisfied are you with your present occupation?
    very satisfied_____ satisfied_____ slightly satisfied_____
    slightly dissatisfied_____ dissatisfied_____ very dissatisfied____

21. What occupation would you expect to have if you moved to Canada?
    _____

22. Would you expect to change from this occupation? yes____no_____
    If yes, what occupation would you hope to have eventually?
    _____

23. The following is a list of reasons which people sometimes give for wanting to leave India. Put the number (1) beside the most important reason for you wanting to leave India, number (2) beside the second most important and number (3) beside the third most important. Put an (X) beside any others that also apply to you.

( ) inadequate educational facilities for myself
( ) inadequate educational educational facilities for my children
( ) lack of suitable employment opportunities
( ) lack of opportunity for advancement in my job or profession
( ) political problems
( ) close family members living outside India
( ) inadequate housing
( ) poor standard of living
( ) inadequate income
( ) religious discrimination
( ) to earn money for family responsibilities
( ) desire for travel or adventure
( ) crowded living conditions
( ) unpleasant climate
( ) family assets (e.g. business, farm or investments) insufficient for number of family members
( ) other (please specify) _____

_____

_____

24. What would you expect to gain by immigrating to Canada?

_____

_____

_____

25. Why did you choose Canada rather than some other country?

_____

_____

26. If you leave India, what aspects of India do you think you would miss most? _____

_____

27. Did any of the following help or advise you with your decision to apply to emigrate from India?
wife or husband _____ friends in India_____
children_____ friends in other countries_____
parents_____ T.V., radio, newspapers, etc._____
other relatives_____ previous visits to Canada_____
other (please specify) _____

28. If married, what is your wife's or husband's attitude towards emigrating from India? very happy_____ happy_____ neutral_____
unhappy_____ very unhappy_____

29. Do you travel beyond the area where you are living (other than to your home town) for:
(a) pleasure? frequently_____ occasionally_____ seldom_____ never____
(b) as part of your job? frequently____ occasionally____ seldom_____
never_____

30. Have you ever visited another country? yes____ no_____
If yes, which countries? _____
When (years)?_____

31. Do you have relatives who have immigrated to other countries?
yes____ no_____. If yes, which countries? _____
_____

32. Do you have friends who have immigrated to other countries?
yes____ no____. If yes, which countries? _____
_____

33. If you immigrate to Canada, how much assistance (in seeking a job, finding accomodation, etc.) would you expect to receive from your friends and relatives (if any) in Canada?
very much_____ some_____ little_____ none_____

34. How much assistance would you expect to receive from Canadian government agencies?
very much_____ some_____ little_____ none_____

35. What is your main source of information about Canada?
letters_____ books_____ newspapers_____ radio or T.V._____
Canadian government publications_____ other (please specify)_____
_____

36. Would you expect to settle in Canada permanently? yes____ no____
If no, how long would expect to stay in Canada?_____
Where would you go then? _____
Why? _____
_____

37. Do you have any other comments?

Appendix C: Questionnaire for nonemigrants

Form NE

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal Information

1. Age:_____ 2. Sex: male_____ female_____

3. Marital status: single_____ married_____ divorced or separated_____ widowed_____

4. Education:
   did not attend school_____ technical training_____
   elementary or middle school only___ some university_____
   some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____
   completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

5. If married, your wife's education:
   did not attend school_____ technical training_____
   elementary or middle school only___ some university_____
   some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____
   completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

6. If you have children:
   number of female children_____ ages_____
   number of male children_____ ages_____

7. If you have children, is English the medium of instruction in the school they attend or will it be if they have not yet started school? yes_____ no_____

8. Religion:_____ If Hindu, please specify caste:
   Brahmin_____ Kshatriya_____ Vaishya_____ Shudra_____

9. In what state or region were you born?_____

10. List any major moves you have made from the area of your birth:

From	To	Distance	Age

11. How large was the village or town in which you grew up?
    less than 5,000_____ 50,000-100,000_____
    5,000-20,000_____ 100,000-500,000_____
    20,000-50,000_____ more than 500,000_____

12. Do you visit your home town or village?
    several times each month_____ about once a year_____
    about once a month_____ less than once a year____
    several times each year_____ never_____
    still live in home town_____

