
STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON
AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
Pullman, Washington

Division of Rural Sociology

The Territorial And Occupational Mobility Of Washington Youth

Youth Series, No. 3

by

Paul H. Landis

Bulletin No. 449

July, 1944

All bulletins of this Station are sent free to citizens of the State
on application to the Director

BOARD OF REGENTS

H. E. Goldsworthy, President.....	Rosalie
I. W. Youngquist, Vice President.....	Bow
C. E. McAllister, Treasurer.....	Spokane
B. A. Ferham.....	Yakima
A. W. Davis.....	Spokane
E. O. Holland.....	President of the College, Secretary, ex-officio

EXPERIMENT STATIONS ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

E. O. Holland, Ph.D., President
E. C. Johnson, M.A., Director
E. V. Ellington, B.S., Vice Director
J. W. Kalkus, D.V.S., Vice Director (Puyallup)

CHAIRMAN OF DIVISIONS

E. J. Anderson, Ph.D., Plant Pathology
M. T. Buchanan, Ph.D., Farm Management and Agricultural Economics (Acting Chairman)
J. S. Carver, B.S., Poultry Husbandry
E. V. Ellington, B.S., Dairy Husbandry and Acting Chairman of Division of Veterinary Science
M. E. Ensminger, Ph.D., Animal Husbandry
P. H. Landis, Ph.D., Rural Sociology
E. L. Overholser, Ph.D., Horticulture
Velma Phillips, Ph.D., Dean, College of Home Economics
J. L. St. John, Ph.D., Chemistry
E. G. Schafer, M.S., Agronomy
L. J. Smith, M.E., Agricultural Engineering
S. C. Vandecaveye, Ph.D., Soils Science
R. L. Webster, Ph.D., Entomology

SUPERINTENDENTS

D. J. Crowley, B.S., Cranberry-Blueberry Laboratory, Long Beach
H. D. Jacquot, B.S., Adams Branch Experiment Station, Lind
J. W. Kalkus, D.V.S., Western Washington Experiment Station, Puyallup
F. L. Overley, M.S., Tree Fruit Branch Station, Wenatchee
H. P. Singleton, M.S., Irrigation Branch Experiment Station, Prosser

Rural Sociology

P. H. Landis, Ph.D., Rural Sociologist and Chairman of Division
C. F. Reuss, Ph.D., Asst. Rural Sociologist

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

I.	INTRODUCTION	5
	The Problem	5
	Method	5
	Nature of the Data	6
	Size and Representativeness of the Sample for Urban and Rural Residence	6
	Representativeness of the Sample for Occupational Class	7
	Schooling of Youth in Sample	10
	Type of School Last Attended By Youth	10
	Age of the Sample	12
	The Time of Leaving School of Youth in the Sample	13
II.	GENERAL PATTERN OF TERRITORIAL MOBILITY	15
	Net Gain or Loss of the Youth Generation by Counties	15
	Out-of-State Migration of Youth	16
	Relative Gain or Loss of Youth from Communities of Various Sizes	17
	Percentage of Youth Lost to Places Larger and Smaller Than the Home Community	19
	The Loss of Rural Youth from Places of Various Sizes to Urban Areas of Different Sizes	19
	Migration Lost to the Metropolis from Smaller Places	21
	Migration Loss of the Metropolis to Smaller Areas	25
	A Graphic Description of the Flow into Metropolitan Areas of Washington	25
III.	OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	26
	The Extent to Which Youth Follow Their Father's Occupation	26
	Source of Occupational Replacements Between Generations	29
	The Extent and Nature of Inter-Occupational Mobility Between Generations	34
	Occupational Mobility Between Youth's First Occupation and Present Occupation	35
IV.	EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF YOUTH	37
	Time Required to Obtain First Job	37
	Climbing the Economic Ladder	37
	Effect of Place of Residence on Wages	40
	Effect of Age at Leaving School on Wages	41
	Rates of Pay on First Job in Relation to Educational Training	42
	Monthly Rate of Pay in Relation to Length of Time Since Leaving School	44
	Father's Occupation as a Factor in Youth's Income	45
	Effect of Occupation on Earning Power	48

V. FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH OCCUPATIONAL AND TERRITORIAL MOBILITY	52
Highest Grade in School Completed by Size of Town	52
Age at Leaving School in Towns of Various Size	53
Job Opportunities and Rates of Pay as Factors in Territorial Mobility	54
Education and Mobility	56
Relationship Between Rate of Pay and Occupational Mobility	57
Relationship Between Territorial and Occupational Mobility...	57
Occupational Stability with Migration by Class of Town	58
VI. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS	59
Patterns of Territorial Mobility	59
Transmission of the Occupational-Heritage from Father to Son	60
Inter-Occupational Mobility between Generations	60
Source of Occupational Replacements between Generations ..	61
Employment and Income	62
Sex Differences in Earnings	63
The Educational Problem of Rural Youth	64
APPENDIX	65

THE TERRITORIAL AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF WASHINGTON YOUTH

Youth Series, No. 3

By Paul H. Landis¹

I. INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Migration from the parental home and a shift from the parental occupation is the characteristic behavior of modern youth. The extent to which young people leave their home communities, the time when they leave, the kind of job that draws them away, the type of community into which they go, and the occupation which they enter are problems of fundamental importance to parents as they consider the day when their children leave the family home and enter a different society from that in which the parent himself functioned, and one full of implications to the school system which trains youth for realistic life situations. Equally dynamic is the problem from the viewpoint of youth who must, in attaining maturity, make the difficult transitions implied in these shifts.

Method

In the Spring of 1942, every school system in the state, both rural and urban, was asked to cooperate by having eighth grade pupils and pupils in social science courses in high school answer a brief questionnaire regarding the location and occupation of their older brothers and sisters who had completed their schooling. For a copy of the ten questions asked of eighth grade pupils regarding their older brothers and sisters see Exhibit 1 of the Appendix. The social science pupils in high school were asked six additional questions which concerned the wages of their older brothers and sisters. For a copy of these questions, see Exhibit 2 of the Appendix. A copy of the "Teachers Guide Sheet" appears as Exhibit 3 of the Appendix.

Territorial mobility was measured by comparing parental residence with (1) place of youth's last schooling, (2) place of his first job, and (3) place of his present job (Spring of 1942)². It was further

¹Acknowledgment is made to Dr. Carl F. Reuss for supervising distribution of the schedules and the initial stages of tabulations in the Rural Sociology Research Laboratory; to Katherine H. Day, Research Assistant in Rural Sociology, for assisting with statistical analysis of certain phases of the mobility data and for critical reading of the manuscript; and to many hundreds of teachers and their pupils for cooperating in providing the data on which the study is based.

²Comparisons using home of parent as of the time of the study as a starting point for migration are not always correct, since the family in some cases would have changed region of location or size of place since youth on whom the report is based left home. The majority of moves of adults do not take them beyond a region of the state, or involve a radical change in size of place of residence; so this is not a major weakness in data, but is nonetheless of some importance. In order to reduce errors to the minimum, comparisons based on county of residence or specific locality of residence are avoided. Comparisons based on place of last schooling of youth and first job and present job avoid this difficulty, as do also comparisons of place of first and present job.

possible to trace the youth's territorial mobility by comparing his place of residence at the time of his last schooling with the location of his first job and his 1942 job, and by comparing his location at the time of his first job with that of his present job. Occupational mobility was measured (1) by comparing the youth's occupation with his father's usual occupation, (2) by comparing the youth's present occupation with his first job, and (3) by analyzing the youth's climb through a study of rates of pay on first and last job.

The data also permit some analysis of occupational heritage as a factor in income and territorial mobility, as well as a consideration of education, occupation, income and other factors that seem to be deterministic of youth's territorial movements and occupational choices.

Nature of the Data

The data deal with comparatively few topics. This, of course, limits the study decidedly, but it was thought better to obtain extensive and accurate information on these topics than to make the questionnaire more comprehensive but less dependable. There is no reason to believe that the eighth grade and high school pupils lacked sufficient knowledge of their older brothers and sisters to report accurately on the few questions they were asked to answer.

The only exceptions are the questions on wages of first and present job. Only high school pupils were asked those questions. Such data are never fully satisfactory no matter how they are obtained. There are many omissions, and it is assumed that the wage information given contains a degree of error. This would have been true even though the person questioned had been the wage earner himself.

Size and Representativeness of the Sample for Urban and Rural Residence

Schools throughout the state in communities of every size from open country to metropolises cooperated in the study. In all, usable schedules were received for 16,732 youth. Grade school pupils reported 10,198 cases and high school pupils 6,534 cases. Of the cases reported by grade school pupils, 5,506 were boys and 4,692 girls; of those by high school pupils, 3,436 were boys and 3,098 girls.

For many purposes in the analysis which follows, it was necessary to eliminate from the sample boys who were in the armed services. Their migration was involuntary and their present occupation did not fit into the normal civilian employment and income categories. Therefore, in most of the tabulations the 1,178 boys reported by the grade school pupils and the 832 boys reported by the high school pupils as being in the armed forces were excluded.

The cases reported by grade school pupils are hereafter referred to as the "grade school sample" and those reported by the high school

pupils as the "high school sample." No attempt was made to eliminate duplicates in the two samples although there was undoubtedly a small percentage of duplicates.

All school districts were requested to cooperate with the survey. While it is not possible to know exactly the proportion of pupils in the state with older brothers and sisters who responded, 67 per cent of grade schools made a report, either sending schedules or stating that none of their eighth grade pupils had brothers or sisters who had completed their schooling. Of high school districts, 70 per cent reported. Reports from schools of various sizes were approximately proportional to their total numbers in the state, thus assuring a fairly normal representation of youth with country, town, and city backgrounds. It is not known to what extent the sample reported represents fairly the total universe, although there is no reason to believe it is not representative. Lack of cooperation would be due to the fact that the teacher or principal was not interested in cooperating and not to the fact that there was any selection within a given school system itself.

All analyses by residence are based on the size of home town. This makes it impossible to isolate those who live in the open country from town residents, for although farmers and other open country dwellers in Washington usually have a hamlet or small town for a home town address, this is not always the case. Failure to completely isolate open country dwellers for comparisons based on size of home town, may reduce the degree of contrast between rural and urban residents for some traits. Where comparisons are based on occupation of parent or youth, this difficulty is eliminated.

Representativeness of the Sample for Occupational Class

The occupational classification used is that of the 1940 Census with some combination of major groups and the addition of an "unemployed and government relief" category where needed. The classification system follows: (1) professional and semi-professional, in this study usually referred to only as professional for the sake of brevity; (2) farmers and farm workers, including farm managers and foremen, in this study simply referred to as farmers and farm workers; (3) proprietors, managers, and officials, usually referred to in this study as proprietors; (4) clerical, sales, and kindred workers, usually referred to in this study as clerical; (5) craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, usually referred to herein as craftsmen; (6) operatives and kindred workers, referred to as operatives; (7) domestic service and service workers, usually referred to as domestic and service; (8) protective service (military service is eliminated from tabulations dealing with territorial or occupational mobility and income); (9) laborers; (10) government relief; (11) others.

The sample is far from representative of the total occupations of the adult population in the state. This fact is strikingly portrayed in Table 1, which shows the occupational distribution of fathers of youth in the sample, and of the total state population. The variations from normal are, however, what one would expect. Those occupational classes which most often live in urban areas and have a lower birth rate are under-represented—clerical workers, proprietors, managers and officials, operatives, protective services, and the professions.¹ This

Table 1. A Comparison of Parental Occupations of Youth in the Sample with the Occupations of All Males in the State, 1940*

Father's usual occupation	Boys		Girls		Total		Male population of state, 1940
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	Per cent
Professional and semi-professional	209	2.5	161	2.3	370	2.4	5.8
Farmers and farm workers	2237	27.1	1982	27.7	4219	27.4	16.2
Proprietors, managers, and officials	586	7.1	439	7.5	1125	7.3	11.7
Clerical	359	4.3	287	4.0	646	4.2	12.3
Craftsmen	1513	18.3	1279	17.9	2792	18.1	16.7
Operatives	822	9.9	664	9.3	1486	9.6	15.6
Domestic and service workers	178	2.2	170	2.4	348	2.3	8.2
Protective service	183	2.2	144	2.0	327	2.1	8.2
Laborers	1461	17.7	1272	17.8	2733	17.7	13.0
Government relief	53	0.6	47	0.7	100	0.6	x
Others	673	8.1	601	8.4	1274	8.3	0.7
Total	8274	100.0	7146	100.0	15420	100.0	

* No information cases: Boys 668, Girls 644, Total 1312.

x Not reported.

obviously would be the case in any sample which depends on reports by younger brothers and sisters concerning older brothers and sisters who have left school, for this system of reporting automatically eliminates all one-child families.

The larger the family, the greater the likelihood that the young person in school, whether in the eighth grade or in a social science class in high school, would have older brothers and sisters who have finished school about whom a report could be made. This undoubtedly

¹Studies of completed fertility of rural and urban women show that urban married women of the last childbearing generation produced approximately 2.5 children each, whereas rural farm women produced 4 children each. *Women Classified by Number of Children Ever Born: 1940*, Series P-44, No. 2, Bureau of the Census, February 10, 1944. Representative of findings of studies of fertility of occupational groups are B. D. Karpinos and C. V. Kiser, "The Differential Fertility and Potential Rates of Growth of Various Income and Educational Classes of Urban Populations in the United States", *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 17:367-391, October, 1939, and Frank W. Notestein, "Class Differences in Fertility", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 188:32-33, November, 1936.

explains why farmers and farm workers and common laborers are over-represented in the sample. Among these groups the small family pattern is not so characteristic as among the other groups in the population.¹

The extent to which the sample is atypical is not known, nor is the effect of this likely variation from the state norm known, but it seems probable that occupational selection does affect the sample in certain particulars. The only-child and other small families, on the average, live in better economic and social circumstances than many-children families.² These groups have better educational and occupational opportunity than the larger family.³ For these reasons, the sample group probably has a lower level of educational attainment, a more severe economic struggle, and a lower income than would characterize the total youth group in the state population with its only-child and its greater number of two-child families included.

There may be some significance in the fact that the sample always represents the older children rather than the younger children in the families that are reported. Being the older member or members of a family at a time when there are younger members still in school has considerable significance to economic adjustments and perhaps to educational opportunities of older children.

The total effect probably is to put the sample group at some economic and educational disadvantage in comparison with the total state population, since presumably the oldest child in a three or more child family is more likely to have to work to help support the family during the period when its economic responsibilities are the heaviest than are the younger brothers and sisters.⁴ It is possible that these older children tend to be crowded out of the home a little earlier and to migrate more readily in quest of employment than the younger group, and that they may also have to accept less favorable conditions of employment because of being crowded out of school at an earlier age than younger brothers and sisters who profit by the raised standard of living which is likely to result from having more than one worker in the family. It is possible also that the oldest son may more often follow the father's occupation. One would suspect this to be the case since the oldest son is often given a chance to become a partner or to take over the family farm or business.⁵

¹*Ibid.*

²For a summary of studies showing the effect of sib position and also of being the only child, see Jessie Bernard, *American Family Behavior*, chapter 13, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1942.

³*Ibid.*

⁴For a summary of English and American data, see Jessie Bernard, *loc. cit.*

⁵Among farm families, the oldest son most often takes over the home farm. See W. A. Anderson, "The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation," *Rural Sociology*, 4:433-438, December, 1939.

Granting all these possible influences of size of family and sibling position (age order of children) on the sample, it is still doubtful that the situation is changed in any marked degree. The educational level of the total universe and the earnings probably would have been a little higher had a more normal occupational sample been obtainable.

Schooling of Youth in Sample

Eighteen was the usual age at leaving school. This age group usually had completed high school, although a large proportion of the third which dropped out at 17 had completed high school. At 16, the end of the compulsory schooling period, only 11 per cent dropped out. These data reflect the relatively high educational level of the state.

More than half of the youth had completed high school, but less than four per cent had completed college (Table 2). Only 11 per cent had an eighth grade education or less. The best educated group was in the ages 20 to 25 at the time of the study. This group had fewer persons with an eighth grade or less education, more persons who had finished high school, and more who had taken some work in college. This middle group had apparently reached the age for advanced education at a time that was unusually favorable from the standpoint of high school and college training, 1935-1940. There was little else for youth to do at that time but go to school.

The younger group probably reflects the effect of expanding work opportunities of 1940-1942 in drawing youth away from school. Many of the older group (above 26) reached maturity before high school and college training became so universally popular in the state, and therefore, did not take advantage of secondary educational opportunities and of college as much as the school generation which followed them. More of this group than of any other has completed college. This suggests that some of those in the two younger groups may later return to school.¹

Type of School Last Attended By Youth

Only a little more than a tenth of the youth in the sample finished their education in the grades (Table 3). Almost three-fourths finished their education somewhere in high school (not all were graduated); 8.6 per cent went on to college or university, and smaller proportions to other schools for specialized, advanced training.

Some important differences are observable. A considerably higher proportion of boys than girls terminated their schooling prior to high school. More girls than boys also entered high school, but a higher proportion of boys than girls went to colleges and universities. More

¹That many youth do go to college after a period of one to five years of work is shown clearly in Raymond W. Hatch and Paul H. Landis, "Social Heritage as a Factor in College Achievement," Vol. X, pp. 215-272, *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, December, 1942.

Table 2. Youth Classified by Age and Years of Schooling Completed*

Present age of youth	8th and under		9 - 11		Grade in school completed				16 & over		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Under 20	520	13.7	1217	32.2	1341	48.7	194	5.1	10	0.3	3782	100.0
20 - 25	704	8.2	1572	18.4	4891	57.2	1080	12.1	348	4.1	8545	100.0
26 and older	562	16.3	695	20.1	1649	47.8	288	8.8	258	7.5	3452	100.0
Total	1786	11.8	3484	22.1	8381	53.1	1512	9.6	616	3.9	15779	100.0

* No information cases, 953.

girls, however, went on to some type of specialized training after high school—normal schools, business colleges, beauty schools, schools for nursing.¹

The median number of years of schooling for the entire sample was 12.3 years which is a little more than a high school education. The average length of schooling was 11.4 years or almost the equivalent of a high school education.

Table 3. Type of School Last Attended by Youth*

Type of school	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Grade	1161	13.3	631	8.2	1792	10.9
High	6354	72.6	5639	73.7	11993	73.1
College or university	857	9.8	560	7.3	1417	8.6
Normal	128	1.5	180	2.4	308	1.9
Nurses' training	1	†	58	0.8	59	0.4
Business college	105	1.2	458	6.0	563	3.4
Beauty school	2	†	34	0.4	36	0.2
Vocational	78	0.9	14	0.2	92	0.6
Parochial	42	0.5	68	0.9	110	0.7
All others	20	0.2	7	0.1	27	0.2
Total	8748	100.0	7649	100.0	16397	100.0

* No information cases: Boys 194, Girls 141, Total 335.

† Less than 0.1 per cent.

Age of the Sample

Closely allied to the problem of period of entering the work world, as it may affect the adjustment of the youth to the socio-economic order, is the question of age distribution of the youth at the time of the study in the spring of 1942. It will be observed (Table 4) that only a very small percentage were under 18. Almost three-fourths fell in the age period 18 to 25, which is the period when youthful adjustments are presumably most typical and most severe. Only about a fifth of the group had already passed the age of 25 and therefore were by usual definition beyond the age that is considered the period of youth. On the other hand, most of this group had recently gone through the youth period and can therefore be expected to reflect experiences that are typical of the period of youth.

¹These findings for more than 16,397 youth are confirmed by findings for a larger sample of high school graduates in the State of Washington. In that sample, covering more than 133,600 youth graduating from high school during the years 1934 to 1941, it was found that more girls than boys completed high school and more went on to specialized types of advanced training than boys, but a considerably higher proportion of boys went on to college. Paul H. Landis, *Six Months After Commencement: An Analysis of the Activity Roles of 133,651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes of 1934 Through 1941*. Wash. Agric. Exp. Stat. Bull. No. 420, September, 1942. These findings are further confirmed in Paul H. Landis, *High School Graduates in the First War Year: A Study of the After-Commencement Activities of 15,277 Graduates from Washington High Schools in 1942*. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 438. March, 1944.

Table 4. Age Distribution of Youth at the Time of the Study (1942)*

Age of youth	Boys		Girls		Total	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Under 18	475	5.4	293	4.0	768	4.7
18 - 19	1641	18.8	1410	19.0	3051	18.9
20 - 21	2116	24.2	1824	24.6	3940	24.4
22 - 23	1422	16.2	1242	16.8	2664	16.5
24 - 25	1107	12.6	979	13.2	2086	12.9
26 - 27	745	8.5	649	8.8	1394	8.6
28 - 29	553	6.3	442	6.0	995	6.2
30 and older	693	8.0	569	7.6	1262	7.8
Total	8752	100.0	7408	100.0	16160	100.0

* No information cases: Boys 190, Girls 382, Total 572.

The modal age of the group was 22 years. No differences existed in the modal age of boys and girls. Presumably the age span of the total group falls in part or entirely in those years when occupational mobility and territorial mobility are more characteristic than during any period in life.