13. Do you: own your own home___ __ rent your home_____
    live with parents or relatives_____

14. Do you own any land other than your residence? yes_____ no_____

15. Which, if any, of the following relatives (not including your wife and children) share your home with you?
    mother_____ mother-in-law_____ none_____
    father_____ father-in-law_____ other (please specify)
    sister_____ sister-in-law_____ _____
    brother_____ brother-in-law_____ _____

16. Are you an active member of any other clubs or organizations?
    yes____ no____ If yes, what are they? _____
    _____
    _____

17. What was the principal occupation of your father while you were growing up? _____

18. What is your present occupation? _____

19. Do you own your own business or are you self-employed? yes___no___
    If yes, how many employees do you have? _____

20. How satisfied are you with your present occupation?
    very satisfied_____ satisfied_____ slightly satisfied_____
    slightly dissatisfied_____ dissatisfied_____ very dissatisfied____

21. Do you expect to change from this occupation? yes____ no____
    If yes, what occupation do you hope to have eventually?
    _____

22. Do you travel beyond the area where you are living (other than to your home town) for:
(a) pleasure? frequently____occasionally____seldom____never____
(b) as part of your job? frequently____occasionally____seldom____ never____

23. Have you ever visited another country? yes____ no____
If yes, which countries?_____
When (years)?_____

24. Do you have relatives who have emigrated to other countries?
yes____no____ If yes, which countries? _____
_____

25. Do you have friends who have emigrated to other countries?
yes____no____ If yes, which countries? _____
_____

26. Do you have any plans to emigrate from India in the future?
yes____no____ If yes, when would you emigrate?_____
Where would prefer to go?_____
What are your reasons for considering emigrating? _____
_____
_____
_____

27. Have you ever in the past considered emigrating from India?
yes____no____ If yes, where did you consider going?_____
What were your reasons at that time for leaving India?_____
_____
_____
_____
What were your reasons for staying in India? _____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix D: Questionnaire for Canadians

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal Information 1. Age:____ 2. Sex: male___ female___

3. Marital status: single___ married___ divorced or separated___ widowed___

4. When did you come to Canada (year)?_____

5. Marital status when you came to Canada: single___ married___ divorced or separated___ widowed___
If single when you came to Canada, did you (or do you plan to) return to India to marry? yes___ no___

6. Education:
did not attend school_____ technical training_____
elementary or middle school only____ some university_____
some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____
completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

7. Was some of your education obtained in Canada? yes___ no___
If yes, how many years?_____

8. Are you an active member of any clubs or organizations? yes___ no___
If yes, what are they?_____
_____

9. If married, your wife's or husband's education:
did not attend school_____ technical training_____
elementary or middle school only____ some university_____
some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____
completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

10. If you have children:
number of female children_____ ages_____
number of male children_____ ages_____

11. Have any of your children attended school in India? yes___ no___
If yes, was English the medium of instruction? yes___ no___

12. Religion:_____ If Hindu, please specify caste:
Brahmin_____ Kshatriya_____ Vaishya_____ Shudra_____

13. In what state or region were you born?_____

14. How large was the village or town in which you grew up?
less than 5,000____ 20,000-50,000____ 100,000-500,000_____
5,000 20,000_____ 50,000-100,000____ more than 500,000_____

15. Before emigrating, did you travel beyond the area where you were living as part of a job?
frequently____ occasionally____ seldom____ never____

16. Before emigrating, did you travel beyond the area where you were living for pleasure?
frequently____ occasionally____ seldom____ never____

17. Have you ever visited another country? yes__ no__
If yes, which countries?_____
_____
When (years)?_____

18. List any major residential moves you have made from the area of your birth before coming to Canada?

From	To	Distance	Age

19. What was the principal occupation of your father while you were growing up?_____

20. What was your occupation in India?_____

21. What is your present occupation?_____

22. Do you own your own business or are you self-employed? yes__no__
If yes, how many employees do you have?_____

23. How satisfied are you with your present occupation?
very satisfied___ satisfied___ slightly satisfied____
slightly dissatisfied___ dissatisfied___ very dissatisfied____

24. Do you expect to change from your present occupation? yes__ no__
If yes, what occupation do you hope to have eventually?
_____

25. Do you: own your own home____ rent your home____
live with parents or relatives____

26. Do you own any land other than your residence? yes__ no__

27. When you immigrated to Canada, did you: come alone____
with friends____ with parents___ with your wife or husband___
other (please specify)_____

28. Were you a sponsored immigrant? yes___ no___

29. When you left India, how many older brothers did you have?_____
younger brothers?_____older sisters?_____ younger sisters?_____

30. Which, if any, of the following relatives (not including your wife or husband and children) shared your home in India with you?
mother_____ mother-in-law_____ none_____
father_____ father-in-law_____ other (please specify)
sister_____ sister-in-law_____ _____
brother_____ brother-in-law_____ _____

31. The following is a list of reasons which people sometimes give for leaving India. Put the number (1) beside the most important reason for you leaving India, the number (2) beside the second most important and the number (3) beside the third most important. Put an (X) beside any others that also apply to you.

( ) inadequate educational facilities for myself
( ) inadequate educational facilities for my children
( ) lack of suitable employment opportunities
( ) lack of opportunity for advancement in my job or profession
( ) political problems
( ) close family members living outside India
( ) inadequate housing
( ) poor standard of living
( ) inadequate income
( ) religious discrimination
( ) to earn money for family responsibilities
( ) desire for travel or adventure
( ) crowded living conditions
( ) unpleasant climate
( ) family assets (e.g. business, farm or investments insufficient for number of family members
( ) other (please specify)_____
_____

32. What did you expect to gain by immigrating to Canada?_____
_____
_____

33. Why did you choose Canada rather than some other country?_____
_____
_____

34. If married, what was your wife's or husband's attitude towards emigrating from India? very happy___ happy___ neutral___
unhappy___ very unhappy___

35. What aspects of India do you miss the most? _____

_____

36. Did any of the following help or advise you with your decision to emigrate from India?
wife or husband_____ friends in India_____
children_____ friends in other countries_____
parents_____ T.V., radio, newspapers, etc._____
other relatives_____ previous visits to Canada_____
other (please specify)_____

37. Before you left India, did you have any relatives who had immigrated to other countries? yes____ no____.
If yes, which countries?_____

_____

38. Before you left India, did you have any friends who had immigrated to other countries? yes____ no____
If yes, which countries?_____

_____

39. How much assistance (in seeking a job, finding accomodation, etc.) did you expect to receive from your friends and relatives (if any) in Canada?
very much____ some____ little____ none____

40. How much assistance did you actually receive?
very much____ some____ little____ none____.

41. How much assistance did you expect to receive from Canadian government agencies?
very much____ some____ little____ none____

How much help did you actually receive?
very much____ some____ little____ none____

42. What was your main source of information about Canada before coming?
letters____ books____ newspapers____ radio or television____
Canadian government publications____ other (please specify)_____

_____

43. Do you regret immigrating to Canada? yes____ no____
Do you plan to leave Canada permanently? yes____ no____
If yes, where do you plan to go?_____
Why?_____

_____

_____

Appendix E: Achievement motivation scale

Form M

The following questionnaire of personal attitudes consists of a number of items worded as: I'd rather do (a) than (b), such as "I'd rather swim than play ball." You are to indicate the extent of your agreement with each item using the scale below. Please note that if you give strong agreement to the statement, "I'd rather do (a) than(b)," this indicates that you prefer (a) much more than (b). If you give strong disagreement to that same statement, this indicates that you prefer (b) much more than (a).

Indicate for each item the extent of your agreement or disagreement with that item by entering the appropriate numeral (+4 to -4) in the space provided by each item.

+4 = very strong agreement
+3 = strong agreement
+2 = moderate agreement
+1 = slight agreement
0 = neither agreement nor disagreement
-1 = slight disagreement
-2 = moderate disagreement
-3 = strong disagreement
-4 = very strong disagreement

( ) 1. I worried more about getting a bad grade than I thought about getting a good grade.

( ) 2. I would rather work on a task where I alone am responsible for the final product than one in which many people contribute to the final product.

( ) 3. I more often attempt difficult tasks that I am not sure I can do than easier tasks I believe I can do.

( ) 4. I would rather do something at which I feel confident and relaxed than something which is challenging and difficult.

( ) 5. If I am not good at something I would rather keep struggling to master it than move on to something I may be good at.