The Time of Leaving School of Youth in the Sample

Since the sample dealt only with youth who had completed school, and since years out of school are important in determining time for migration and for climbing the economic ladder, a distribution of the group by years out of school was made (Table 5). Of the group, 14.5 had been out of school ten years or more. At the other extreme, 5.9 per cent had been out of school less than one year at the time of the study. The total group had been out of school an average of five years.

Table 5. Youth Classified by Years Between the Completion of Their Schooling and the Time of Study (1942)*

Years since leaving school	Year of leaving school	Boys		Girls		Total	
		No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
0	1941-42	547	6.8	334	4.8	881	5.9
1	1940-41	1383	17.2	1116	16.2	2499	16.7
2	1939-40	1203	14.9	1033	15.0	2236	14.9
3	1938-39	911	11.3	782	11.3	1693	11.3
4	1937-38	689	8.5	651	9.4	1340	9.0
5	1936-37	569	7.1	554	8.0	1123	7.5
6	1935-36	512	6.4	466	6.7	978	6.5
7	1934-35	429	5.3	372	5.4	801	5.4
8	1933-34	329	4.1	308	4.5	637	4.3
9	1932-33	311	3.9	292	4.2	603	4.0
10 and over	1932 and before	1166	14.5	1003	14.5	2168	14.5
Total		8049	100.0	6910	100.0	14959	100.0

* No information cases: Boys 893, Girls 880, Total 1773.

The time of graduation has a great deal to do with the type of occupational adjustment youth are able to realize, rate of pay on first job, whether they obtain employment immediately, and similar problems. It also has a decided effect on their tendency to migrate. It is therefore important to consider the characteristics of the economic period in which youth in the sample were graduated.

An analysis of the table shows that 37.5 per cent had been out of school from less than one year to two years, having been graduated in the classes of 1939-40 and 1940-41. This period may be described as the early defense boom period. The school years 1936-37 and 1938-39 may be described as the post-depression period; 27.8 per cent had been graduated during this period. The remaining 34.7 per cent were graduated during the depression and pre-depression era; that is, prior to 1936-37.

It would be difficult to find an equally brief time in American history when such striking changes in economic conditions and migratory movements could have taken place. The depression period saw wages at a low ebb, employment opportunities far below par,¹ and was accompanied by a movement from cities to farms,² as well as an unprecedented growth in part-time and subsistence farming.³ The short post-depression period between 1936 and 1939, although normal in some respects, was a period when economic opportunity and free migration were certainly not at prosperity levels. The period from 1940 on was a period of rising wages, unprecedented opportunity for employment and unprecedented industrial migration, with rural areas losing civilian population to cities.⁴

To lump all these periods together for purposes of comparison has disadvantages. On the other hand, for certain types of data, there is no alternative. It can only be hoped that the extremes represented tend to cancel out and give a sort of normal average of the type of conditions, occupational and migratory, that youth usually experience. For certain phases of the analysis, it has been possible to hold time since leaving school constant without reducing the sample to questionably low proportions. For many phases of the analysis, constancy of the time factor is not of primary importance.

¹ Paul H. Landis, *Rural Population Trends in Washington*, Wash. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. No. 333, July, 1936.

² U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics chart "Movement to and from Farms, 1920 to 1943".

³ Carl F. Reuss, *Social Characteristics of Part-time Farmers in Washington*. Wash. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. No. 380, July, 1939.

⁴ For a study of the loss of civilian residents in rural counties of Washington to cities during this period, see Paul H. Landis, *The Loss of Rural Manpower to War Industry Through Migration*, Wash. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. No. 427, January, 1943.

into account both those who had left the county and those who had moved in, of the particular generation of youth sampled.

The next greatest loss was in Pend Oreille County where the net loss of boys was 58.5 per cent and of girls 51.6 per cent. The losses throughout the rural sections of the state were extremely heavy except for Franklin County, which because of the defense boom in 1942, had attracted both boys and girls in a proportion far exceeding the number that it reared. Kittitas County attracted boys but had a heavy net loss of girls.

King County was the one county in the state which drew both boys and girls in large numbers; this is probably because of the location of Seattle, the largest city in the state. Pierce County made a net gain of boys, no doubt because of the location of the City of Tacoma with its shipbuilding industry, but lost girls. Kitsap County also attracted boys, no doubt because of the early development of defense industry in the Bremerton shipyards. It is significant that Spokane, even though it is a metropolitan center, lost boys and girls during the period covered.

It is possible that the time period involved explains the extremely heavy loss of civilian youth from rural districts through migration, although it is quite normal at all times for rural districts to lose youth through migration.¹ A similar comparison based on losses and gains between the first job and present job, which isolates the abnormalities of the war period for a smaller sample,² suggests that with the exception of the Franklin County situation, the migration gains and losses shown in Figure 1 are not primarily a product of shifts during the first war year.

- Out-of-State Migration of Youth

The civilian migration outside the state, as measured by the address of the youth's parents and the youth's location at the time of the first job and present job, is shown in Table 6. It will be seen that a comparatively small per cent left the state; 3.8 per cent at the time of the first job, 9.7 per cent by the time of the present (1942) job. Of those who had left, the majority had gone to adjoining states. The second largest per cent had gone to California; in fact, adjoining states and California received a considerably higher proportion of youth who left the State of Washington than all the rest of the United States combined. A negligible per cent located outside the United States.

The number leaving the state between the first and present job more than doubled, suggesting the probability that long distance mi-

¹ For summary of studies presenting evidence on this point see Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, chap. 12, McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., New York, 1940.

² Only the high school sample was used for this comparison as only high school pupils were asked regarding location of the first job.

Table 6. Numbers and Per Cent of Civilian Youth Who Left the State at Time of First Job and Present (1942) Job

Location	First job		Present (1942) job	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Total cases	3780	100.0	4010	100.0
In state	3635	96.2	3621	90.3
Out of state	145	3.8	389	9.7
Adjoining states (Ore. & Ida.)	75	2.0	175	4.4
California	28	0.7	115	2.9
Other U. S.	15	0.4	62	1.5
Outside U. S.	27	0.7	37	0.9

gration comes more often after the youth has acquired experience near home.

An analysis of these data for different sections of the state shows that areas bordering Puget Sound lost a smaller per cent of youth in out-of-state migration than any other sections of the state. The location of the Seattle-Tacoma metropolitan area there is a possible explanation. More strictly agricultural sections lost most heavily in the out-of-state migration, although the loss from Spokane County was almost as heavy as that from agricultural sections. This loss was mostly to Idaho, probably because of the location of the county on the Idaho border. Areas in the Puget Sound vicinity lost most of their youth who went out of the state to California rather than to the two more rural border states, Oregon and Idaho; agricultural counties lost most heavily to the border states.

Relative Gain or Loss of Youth from Communities of Various Sizes

An increasing proportion of Washington youth were found in large cities at each successive stage of their careers, and fewer were found in the smaller cities and rural areas. In Figure 2 the numbers of youth in the sample who lived in communities of various sizes at the four stages of their careers covered by the study are represented, the proportion in a home town of a given size being used as a base index of 100. Thus the net effect of youth migration on communities of various sizes is shown in terms of gain or loss of the youth group at three stages in their careers.

It will be observed that places under 2500, the top series of bars, lost youth at each of the first two steps, i.e., in going to school and taking their first job. A very slight gain was registered between "first job" and "present (1942) job," but the net loss even then of the home town group remains at 28 per cent. The loss of places in the 2500 to 9999 class was approximately the same at the first two stages in youths'

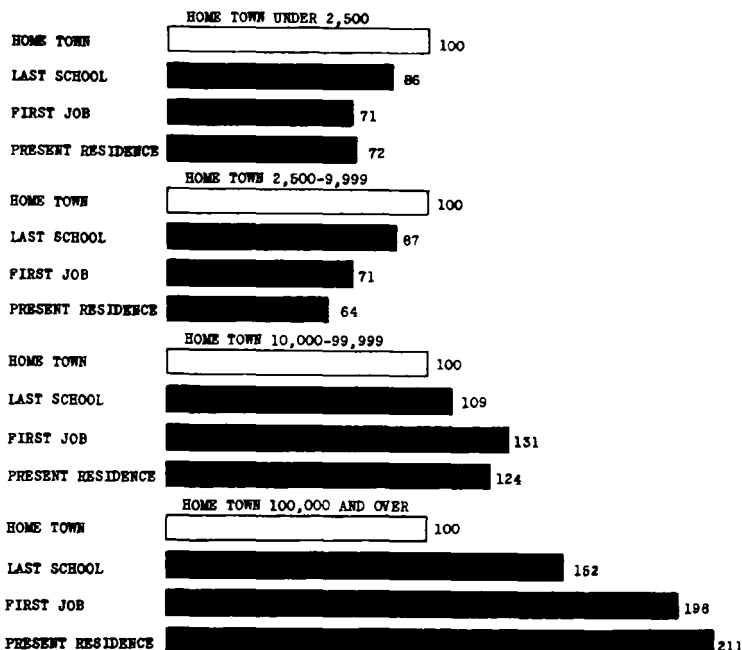


Fig 2.—Relative proportion of youth living in communities of different sizes at various stages in their careers. (Home town is used as an index of 100 in each instance; smaller index at other stages indicates a loss of youth, index of more than 100 indicates a gain. Based on a sample of 6504 civilian youth, both sexes).

careers, but the final loss (as measured by the present job) was 36 per cent. Or, to state it differently, only 64 per cent of the youth generation which grew up in town communities of this class remained there.

Places of 10,000 to 99,999 made a gain as youth left home to go to school or to their first jobs. Washington has no towns in the 50,000 to 99,999 class, so that except for those who left the state, all youth in this classification are in places of under 50,000. At the time of the first job these places had gained 31 per cent above their normal share. They did not hold this gain, however, since the gain was only 24 per cent at the time of the study.

Places of metropolitan dimensions, over 100,000, gained at each stage as youth ventured from home into school, then into the work world on the first job, and finally into their present job. At the time of the present job the gain of the metropolis was 111 per cent.

These data make it strikingly clear that as youth move out into the higher levels of schooling they drift toward larger places, and that work tends to draw them consistently toward larger places in far more than normal proportions. Places of under 10,000 population are providing the young blood for larger places. Metropolitan places have a magnetic power over youth far exceeding that of the small city.

Percentage of Youth Lost to Places Larger and Smaller Than the Home Community

A comparison of the number of youth living in towns of home residence with the proportion living in towns of smaller, larger or the same size, at different stages in their careers, is shown in Figure 3. It will be observed from the bars at the top of the chart that very few youth from metropolitan centers were found in smaller places at any stage of their careers, i.e., at time of finishing school, on their first job, or on their present job. In 1942, the time taken for present residence, 16.2 per cent of metropolitan youth had located in smaller places.