( ) 6. I would rather have a job in which my role is clearly defined by others and my rewards could be higher than average, than a job in which my role is to be defined by me and my rewards are average.

( ) 7. I would prefer a well-written informative book to a good movie.

( ) 8. I would prefer a job which is important, difficult, and involves a 50 percent chance of failure to a job which is somewhat important but not difficult.

( ) 9. I would rather learn fun games that most people know than learn unusual skill games which only a few people would know.

( ) 10. It is very important for me to do my work as well as I can even if it means not getting along well with my co-workers.

+4=very strong agreement, +3=strong agreement, +2=moderate agreement, +1=slight agreement, 0=neither agreement nor disagreement, -1=slight disagreement, -2=moderate disagreement, -3=strong disagreement, -4=very strong disagreement

( ) 11. For me, the pain of getting turned down after a job interview is greater than the pleasure of getting hired.

( ) 12. If I am going to play cards I would rather play a fun game than a difficult thought game.

( ) 13. I prefer competitive situations in which I have superior ability to those in which everyone involved is about equal in ability.

( ) 14. I think more of the future than of the past and present.

( ) 15. I am more unhappy about doing something badly than I am happy about doing something well.

( ) 16. In my spare time I would rather learn a game to develop skill than for recreation.

( ) 17. I would rather run my own business and face a 50 percent chance of bankruptcy than work for another firm.

( ) 18. I would rather take a job in which the starting salary is ₨ 2000 monthly and could stay that way for some time than a job in which the starting salary is ₨ 1000 monthly and there is a guarantee that within five years I would be earning more than ₨ 2000 monthly.

( ) 19. I would rather play in a team game than compete with just one other person.

( ) 20. The thing that is most important for me about learning to play a musical instrument is being able to play it very well, rather than learning it to have a better time with my friends.

( ) 21. I prefered multiple-choice questions on exams to essay questions.

( ) 22. I would rather work on commision which is somewhat risky but where I would have the possibilty of making more than working on a fixed salary.

( ) 23. I think that I hate losing more than I love winning.

( ) 24. I would rather wait one or two years and have my parents buy me one great gift than have them buy me several average gifts over the same period of time.

( ) 25. If I were able to return to one of two incompleted tasks, I would rather return to the difficult than the easy one.

( ) 26. I think more about my past accomplishments than about my future goals.

Appendix F: Locus of control scale

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a questionnaire to find out the way certain important events in society affect different people.

For each item indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree or are undecided by placing one of the following numbers in the ( ) by each item.

5 = strongly agree
4 = agree
3 = undecided
2 = disagree
1 = strongly disagree

Remember this is a measure of your personal beliefs; there are no right or wrong answers. Please consider each item carefully but do not spend too much time on any one item. Be sure to answer every item.

( ) 1. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

( ) 2. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.

( ) 3. The average citizen can have an influence in government decision.

( ) 4. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidential happenings.

( ) 5. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

( ) 6. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.

( ) 7. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.

( ) 8. There really is no such thing as "luck".

( ) 9. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.

( ) 10. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

( ) 11. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.

( ) 12. Getting people to do the right things depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

( ) 13. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.

5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=undecided, 2=disagree, 1=strongly disagree

( ) 14. What happens to me is my own doing.

( ) 15. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

( ) 16. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.

( ) 17. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people; if they like you, they like you.

( ) 18. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

( ) 19. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

( ) 20. Many times we might as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

( ) 21. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.

( ) 22. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.

( ) 23. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.

( ) 24. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.

( ) 25. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

( ) 26. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

( ) 27. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

( ) 28. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.

( ) 29. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.

( ) 30. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

( ) 31. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are

( ) 32. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.

( ) 33. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.

5=strongly agree, 4=agree, 3=undecided, 2=disagree, 1=strongly disagree

( ) 34. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.

( ) 35. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

( ) 36. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.

( ) 37. There was a direct connection between how hard I studied and the grades I received.

( ) 38. Many times exam questions tended to be so unrelated to course work that studying was really useless.

( ) 39. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.

( ) 40. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

( ) 41. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

( ) 42. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.

( ) 43. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

( ) 44. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

( ) 45. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

( ) 46. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.