Towns in the next group, 10,000 to 99,999 (for the most part places of under 50,000, since Washington has no cities between 50,000 and 100,000) lost more population to smaller places than to larger places except at the final step, i.e., present residence. At that time a slightly higher per cent had gone to larger places than to smaller places. This group of places held less than two-thirds of the youth it produced.

Of youth whose home towns were places of 2500 to 9999 population, 46.4 per cent still lived in places of this size, 37.6 per cent had gone to larger places, and 16 per cent to smaller places.

Places of 1000 to 2499 lost heavily to larger places, the final loss as measured by present residents being almost 44 per cent. The final loss to smaller places was almost 19 per cent. Towns of this group lost well over half of their youth, retaining only 37.7 per cent.

Places of 250-999 lost 38.9 per cent of their youth to larger places at the time of youth's last schooling, 49 per cent at the time of the first job, and 51.5 per cent at the time of present residence. This size community also lost a small percentage at each step to smaller places.

Places of under 250 showed the greatest loss to larger centers at each stage in the career of youth, sustaining a final loss of 58.9 per cent to larger places; or in other words, retaining only 41.1 per cent of their youth.

The Loss of Rural Youth from Places of Various Sizes to Urban Areas of Different Sizes

For purposes of this comparison, rural areas are classified in three groups, as are also urban areas. Losses of rural youth to urban areas

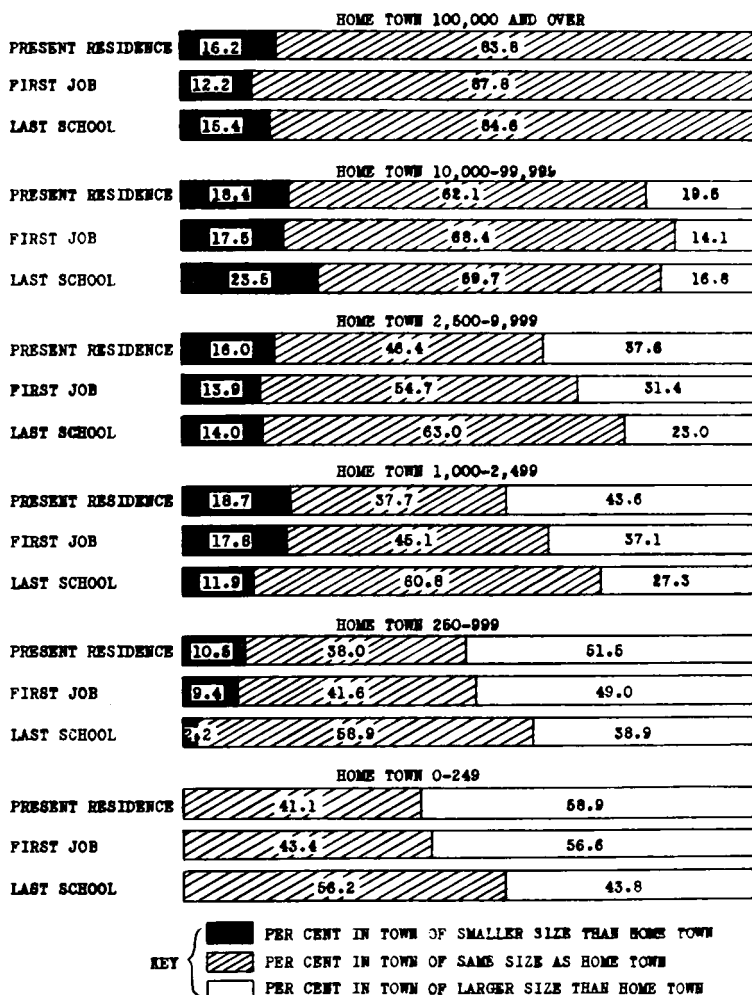


Fig. 3—Percentage of youth lost to places of larger and smaller size, and proportion remaining in town of same size as home town. (Based on a sample of 6534 civilian youth, both sexes).

at two stages are considered (1) at the time of taking their first job after their schooling was completed and (2) at the time of the study in 1942. Home address is used for both comparisons.

A summary of the loss at the time of taking their first job (Table 7) shows that the loss in places of under 250 people, mostly open

Table 7. Percentage Loss of Youth from Rural Areas to Cities as Measured by Parent's Address and of Youth's Address at the Time of the First Job

Home town area by size	Loss to places of 2500-9999	Loss to places of 10,000-99,999	Loss to places of 100,000 and over	Total loss to cities
1000-2499	8.6	8.4	19.1	36.1
250-999	6.1	11.0	24.5	41.6
Under 250	7.5	13.4	20.6	41.5
Total	8.1	10.2	21.9	40.2

country areas, was 41.5 per cent; the loss in places of 250-999 people was almost the same, 41.6; while that in the larger rural town was only 36.1 per cent. Differences are also observed as one studies the loss of these various rural places to cities of various sizes. The hamlet and open country group (under 250) lost more heavily to intermediate-sized cities than did other groups, although its loss was greatest to metropolitan centers. The loss from all classes of rural territory was greatest to the metropolis.

Comparisons made at the time of the present job in 1942 (Table 8) show similar results, although the loss from all classes of rural areas to metropolitan communities was greater than at the time of the first job. The relative proportion in intermediate-sized town for the two smaller rural groups was less than at the time of the first job, suggesting that many rural youth use the intermediate-sized city job as a stepping stone toward a job in the large city.

Migration Loss to the Metropolis from Smaller Places

Since it is clear that the major loss through migration from rural communities is to metropolitan places (cities of 100,000 or more), a more detailed analysis of this loss is desirable. A measure of this loss at three stages was taken: First, the loss during the school period as indicated by place in which the youth completed his schooling; second, the loss as indicated by residence at the time of the first job; and third, the loss as measured by the place of "present" (1942) residence.

The loss to metropolitan centers during the school period ran

Table 8. Percentage Loss of Youth from Rural Areas to Cities as Measured by Parent's Address and Youth's Address at the Time of Present (1942) Job.

Home town area by size	Loss to places of 2500-9999	Loss to places of 10,000-99,999	Loss to places of 100,000 and over	Total loss to cities
1000-2499	7.0	10.0	25.9	42.8
250-999	6.1	10.6	26.3	43.0
Under 250	8.0	12.6	23.9	44.5
Total	6.6	10.0	24.6	41.3

above 10 per cent for all non-metropolitan communities, as shown below:

Size of home town	Per cent of youth finishing schooling in metropolitan centers
Under 250	12.5
250-999	14.7
1,000-2,499	11.0
2,500-9,999	11.4
10,000-99,999	11.9

The smaller the community, the fewer the youth who completed their schooling in places comparable in size to the home town community, as may be seen from the following:

Size of home town	Per cent of youth completing school within places of same size as home town
Under 250	56.2
250-999	58.9
1,000-2,499	60.8
2,500-9,999	63.0
10,000-99,999	64.6
100,000 and over	84.6

The loss of youth to the metropolis as measured by difference in location of parental home and the first job varied considerably with the size of place (Fig. 4). The group of cities just less than metropolitan size had a loss of 13.7 per cent. The loss increased with a decrease in size of place to the 250-999 class of places which lost almost one-fourth of their youth to metropolitan centers. Places of under 250 population lost over one-fifth. It is of some significance that this group, which is made up for the most part of farmers, lost

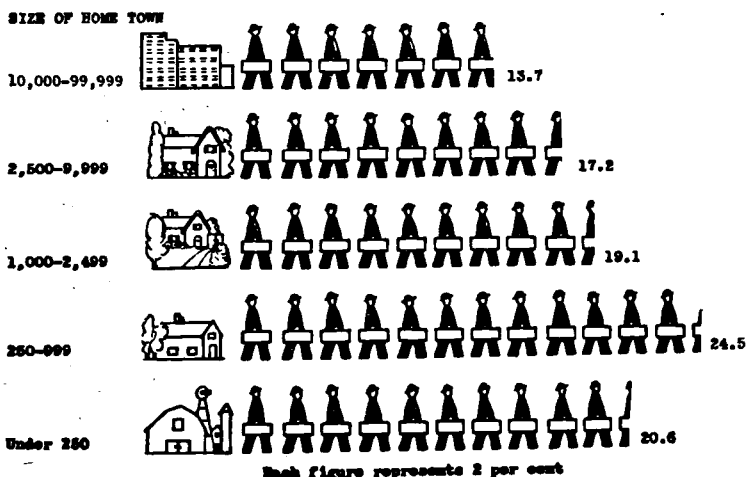


Fig. 4—Percentage of boys whose home address was in places of various sizes lost to cities of 100,000 population or more at the time of the first job. (Chart represents 950 civilian boys).

fewer of its numbers to metropolitan centers than did the small vil-
lages. Fewer of these youth also finished their education in a metro-
politan center. (Refer again to page 2.)

The next stage of youth's adjustment to adult life (present job)
showed an even greater loss to metropolitan centers than did the first
job (Fig. 5). The loss for places of 250-999 people was heaviest with
over one-fourth going to metropolitan centers, although the loss from
all places of under 10,000 people was nearly one-fourth. The loss from
places of 10,000 to 99,999 people was smallest, totaling 18.7 per cent of
youth. (In Washington there are no places of 50,000 to 99,999 popu-
lation.)

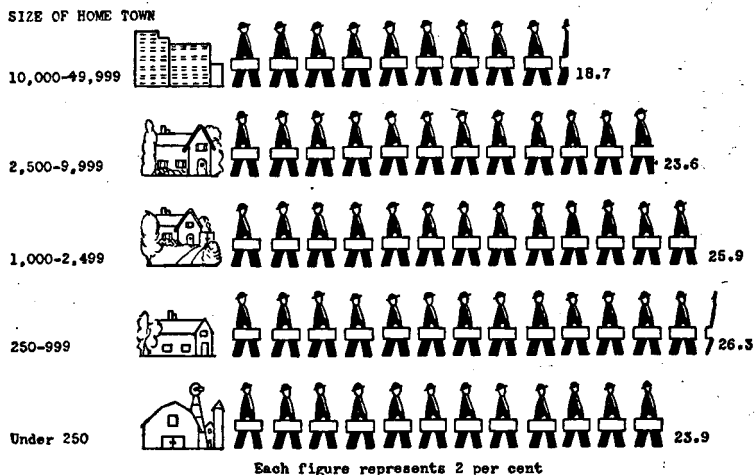


Fig. 5—Percentage of boys whose home address was in places of various sizes lost to cities of 100,000 or more by the time of the present (1942) job. (Chart represents 1104 civilian boys).

It is clear that at each of the three stages in the youth's career studied the loss of non-metropolitan communities to metropolitan communities increased over the preceding period. The loss between time of completing schooling and the 1942 job almost doubled for most classes of places. A likely explanation is that metropolitan centers, because of their low birth rate, do not produce sufficient youth to meet occupational replacement and expansion needs. This creates opportunities for youth from those areas which produce a surplus of population. This normal pattern may have been exaggerated to some extent in 1942 because of the construction of war industry plants in metropolitan communities.

The loss from larger cities falling below the metropolitan class is less than that from more rural areas, probably because these cities produce less surplus population¹ and have relatively more employment opportunities in proportion to the home crop of youth than have rural territories.

The qualitative selection that operates in this flow to metropolitan areas is no less important than the quantitative, but cannot be understood with the data at hand. It is hardly likely that the loss of 25 per cent or more from communities in the state to metropolitan centers represents a normal cross section of the non-metropolitan youth. This gives rise to the following questions: Do the most able go to find specialized outlets for their talents? Do the weaker strains go to escape into the anonymous world of the metropolis? Do both the weak and the strong go, or the average?

This is a problem in itself and merits considerable study before the implications of heavy quantitative loss from rural areas to metropolitan centers can be properly understood. It is likely that the quality of the youth group lost to metropolitan areas may depend on the type of community, its traditions, economic opportunities and motives. One can find the answer only as careful studies of the group

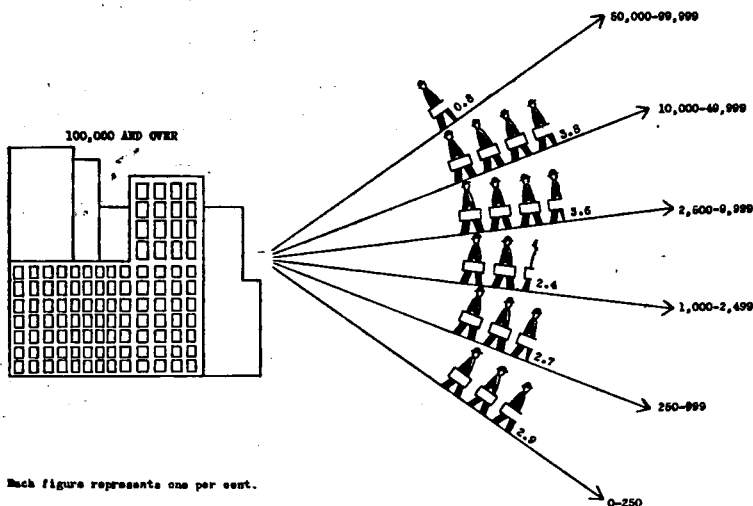


Fig. 6—Percentage of boys having their first job in cities of 100,000 population and over lost to smaller communities between first job and present (1942) job. (Chart represents 140 civilian boys returning to small communities).

¹For data on comparative fertility in rural and urban areas see *Women Classified By Number of Children Ever Born*, 1940. Bureau of the Census, Series P-44, No. 2, February 10, 1944.

that moves out and the group which remains are made and their abilities and interests are compared.¹

It is abundantly clear that the metropolis is, in the State of Washington, a consumer of population and must depend on outside areas to contribute a fourth of their new crop of youth.

Migration Loss of the Metropolis to Smaller Places

Does the metropolis send any youth out into non-metropolitan areas to compensate for the youth group it acquires from the outside? A study of the movement from metropolitan areas to smaller communities between the time of the first job and present job shows that the total movement away from large cities was very small (Fig. 6). Approximately half of this flow went to smaller cities (communities of 2500 to 99,999). Since only 37 per cent of the state's non-metropolitan population is in communities of this size, this represents a disproportionate movement to smaller cities as compared to rural areas, indicating that once the youth have gone to metropolitan centers they are more likely to return to smaller cities than to return to the open country.

A Graphic Description of the Flow Into Metropolitan Areas of Washington

The flow of youth into metropolitan communities of Washington from various sections of the state is shown in Figure 7. It will be seen that every area lost youth to the two major metropolitan areas of the state, that is, the Puget Sound area and the Spokane area. By far the largest proportion of youth who went to metropolitan areas went to the western area where Seattle and Tacoma are located. The movement from Spokane to this metropolitan region was heavy, whereas that from the western region to Spokane was very light. The Big Bend area, although it adjoins the Spokane metropolitan area, sent 74 more youth to the western metropolitan area than to Spokane.

¹Studies elsewhere have produced varying results, but the general import of carefully conducted studies is that a high proportion of able youth tend to be drawn toward metropolitan areas. For a careful and convincing study see Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and Cecil L. Gregory, *Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation*, Vol. XVIII, The University of Missouri Studies, Columbia, 1943.

For a summary of findings of several studies of the selectivity of farm to city migration see T. Lynn Smith, *Rural Sociology*, pp. 177-183, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1930; also Paul H. Landis, *Population Problems, A Cultural Interpretation*, Chap. 24, American Book Company, New York, 1943.

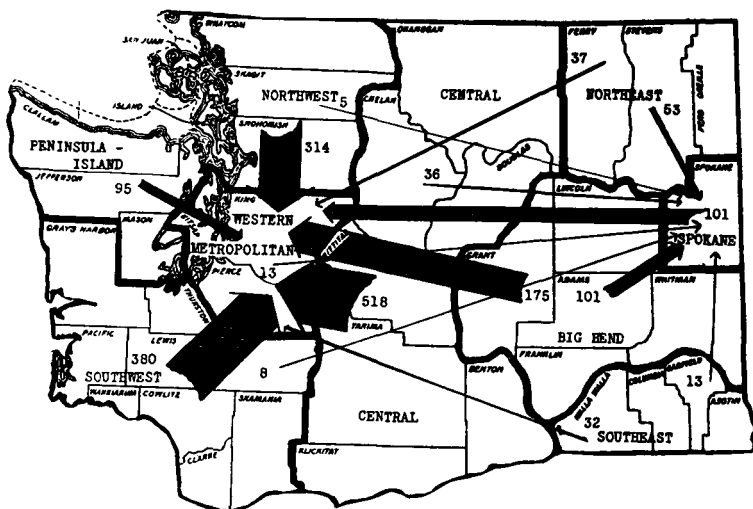


Fig. 7—Flow of youth into Spokane and the western metropolitan region from various sections of the state as measured by address of parental home and youth's present (1942) location. (Represents 1811 civilian migrants, both sexes).

III. OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

By occupational mobility is meant, (1) the tendency of youth to move out of the occupational class of their parents, (2) to shift from one occupation to another after entering the work world as gainfully occupied workers, and (3) the climb of a youth in salary between his first job and a later job. The third type of mobility is vertical occupational mobility in that it reflects climbing to a higher status within the occupation rather than a change of occupation.

The Extent to Which Youth Follow Their Father's Occupation

Only 26.3 per cent of the young men were in the same occupation as their fathers at the time of their present job. Of the girls, only 4.5 were in the same occupational class as their fathers at the time of their present job. (Extensive analyses of relationship between the occupations of youth and their parents were limited to occupations of boys since a large proportion of girls were not gainfully employed.)

To what extent do sons of fathers in various fields follow in the occupational footsteps of their fathers? An answer to this question is sought in Table 9, which shows the occupational distribution on their present job of youth with fathers in various occupational classes. The underscored diagonal column shows the proportion of sons of each oc-

Table 9. Occupations Which Sons of Fathers in Various Occupational Classes Entered*

Son's present (1942) occupation	Father's usual occupation																				Total
	Farmers and farm laborers				Proprietors		Clerical		Craftsmen		Operatives		Domestic and service		Protective		Laborers		Unemployed		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Professional	20	10.5	47	2.2	30	5.5	10	2.9	34	2.4	13	1.7	1	0.6	6	3.6	19	1.5	5	3.6	185
Farmers and farm laborers	4	2.1	716	33.7	16	3.0	12	3.5	46	3.2	18	2.4	9	5.4	3	1.8	72	5.3	10	7.2	906
Proprietors	1	0.5	30	1.4	40	7.4	11	3.2	35	2.5	11	1.5	4	2.4	0	0.0	13	0.9	3	2.2	148
Clerical	17	8.9	67	3.1	74	13.6	53	15.5	72	5.1	40	5.3	20	12.0	9	5.3	80	5.8	4	2.9	436
Craftsmen	22	11.6	150	7.1	59	10.9	31	9.1	282	19.9	76	10.0	24	14.4	16	9.5	111	8.1	18	12.9	789
Operatives	37	19.5	282	13.3	93	17.1	63	18.6	280	19.8	225	29.7	23	13.8	27	16.0	228	16.6	30	21.6	1288
Domestic & service	2	1.1	21	1.0	5	1.0	2	0.6	18	1.3	10	1.3	8	4.8	1	0.6	25	1.9	2	1.4	94
Protective	42	22.1	407	19.1	116	21.3	88	25.8	270	19.0	151	19.9	26	15.5	35	20.7	262	19.1	24	17.3	1421
Laborers	42	22.1	354	16.7	98	18.0	59	17.3	331	23.4	196	25.8	48	28.7	67	39.6	517	37.7	35	25.2	1747
Unemployed	3	1.6	51	2.4	12	2.2	12	3.5	48	3.4	18	2.4	4	2.4	5	2.9	43	3.1	8	5.7	204
Total	190	100.0	2125	100.0	543	100.0	341	100.0	1416	100.0	758	100.0	167	100.0	169	100.0	1370	100.0	139	100.0	7218

* 473 cases with fathers deceased or retired are omitted.

cupational class to enter the occupational class of their fathers. It will be seen that 10.5 per cent of sons of professional fathers entered their father's occupation; 34 per cent of sons of farmers and farm workers, only 7.4 per cent of sons of the proprietary classes, 15.5 per cent of sons of clerical workers, 19.9 per cent of sons of craftsmen, 29.7 per cent of sons of operatives, 4.8 per cent of sons of domestic and service workers, 20.7 per cent of sons of protective workers, 37.7 per cent of sons of laborers, and 5.7 per cent of sons of unemployed fathers.

In many cases a higher proportion of sons of fathers of a particular occupational class entered an occupation different from that of the father than entered the father's occupation. One of the most striking examples is that of sons of professional fathers, 22 per cent of whom were laborers, and 19.5 per cent of whom were operatives. In the proprietary occupation nearly twice as many sons were engaged in clerical work as had become proprietors like their fathers, 7.4 per cent, compared to 13.6 per cent. It is likely that clerical work for many of these youth is an apprenticeship to business. Sons of craftsmen in more cases began as laborers than as craftsmen. It is possible also that they work as common laborers prior to becoming craftsmen. The farming group is striking in that a much higher percentage of sons of farmers and farm workers entered farming than any other occupation. Sons of laborers, like the sons of farmers, tended to follow in their father's occupation much more often than any other. This is also true, but to a lesser degree, of sons of operatives.