Appendix G: Sensation seeking scale

OPINION QUESTIONS

Listed below are various statements that describe things that you may like to do or experience. Indicate, by placing an 'X' in either the true (T) or the false (F) box, as shown in the example, whether or not the statement describes you. Use the boxes at the top of the page.

EXAMPLE

	1	2	3
T	X		
F		X	

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
T		X												
F														

1. I would like to explore the ruins of an old city.
2.
3. I would like being on a raft in the middle of a rapidly moving river.
4.
5. I would like to ride in a chariot pulled by a team of horses.
6.
7. I would like exploring underwater.
8.
9. I like being at the top of a moving giant wheel.
10.
11. I like sleeping out under neem trees and stars.
12.
13. I would like to watch a bull fight.
14.

T F	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27

T F	28	29	30	31	32	33	34

15. I would like to travel through a jungle to see wild animals.

16.

17. I would like to orbit the Earth in a spaceship.

18.

19. I would like to ski down a high slope in Kashmir.

20.

21. I would like to climb up to the top of a high rugged mountain.

22.

23. I would like to make a parachute jump.

24.

25. I would like to walk into an old deserted house at midnight.

26.

27. I would like to drive a sports car in a race.

28.

29. I would like to dive from a board 50 feet above the water.

30.

31. I would like to ride a wild horse in a competition.

32.

33. I would like driving a car down a steep rocky road.

34.

T	35	36	37	38	39	40
F						

35. I would like to walk across a swinging bridge over a deep rocky valley.

36.

37. I would like swinging on a vine across a river filled with crocodiles.

38.

39. I would like to spend a week living in a remote deserted area.

40.

Appendix H: Modernism scale

In the following questions, please place an (X) in the appropriate space.

1. Have you ever become so highly concerned regarding some public issue that you really wanted to do something about it?

   Frequently_____ Several times_____ A few times_____ Seldom_____

   Never_____

2. If education is freely available, how much edutation do you think your children should have?

   none_____ technical training_____

   elementary school only_____ some university_____

   some high school_____ university graduate_____

   high school graduate_____ additional education beyond university_____

3. While some people say that it is useful to exchange ideas about new and different ways of doing things, others think that it is not worthwhile since the traditional and familiar ways are best. Do you feel that thinking about new and different ways of doing things is:

   always useful_____ usually useful_____ only useful at times_____

   rarely useful_____ never useful_____

4. What should most qualify a person to hold high office?

   Coming from a distinguished family background_____

   Devotion to the old and time-honoured ways_____

   Being the most popular among the people_____

   High education and special knowledge_____

5. Which is most important for the future of India?

   The hard work of the people_____

   Good planning on the part of the government_____

   God's help_____

   Good luck_____

6. Scientists in the universities are studying such things as what determines whether a baby is a boy or girl and why there are earthquakes. Do you think that these investigations are:

   all very good_____ all somewhat good_____ all somewhat harmful_____

   all very harmful_____

7. Some people say that it is necessary for a husband and wife to limit the number of children to be born so they can take better care of those they do have. Others say that it is wrong for a husband and wife purposely to limit the number of children to be born. Do you think birth control is:

always a good idea_____ usually a good idea_____ seldom a good idea____ usually wrong_____ always wrong_____

8. Which one of these kinds of news interests you most?

World events_____

The nation_____

Your home town_____

Sports_____

Religious events_____

9. If you were to meet a person who lives in another country a long way off (such as China), could you understand his way of thinking?

Yes_____ Probably yes_____ Maybe_____ Probably not_____ No_____

10. Do you think a person can be truly good without having any religion at all?

Yes_____ Probably yes_____ Maybe_____ Probably not_____ No_____

11. Do you like to meet new people or do you prefer to spend your time with people you already know?

much prefer new people_____ prefer new people_____

no preference_____ prefer people already known_____

much prefer people already known_____

Appendix I: Covering letter for emigrants

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Department of Psychology
1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4K1
Telephone: 525-9140 Local 4345

NEW DELHI ADDRESS:
156, Golf Links
New Delhi-110003
Phone: 615458

Dear Sir,

As part of my Ph.D. dissertation at McMaster University in Canada, I am conducting a survey of some of the opinions of Indians who wish to immigrate to Canada. The general purpose of this project is to discover some of the attitudes and life experiences which distinguish a migrating population from a non-migrating population. Very little is known about these differences and therefore any data that can be gathered will be important in leading to an understanding of this phenomenon.