An index of occupational transmission based on the proportion the parental generation of any given occupation was to the total sample, was devised as a method of measuring the transmission of occupation from father to son. An index of 1.00 means that sons of men in that particular occupational class were no more likely to follow their father's occupation than any other occupation. A high index indicates a tendency for sons to follow the father's occupation; a low index indicates a tendency for sons to avoid the parental occupation. Using this method, the index for the average of all occupations combined is 2.68.

Sons of professional men, farm operators, proprietors and domestic and service workers were most likely to follow their father's occupations (Fig. 8). Sons of laborers, operatives and craftsmen were least likely to be in the same occupational class as their parents. By far the most transmissible occupations, through the family, are the professions, since in the professions there were four times as many sons of professional fathers as one would expect if they distributed themselves in equal ratio through all occupations.

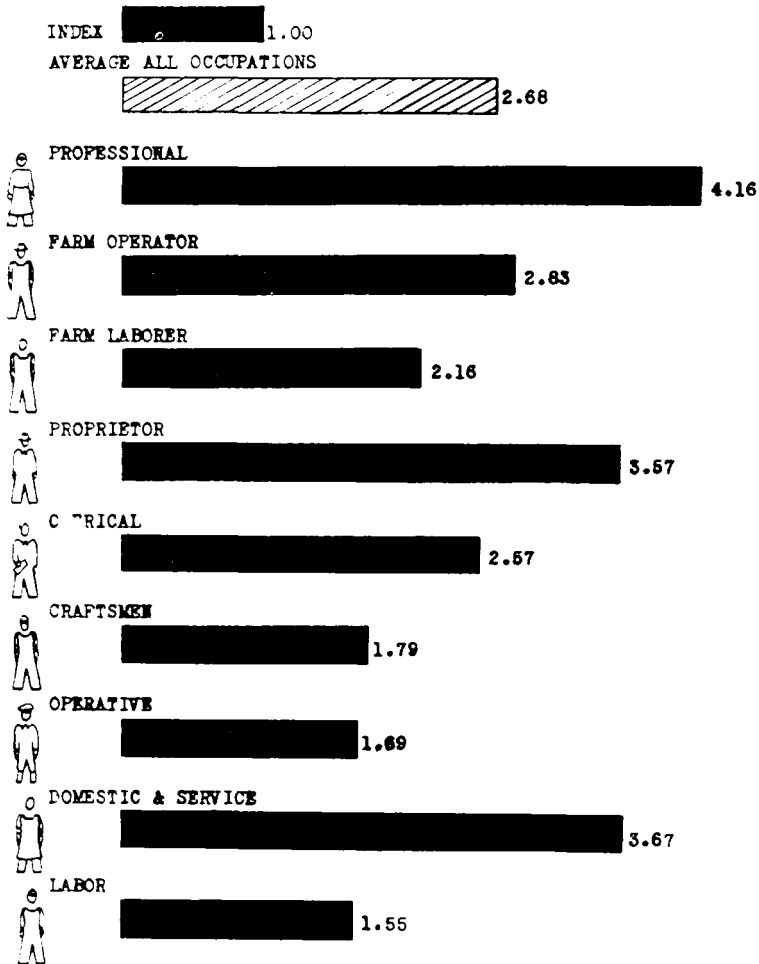


Fig. 8—An index of occupational heredity using youth's present (1912) job and the father's usual occupation. An index of 1.00 would indicate that sons of fathers of a given occupation were as likely to enter the father's occupation as any other, of more than 1.00 that there is greater likelihood of the son's entering the father's occupation than any other. (Based on a sample of 7763 civilian boys).

Source of Occupational Replacements Between Generations

It is usually considered of some advantage to a youth to have a family background in the vocation which he ultimately enters. It will

FATHER'S USUAL OCCUPATION	YOUTH'S PRESENT OCCUPATION	
	Same	Different
PROFESSIONAL	10.8	89.2
FARMERS & F. WKS.	79.0	21.0
PROPRIETORS	27.0	73.0
CLERICAL	12.3	87.9
CRAFTSMEN	35.7	64.3
OPERATIVES	17.5	82.5
DOMESTIC & SERV.	8.5	91.5
PROTECTIVE	2.5	97.5
LABORERS	29.6	70.4
ALL OCCUPATIONS	46.3	53.7

Fig. 9—Percentage of boys in various occupational classes who were in the same occupational class as their fathers. (Based on a sample of 7218 civilian boys).

be observed (Fig. 9) that a higher proportion of farm boys than any other group had a farm background, over three-fourths having come from farm homes. These data on the farming classes would seem to bear out the traditional notion that the farming class is largely self-maintaining as far as occupational replacements are concerned.

Fewest of the domestic and services classes and of the clerical group were sons of parents who were in these occupational classes. It is possible that many of the youth used these occupations only as stepping stones, and given time, entered other occupations.

The professional classes represent a highly select group, and also one in which competition on the basis of ability is likely to be most intense. Only a little over 10 per cent of the boys who entered professions had professional parents, indicating that the professions are being fed from other occupational classes to the extent of about 90 per cent in a generation.

Table 10 carries the analysis further by showing the occupational background of youth in all occupations as measured by father's usual occupation. These data provide a means for understanding the extent to which each occupational class replenishes not only itself, but also other occupations between generations. It will be seen that 25.4 per cent of boys in the professions had fathers who were farmers or farm laborers. In other words, about one-fourth of the youth group in the professions had a farm background, considerably more than had any other occupational background. Another 16.2 per cent had fathers in

Table 10. Occupational Background of Sons in Various Occupations as Measured by Father's Usual Occupation*

Father's usual occupation	Son's present (1942) occupation																			
	Professional		Farmers and farm laborers		Proprietors		Clerical		Craftsmen		Operatives		Domestic and Service		Protective		Laborers		Unemployed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Professional	20	10.8	4	0.4	1	0.7	17	3.9	22	2.8	37	2.9	2	2.1	42	2.9	42	2.4	8	1.5
Farmers and farm laborers	47	25.4	716	79.0	30	20.8	67	15.4	150	19.0	282	21.9	21	22.4	407	28.7	354	20.8	51	25.0
Proprietors	80	16.2	16	1.8	40	27.0	74	17.0	59	7.5	93	7.2	5	5.8	116	8.2	98	5.6	12	5.9
Clerical	10	5.4	12	1.3	11	7.4	53	12.1	81	3.9	63	4.9	2	2.1	88	6.2	59	3.4	12	5.9
Craftsmen	34	18.4	46	5.1	35	23.7	72	16.5	282	35.7	280	21.7	18	19.2	270	19.0	331	18.9	48	23.5
Operatives	13	7.1	18	2.0	11	7.4	40	9.2	76	9.6	225	17.5	10	10.6	151	10.6	196	11.2	18	8.8
Domestic and service	1	0.5	9	1.0	4	2.7	20	4.6	24	3.0	23	1.8	8	8.5	26	1.8	48	2.8	4	1.9
Protective	6	3.2	8	0.4	0	0.0	9	2.1	16	2.1	27	2.1	1	1.1	85	2.5	67	3.8	5	2.5
Laborer	19	10.3	72	8.0	13	8.8	80	18.3	111	14.1	228	17.7	25	26.6	262	18.4	517	29.6	43	21.1
Unemployed	5	2.7	10	1.0	3	2.0	4	0.9	18	2.8	30	2.3	2	2.1	24	1.7	35	2.0	8	3.9
Total sons	185	100.0	906	100.0	148	100.0	436	100.0	789	100.0	1288	100.0	94	100.0	1421	100.0	1747	100.0	204	100.0

* 473 cases with fathers deceased or retired are omitted.

the proprietary group and 18.4 per cent fathers in the craftsmen group.

More than three-fourths of youth engaged in farming had fathers who were farmers. The only other youth represented in substantial proportions were the sons of laborers; 8 per cent of the youth who were farming had fathers who were classified as laborers.

Over one-fourth of the young men who had become proprietors were sons of proprietors; 23.7 per cent were sons of craftsmen; 20.3 per cent were sons of farmers or farm laborers.

Of the clerical group, 18.3 per cent were sons of laborers; 17 per cent were sons of proprietors; 15.4 per cent were sons of farmers and farm laborers, and 16.5 per cent were sons of craftsmen.

Of the craftsmen, 35.7 per cent were sons of craftsmen, 19 per cent were sons of farmers or farm laborers, and 14.1 per cent were sons of laborers.

Of the operatives, almost equal numbers were sons of farmers or farm laborers or craftsmen, each group being over one-fifth of the total group of operatives, and each being considerably larger than the number of sons of parents in the operative class.

Of sons in domestic and service occupations, a class which has relatively small numbers in the sample, almost one-fourth were sons of laborers, and more than one-fifth were sons of farmers and farm laborers. Almost another fifth were sons of craftsmen.

Youth with a farm or farm laborer background made up a larger proportion of workers in the protective service than any other group; those with fathers who are craftsmen and laborers are also frequently found in this occupational class. A comparison of Figures 8 and 9 makes it clear that, whereas sons of professional men are more likely than any other group to follow their father's occupation, most of the young men in the professions in the state were not sons of professional fathers (only 10.8 per cent were), showing that almost 90 per cent of those in the professions came from non-professional families. This movement of youth from non-professional families into the professions is probably the result of the large increase in the professional services during the last generation¹ and of the low birth rate in the professional class.²

The high per cent of farm operators and farm laborers that came from farm families seems to be in direct contrast to the relatively low index of occupational transmission from father to son. This is to be expected, since only a small proportion of farm boys are able to remain in agriculture. Those who do remain are for the most part of farm heritage.

¹U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics chart "Trend of Gainful Occupations, 1870-1940."

²Karpinos and Kiser, *op. cit.*; also, Notestein, *op. cit.*

Table 11. Ratios Showing Extent to Which Sons in the Various Occupational Classes Have Entered the Occupational Classes of Their Fathers and Other Occupational Classes*

Father's usual occupation	Son's present (1942) occupation									
	Professional	Farmers and farm laborers	Proprietors	Clerical	Craftsmen	Operatives	Domestic service	Protective	Laborers	Unemployed
Professional	4.1	0.2	0.3	1.5	1.7	1.1	0.8	1.2	0.9	0.9
Farmers and farm laborers	0.9	2.7	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.3	0.7	0.4
Proprietors	2.2	0.2	3.6	2.3	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.6
Clerical	1.2	0.3	1.6	2.6	0.8	1.0	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.3
Craftsmen	0.9	0.3	1.2	0.8	1.8	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9
Operatives	0.7	0.2	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.7	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.8
Domestic and service	0.2	0.4	1.2	2.0	1.3	0.8	3.7	0.6	1.2	0.7
Protective	1.4	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.5	1.0	1.6	0.9
Laborers	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.4	1.4	1.6	0.6
Unemployed	1.4	0.5	1.0	0.5	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.3

* A ratio of 1.00 indicates a contribution of each occupational class to itself, or to other occupational classes, in ratio to their respective proportions in the total sample; a ratio of less than 1.00 indicates a contribution below this level; and a ratio of more than 1.00 a contribution of one occupational class to another above this level. The number of cases in each classification is the same as in Table 10.