I would very much appreciate your co-operation in completing the enclosed questionnaire and returning it to me in the stamped envelope. Please be sure to answer the questions yourself without anyone's advice.

The information you give is completely confidential and there is no way your answers could be traced to you. No government agency, either Canadian or Indian, is involved and individual information will not be available at any time to anyone but myself.

Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, I am

Yours truly,

Diana Winchie

Diana Winchie

Appendix J: Letter from Canadian High Commission

CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION

Immigration Section,
Shanti Path, Chanakyapuri,
P.O. Box 5209,
New Delhi-110021.

HAUT COMMISSARIAT DU CANADA

Section de l'Immigration,
Shanti Path, Chanakyapuri,
C.P. 5209, New Delhi-110021.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The Immigration Section of the Canadian High Commission has been requested to assist in an independent survey of prospective immigrants being conducted by Mrs. Diana Winchie of McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

The Canadian High Commission and the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission have agreed to provide Mrs. Winchie with the names and addresses of a representative sampling of persons in India who have expressed an interest in emigrating to Canada in order that the questionnaires can be directed to the appropriate persons. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary and the confidentiality of the survey is assured. In fact, the questionnaires do not require the names of participants. All participants in the survey should realize that their involvement has NO bearing upon or relationship to the processing of their application for a Canadian Immigrant Visa.

Your voluntary cooperation in this useful study is welcomed.

Yours sincerely,

G. H. Stewart
Counsellor (Immigration)
Canadian High Commission

Appendix K: Revised questionnaire for emigrants

Form E

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal Information 1. Age_____ 2. Sex: male___ female___

3. Marital status: single___ married___ divorced or separated___ widowed___

4. Education:
did not attend school_____ technical training_____
elementary or middle school only___ some university_____
some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____
completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

5. Are you an active member of any clubs or organizations? yes___no___
If yes, what are they?_____

6. If married, your wife's or husband's education:
did not attend school_____ technical training_____
elementary or middle school only___ some university_____
some higher secondary_____ university graduate_____
completed higher secondary_____ post-graduate or professional training_____

7. If you have children:
number of female children_____ ages_____
number of male children_____ ages_____

8. If you have children, is English the medium of instruction in the school they attend or will it be if they have not yet started school? yes___ no___

9. Religion:_____ If Hindu, please specify caste:
Brahmin___ Kshatriya___ Vaishya___ Shudra___

10. In what state or region were you born?_____

11. How large was the village or town in which you grew up?
less than 5,000_____ 50,000-100,000_____
5,000 20,000_____ 100,000-500,000_____
20,000-50,000_____ more than 500,000_____

12. Do you visit your home town or village?
several times each month_____ about once a year_____
about once a month_____ less than once a year_____
several times each year_____ never_____
still live in home town___

13. List any major residential moves you have made from the town of your birth:

From	To	Distance	Age

14. In what town or city and state are you now living?

Town or city_____ State_____

15. Do you travel beyond the area where you are living (other than to your home town):
(a) for pleasure? frequently____ occasionally____ seldom____ never____
(b) as part of your job? frequently____ occasionally____ seldom____ never____

16. Have you ever visited another country? yes____ no____
If yes, which countries?_____
When (years)?_____

17. Do you: own your own home____ rent your home_____
live in the home of parents or relatives_____

18. Do you own any land other than your residence? yes____ no____

19. Which, if any, of the following relatives (not including your wife and children) share your home with you?

mother_____	mother-in-law_____	none_____
father_____	father-in-law_____	other (please specify)
sister_____	sister-in-law_____	_____
brother_____	brother-in-law_____	_____

20. How many older brothers do you have?_____ younger brothers?____
older sisters?_____ younger sisters?_____

21. What was the principal occupation of your father while you were growing up?_____

22. What is your present occupation?_____ _____

23. Do you own your own business or are you self-employed? yes____ no____
If yes, how many employees do you have?_____

24. What is your yearly income?
less than Rs 5,000____ Rs 10,000-15,000____ Rs 25,000-30,000____
Rs 5,000-10,000_____ Rs 15,000-20,000____ more than Rs 30,000__

25. How satisfied are you with your present occupation?
very satisfied____ satisfied____ slightly satisfied_____
slightly dissatisfied____ dissatisfied____ very dissatisfied____

26. What occupation would you expect to have if you moved to Canada?

_____

27. Would you expect to change from this occupation? yes___ no___
If yes, what occupation would you hope to have eventually?