The Extent and Nature of Inter-Occupational Mobility Between Generations

The extent to which sons in the various occupational classes have entered the occupations of their fathers and other occupations is shown on a ratio basis in Table 11. (A ratio of 1.0 would indicate that youth were distributed among the various occupations in the same proportions as the fathers, see page 29).

Four times as many youth in the professions, for example, (column at the extreme left) had fathers in the professions as would have been true had there been no tendency for sons in this occupation to follow their father's occupation. Again, over twice as many young men in the professions have fathers who were proprietors.

At the other extreme, few young men in the professions came from families where the usual occupation of the father was a laborer, an operative, or in the domestic service or service field. Sons in the professions with a farmer-farm laborer background had a ratio of 0.9, only slightly below the standard 1.0 ratio. When the ratio was computed on the basis of teaching and the clergy only, a value of 2.0 was obtained for both boys and girls, indicating that farm youth were more likely to enter these than other professions. This was especially true of teaching. It was also interesting to note that in only two cases were professional persons listed as children of farm laborers.

Young men engaged as farm operators and farm laborers came from farmer-farm laborer families in high ratio. No other occupational class contributed more than half a normal ratio.

Youth in the proprietary class came in high ratio from the proprietary class, although youth with clerical, craftsmen and domestic and service backgrounds were over-represented in this occupational class.

Most occupational classes contributed at least their share to the proprietary class. Numbers in this class were too small, however, to provide a reliable basis for comparisons in most categories. (See Table 10 for numbers in each classification.)

Large proportions of the male youth group engaged in clerical occupations were sons of parents in the clerical class, the proprietary, domestic and service classes. The professional and laboring groups were also well represented. This is an occupation which is no doubt used for social climbing by many youth. These data indicate that young men with farm backgrounds were represented in only half normal proportions. It is likely that lack of opportunity or interests is reflected.

Craftsmen were recruited in approximately equal ratios from most of the occupational classes. The farmer-farm laborer group was least adequately represented. Operatives similarly are drawn in fairly comparable proportions from all occupational classes.

The domestic and service group of youth in 3.7 times normal ratio had parents in these occupations. Since these data dealt only with sons, numbers were small in most categories.

Youth in the protective service were recruited in about equal ratios from all occupations. Laborers came from families where labor or protective service was the usual occupation in a high proportion of cases. Farmer-farm labor, proprietary and clerical occupations were considerably under-represented.

The unemployed group was small and results, therefore, not conclusive. They suggest that children from unemployed families were represented in twice normal ratio among the unemployed group of the youth generation.

It is clear from the foregoing that there is a great deal of inter-occupational mobility among occupational classes. No occupation is inaccessible to youth from any other occupational class.

It is especially significant that young men from farmer-farm laborer families have fairly ready access to most occupations. The lowest ratio is in protective work where they are represented in only a third normal ratio. In all other occupations youth with farm backgrounds are represented in a ratio ranging from 0.6 to 1.0. They are found in the professional class, and especially in teaching (index of 2.0) in much higher ratio than are sons of laborers and sons of fathers in domestic and service occupations and sons of operatives. They may face difficulties in social climbing, but if so they succeed in overcoming them in fair proportions.

Occupational Mobility Between Youth's First Occupation and Present Occupation

Forty and four-tenths per cent of the boys (excluding those in armed forces) were still in the same occupational class at the time of the study as at the time of their first job (Fig. 10). The professional and farm operator groups were more stable than the average, and the domestic and service group was least stable. The stability of professional youth is readily understood in the light of the training required of them. The stability of the farm operator group is no doubt explained in part by the capital investment necessary to become an operator and in part by the tendency of sons to take over the permanent management or ownership of the family farm. The instability of the domestic and service groups might be expected because of the low prestige of and lack of opportunity for advancement in this group.

If the young men were not actually in the same occupational class as when they obtained their first job there was a marked tendency for them to be in an occupation class of similar nature. Those who began as craftsmen, laborers, or operatives were likely, if not in the same

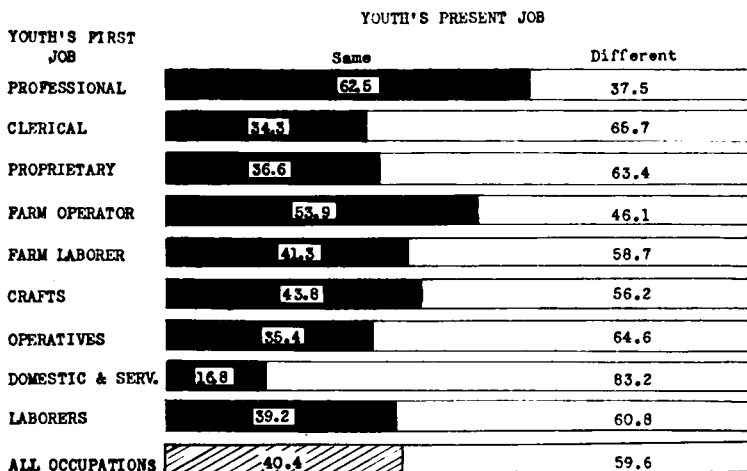


Fig. 10—Proportion of boys in the same occupation at the time of the study (1942) as on their first job. (Chart represents 2748 civilian boys).

class, to be in one of the other two classes at the time of the survey. Clerical workers were likely to become craftsmen or operatives or, in a few cases, proprietors. Proprietors were likely later to become clerical workers or craftsmen. Youth from the farm operator and farm labor groups were most likely to enter the laboring group if they did not remain on farms.

The domestic and service occupation (in this case primarily service because only males were considered) was used as a stepping stone to the professional and proprietary classes. More often, however, youth who began work in this class had risen only into the operative or laborer groups by the time the study was made.

Jobs as clerical workers or operatives were also used as stepping stones to the professional and proprietary groups. In some cases jobs in the proprietary category were steps toward the professions.

When occupations were grouped into the broad categories of farmers, laborers, and white collar workers, it was found that laborers were much more likely than members of the other two groups to remain in the same general occupational classification as at the time of their first job (Fig. 11).

Slightly less than half of those engaged in agriculture began there. Over one-fourth began as laborers, a very small per cent, 1.8, began as white collar workers. Over one-fifth of white collar workers took their first jobs as laborers. A view of the total chart suggests that

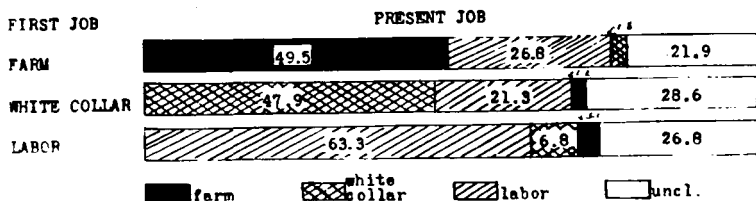


Fig. 11—Proportions of those whose first jobs were in three broad occupational classes whose present jobs are in the same broad occupational classes. (Chart represents 2748 civilian boys).

the labor group is easiest to begin in but that many who begin work there find their way into agriculture or white collar work. A very small per cent who had their first job in agriculture or white collar vocations were found in the labor classification at the time of the present (1942) job.

IV. EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF YOUTH

Reports received from high school youth requested a limited amount of information on the employment and income of their older brothers and sisters. While the information is not fully satisfactory because it was obtained from a second-hand source, it is probably as accurate as can readily be obtained on an extensive scale. It is, therefore, presented as the best information available on earnings of youth.

Time Required to Obtain First Job

Almost two-thirds of the 4455 youth for whom information was available obtained their first jobs immediately after graduation, that is, within a month or less (Table 12). The proportion of boys obtaining their jobs immediately was somewhat higher than the proportion of girls. Another 15.3 per cent obtained their jobs within one month to six weeks. Over ten per cent had to wait six months to a year; 5.3 per cent did not obtain jobs until the second year after completing their

Table 12. Time After Graduation When Boys and Girls Obtained Their First Jobs*

	Boys		Girls		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Immediately (one month or less)	1688	68.0	1211	61.4	2899	65.1
One month to six months	346	13.9	337	17.1	683	15.3
Six to twelve months	249	10.0	226	11.5	475	10.7
During second year	115	4.6	120	6.1	235	5.3
After more than two years	85	3.4	69	3.5	154	3.4
Never worked	2	0.1	7	0.4	9	0.2
Total	2485	100.0	1970	100.0	4455	100.0

* No information cases: Boys 951, Girls 1128, Total 2079.

Table 13. Distribution of Youth by Rates of Pay Received per Month on First and Present Job (1942)†

Rates of Pay	Boys				Girls				Total		
	First job No.	Present job %	Present job No.	First job %	First job No.	Present job %	Present job No.	First job %	Present job No.		
No pay	11	0.6	20	0.9	29	2.0	174	15.3	40	1.2	194
\$1 - 24	120	6.3	194	8.7	114	8.0	35	3.1	234	7.0	229
25 - 49	213	11.2	186	8.4	270	18.9	91	8.0	483	14.5	277
50 - 74	307	16.1	176	7.9	426	29.8	158	13.9	733	22.0	334
75 - 99	322	16.9	195	8.8	322	22.5	241	21.2	644	19.3	436
100 - 124	413	21.7	303	13.6	200	14.0	264	23.3	613	18.4	567
125 - 149	216	11.3	259	11.6	39	2.7	97	8.6	255	7.6	356
150 - 199	219	11.5	430	19.3	24	1.7	53	4.7	243	7.3	493
200 - 249	60	3.1	303	13.6	3	0.2	9	0.8	63	1.9	312
250 & over	24	1.3	158	7.2	3	0.2	13	1.1	27	0.8	171
Total	1905	100.0	2224	100.0	1430	100.0	1135	100.0	3335	100.0	3359

* No information cases: Boys 1531, Girls 1668, Total 3199.

† No information cases: Boys 1212, Girls 1963, Total 3175.

schooling. More than 3 per cent did not have jobs after two or more years. The proportion of girls who obtained work after a long period of delay was somewhat greater than that of boys.¹

Climbing the Economic Ladder

A detailed breakdown of rates of pay on the first job and on the present (1942) job is presented in Table 13. It will be observed that on the first job the modal group received \$50 to \$74 per month; 22 per cent, or almost one-fourth, fell in this classification. At the time of present (1942) job, which for the average of the group was four to five years after the first job, the modal group earned \$100 to \$124, or an average increase of about \$50 over the first job; 16.9 per cent fell in this classification.