_____

28. The following is a list of reasons which people sometimes give for wanting to leave India. Put the number (1) beside the most important reason for you wanting to leave India, number (2) beside the second most important and number (3) beside the third most important. Put an (X) beside any others that also apply to you.

( ) inadequate educational facilities for myself
( ) inadequate educational facilities for my children
( ) lack of suitable employment opportunities
( ) lack of opportunity for advancement in my job or profession
( ) political problems
( ) close family members living outside India
( ) inadequate housing
( ) poor standard of living
( ) inadequate income
( ) religious discrimination
( ) to earn money for family responsibilities
( ) desire for travel or adventure
( ) crowded living conditions
( ) unpleasant climate
( ) family assets (e.g. business, farm or investments) insufficient for number of family members
( ) other (please specify)_____

_____

29. What would you expect to gain by immigrating to Canada?_____

_____

_____

30. Why did you choose Canada rather than some other country?_____

_____

_____

31. If you leave India, what aspects of India do you think you would miss most? _____

_____

32. Did any of the following help or advise you with your decision to apply to emigrate from India?
wife or husband_____ friends in India_____
children_____ friends in other countries_____
parents_____ T.V., radio, newspapers, etc._____
other relatives_____ previous visits to Canada_____
other (please specify)_____

_____

33. If married, what is your wife's or husband's attitude towards emigrating from India? very happy____ happy____ neutral_____
unhappy____ very unhappy_____

34. Do you have relatives who have immigrated to other countries?
yes____ no____. If yes, which countries?_____

_____

35. Do you have friends who have immigrated to other countries?
yes____ no____. If yes, which countries?_____

_____

36. If you immigrate to Canada, how much assistance (in seeking a job, finding accomodation, etc.) would you expect to receive from your friends and relatives (if any) in Canada?
very much ____ some____ little____ none____

37. How much assistance would you expect to receive from Canadian government agencies?
very much____ some____ little____ none____

38. What is your main source of information about Canada?
letters____ books____ newspapers____ radio or T.V._____
Canadian government publications____ other (please specify)_____

_____

39. Would you expect to settle in Canada permanently? yes____ no____
If no, how long would you expect to stay in Canada?_____
Where would you go then?_____
Why?_____

_____

_____

Appendix L: Covering letters for nonemigrants

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Department of Psychology
1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4K1
Telephone: 525-9140 Local 4345

NEW DELHI ADDRESS:
156, Golf Links
New Delhi-110003
Phone: 615458

Dear Lion,

As part of my Ph.D. dissertation at McMaster University in Canada, I am conducting a survey of some of the opinions of Indians who have immigrated to Canada and of Indians who have remained in India. The general purpose of this project is to discover some of the attitudes and life experiences which distinguish a migrating population from a non-migrating population. Very little is known about these differences and therefore any data that can be gathered will be important in leading to an understanding of this phenomenon.

I would very much appreciate your co-operation in completing the enclosed questionnaire and returning it to me in the stamped envelope. Please be sure to answer the questions yourself without anyone's advice.

The information you give is completely confidential and there is no way your answers could be traced to you. No government agency, either Canadian or Indian, is involved and individual information will not be available at any time to anyone but myself.

Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, I am

Yours truly,

Diana Winchie

Diana Winchie

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McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Department of Psychology
1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4K1
Telephone: 525-9140 Local 4345

NEW DELHI ADDRESS:
156, Golf Links
New Delhi-110003
Phone: 615458

Dear Rotarian,

As part of my Ph.D. dissertation at McMaster University in Canada, I am conducting a survey of some of the opinions of Indians who have immigrated to Canada and of Indians who have remained in India. The general purpose of this project is to discover some of the attitudes and life experiences which distinguish a migrating population from a non-migrating population. Very little is known about these differences and therefore any data that can be gathered will be important in leading to an understanding of this phenomenon.

I would very much appreciate your co-operation in completing the enclosed questionnaire and returning it to me in the stamped envelope. Please be sure to answer the questions yourself without anyone's advice.

The information you give is completely confidential and there is no way your answers could be traced to you. No government agency, either Canadian or Indian, is involved and individual information will not be available at any time to anyone but myself.

Thanking you in advance for your co-operation, I am

Yours truly,

Diana Winchie

Diana Winchie

Appendix M: Investigation of age as a confound

1. Correlations of variables with age

Variable*	Emigrants	Nonemigrants
IE1	.079	.059
IE2	-.157	.041
IE3	.021	.012
IE4	.108	.072
ESS	-.148	-.081
RT	-.081	-.120
NACH	-.018	-.043
OM1	-.108	.013
OM8W	.104	-.035
OM9	-.172	.076
OM10	.030	.092
OM11	.160	-.077
OCCSAT	-.004	.135

* For reasons explained on p. 161, only these psychological variables were used in the analyses. See p. 162 and p. 170 for an explanation of the abbreviations used.

Note: A correlation coefficient of at least .181 is necessary for significance at the 5% level.

2. Stratified analyses

For the stratified analyses, each group was divided into categories by age (i.e. under 25 years, 26-30, 31-35, etc.). Pairwise comparisons (using t-tests or X^2 tests as appropriate) within each group were made for each psychological variable and occupational satisfaction using all possible combinations of categories. This resulted in 21 comparisons per group for each variable and a total of 546 statistical tests, none of which was significant.

3. Multiple regression

Dependent variable	R	F-ratio	p-value	Regression coefficient for age	t	p-value
IE1	.228	5.55	.005	.030	0.53	.594
IE2	.071	0.51	.601	-.039	-0.96	.338
IE3	.265	7.63	.001	.003	0.07	.943
IE4	.195	4.01	.020	.058	1.27	.207
ESS	.253	6.91	.001	-.082	-1.97	.052
RT	.200	4.21	.016	-.053	-1.57	.117
NACH	.078	0.62	.537	-.087	-0.52	.605
OM1	.178	3.30	.039	-.009	-0.94	.348
OM8W	.303	10.18	.0001	-.0002	-0.05	.961
OM9	.021	0.05	.995	-.003	-0.27	.786
OM10	.063	0.40	.672	.012	0.87	.385
OM11	.226	5.43	.005	.002	0.21	.836
OCCSAT	.403	20.58	.0000	.009	0.89	.375

Appendix N: Covering letter for Canadians

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Department of Psychology
1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4K1
Telephone: 525-9140 Local 4345

Dear Sir:

As part of my Ph.D. dissertation at McMaster University, I am conducting a survey of some of the experiences and attitudes of Indian immigrants to Canada. This survey is part of a larger study which is concerned with differences in life experiences, attitudes and values between those who emigrate from India and those who stay. Very little is known about these differences in any country so the information gained will be valuable in understanding the phenomenon of migration.

In addition to the theoretical aspect of this study, I believe it will be of benefit to the Indian community and Canadians in general. The results will provide a better understanding of those Indians who have chosen Canada as their home and thus enrich and strengthen the multicultural fabric of Canadian society.

I have already completed that part of the study which involves people in India. I now must contact Indian immigrants in Canada for the final portion of the study. Although I have contacted Indians in several parts of Canada, I am anxious to obtain the views of Indians in Vancouver since they are known to have formed one of the most vigorous and positive communities in this country. Since the community is relatively small, each person's opinions are vital in order to ensure a truly representative and complete view. I would very much appreciate it if you would assist in this research by answering the enclosed questionnaire and returning it to me in the stamped envelope. Although at first glance the questionnaire appears long, most people find it takes only a short time to complete.

The information you give will be completely confidential and there is no way your answers could be traced to you. No government agency is involved and individual information will not be available at any time to anyone but me.

When this research is completed I shall be preparing a report of it which will be given to the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India, B.C. Chapter and it will be made available to any interested participants of the study.

Thank you for your interest and assistance. Your participation is essential to the success of this project and is very much appreciated.

Yours truly,

Diana Winchie

Diana Winchie.

DW/mjd

Appendix O: States and union territories grouped by area

Central	Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh
East	Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Orissa, West Bengal
North	Chandigarh, Delhi, Haryana, Himachel Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan
South	Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu
West	Goa, Gujarat, Maharashtra

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