It will be observed that in all of the lower income categories, except the one with no pay, there was a decrease, indicating that most individuals have moved up to a higher paying job. The proportion in the higher income brackets had greatly increased by 1942. The larger proportion in the no pay classification probably represented women who had dropped out of gainful employment for marriage. This increase in rate of pay reflects the normal tendency of any worker to earn more as he gains more experience on the job. The climbing of the economic ladder during the period covered, however, has probably been more rapid than in normal times, since the effect of war wages entered into the situation in 1942.

¹More extensive supporting evidence is found in Paul H. Landis, *Six Months After Commencement: An Analysis of the Occupational Roles of 133,651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes of 1934 through 1941*. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 420, September, 1942.

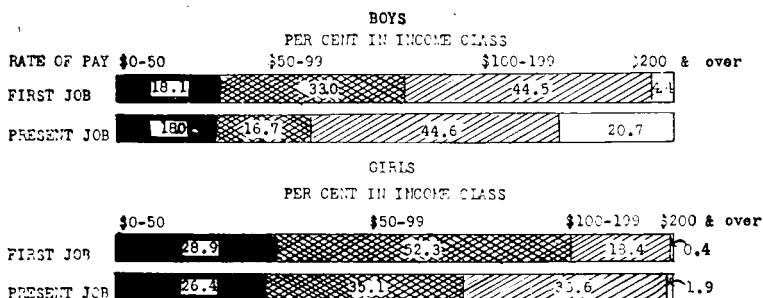


Fig. 12.—Distribution of youth by rates of pay received per month on first and present (1942) jobs. (For numbers of cases see table 13.).

Some interesting comments are justified in contrasting the progress of boys and girls in increasing their income. The modal group of boys for their beginning wage fell in the \$100 to \$124 classification, 21.7 per cent falling in this group. The modal income class for girls was the \$50 to \$74 range, into which almost 30 per cent fell at the time of their first job. In 1942 the modal income group for young men was \$150 to \$199, with almost one-fifth falling in this classification. The modal group for girls was \$100 to \$124 with 23.3 per cent of the girls falling in this classification.

A calculation of the average income on the first job and the present job for both boys and girls shows that the average income at the time of the first job was \$88 for the combined group; and \$118 in 1942. In other words, the income of the group had increased in an average period of approximately five years by almost one-fourth. The boys on their first job had an average income of \$101; on their 1942 job, \$136. The girls had an average income of \$70 on their first job and \$82 on their 1942 job. These increases represented, no doubt, normal advancement of youth in earning power, plus inflated wartime wages.

It is clear from the data presented that girls not only accept a lower wage than boys on their first job, but also they fail to receive equal advancement over their beginning wage. In spite of inflated wartime wages characterizing the state in 1942, about two-thirds of the girls were earning less than \$100 per month; only about half the boys were earning so little.

In order to make the contrast in earning power on first and present (1942) job and the contrast of earning of boys and girls more clear, the income groups were combined into a four-fold classification (Fig. 12). This comparison makes strikingly clear the general rise in income between the first and present job for both sexes, although about the same proportion of boys were in the lowest paid class on their first and present jobs. The proportion in the next to the bottom

income group dropped from 33 per cent to 16.7 per cent, whereas the proportion in the \$100-\$199 income group remained practically the same; but the proportion in the over \$200 group was more than four times greater at the second period than at the first.

Similar increases were noted for girls, except that the proportion in the lower income group was much larger than for boys and the proportion in the higher income group much smaller. The proportion of girls in the high income group was five times as great at the time of the present job as at the time of the first job, but even at the later period only 1.9 per cent fell in the high income classification as compared to 20.7 per cent of boys.

Effect of Place of Residence on Wages

There is a striking relationship between rates of pay received and place of residence (Fig. 13). It will be observed that the smaller the place the smaller the group receiving over \$200 pay in 1942. The smallest communities showed only 18.3 per cent of their young men in this income category; the metropolitan centers had 31.8 per cent. Other

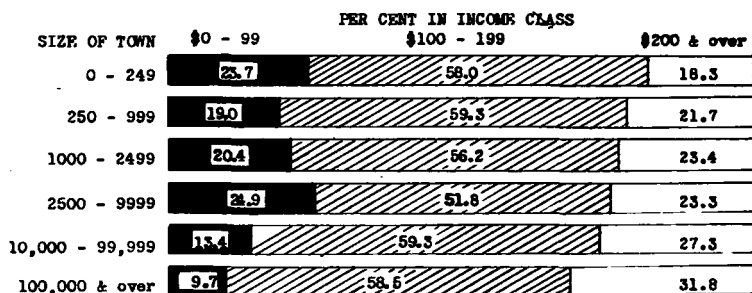


Fig. 13—Distribution of boys by size of town in which living and rates of pay received per month on their present (1942) job. (Represents 1587 civilian boys).

places ranged between these two extremes. Of young men with a home address in a place of under 250 population—most of whom undoubtedly were farmers—23.7 per cent received under \$100. Perquisites and other non-cash incomes were not taken into account. The proportion in this income class was high for all classes of towns up to 10,000; in fact, the 2500-9999 population group had an even larger proportion in this lowest income class than the smaller places. In metropolitan centers, only 9.7 per cent fell in the lowest income group. The middle income group did not present such contrasts, the proportion in the small places and metropolitan places being approximately the same. Fewer in this income category were from towns of 2500-9999 population than any other class of town.

The average income for those in places up to 249 population was \$147 per month. The amount progressively increased until those in places of over 100,000 received an average of \$177.72 per month.

The sample for girls was too small to justify a detailed breakdown, but in general showed similar results. In the smaller places girls were found in the low income brackets more often than in the larger places. Girls in larger places were more often in the higher income brackets. The average income for those in places of under 2500 was \$69 per month; for those in places of above 2500, \$87 per month.

Effect of Age at Leaving School on Wages

There is some relationship shown between age at leaving school and income. Those who leave school early earn relatively low wages; those who complete a great deal of schooling more often earn a high wage on leaving school (Table 14). This relationship was consistently clear for the boys; more than two-thirds of those who left school at 15 years of age and under fell in the lowest income class. With each increase in age at leaving school, the proportion in the lower income group decreased. Moreover, the proportion of those in the highest income group increased with each increase in schooling.

For the girls the relationship was not consistent, since most girls fell in the low income group regardless of amount of schooling (Table 15). However, those girls who did succeed in obtaining the better-paying positions were in the large majority of cases those who had left school at the later ages.

Table 14. Distribution of Boys by Rates of Pay Received Per Month on First Job and Age at Leaving School*

Pay on first job	15 and under		16 - 17		18		19 - 22		Over 22		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$0 - 99	56	70.9	300	58.9	335	49.0	223	44.2	22	31.9	936	50.7
\$100 - 199	23	29.1	186	36.6	320	46.8	258	51.4	38	55.1	826	44.8
\$200 and over	0	0.0	23	4.5	29	4.2	22	4.4	9	13.0	83	4.5
Total	79	100.0	509	100.0	684	100.0	504	100.0	69	100.0	1845	100.0

* No information cases: 1591.

Table 15. Distribution of Girls by Rates of Pay Received Per Month on First Job and Age at Leaving School*

Pay on first job	15 and under		16 - 17		18		19 - 22		Over 22		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
\$0 - 99	83	86.8	338	87.0	517	87.3	242	67.7	6	30.0	1136	81.3
\$100 - 199	5	13.2	49	12.7	73	12.3	115	32.1	13	65.0	255	18.3
\$200 and over	0	0.0	2	.3	2	.4	1	.2	1	5.0	6	.4
Total	88	100.0	389	100.0	592	100.0	358	100.0	20	100.0	1397	100.0

* No information cases: 1701.

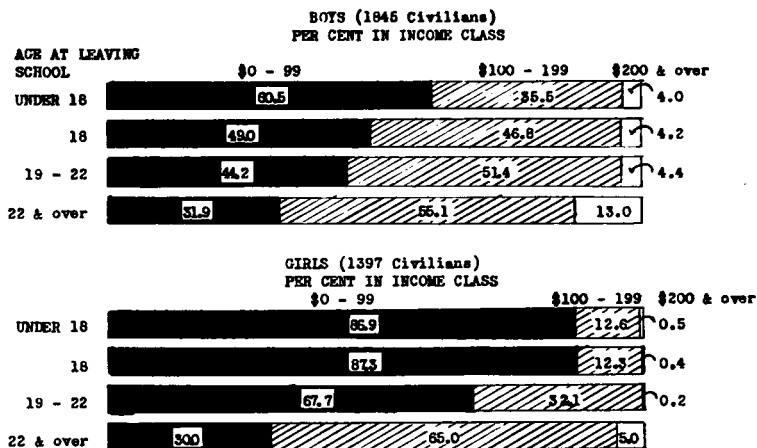


Fig. 14—Distribution of boys and girls by rates of pay received per month on first job in relation to age at leaving school. (Data for 1845 civilian boys and 1397 civilian girls).

In order to increase the members in each category, the age groups were combined into four classifications in Figure 14 and the earning power of both boys and girls in relationship to age at leaving school shown. The upper part of the chart, showing the situation for boys, makes clear that the older the youth at leaving school the greater are his chances of earning a monthly wage of above \$100. Only about 40 per cent of those who left school before 18 years of age earned more than \$100 and of this group only 4 per cent earned over \$200. The ratio between age at leaving school and earning power increases constantly for each group shown. Of those over 22 at the time of leaving school, 68 per cent earned \$100 or more and of these 13 per cent earned over \$200.

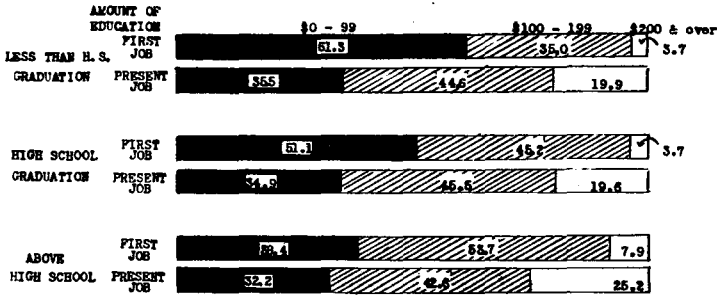
The situation for girls was not so constant. Girls 18 years of age or under fell in approximately the same income classifications, but both of these groups were much more likely to fall in the low income class than were girls leaving school at older ages. Less than 13 per cent of girls leaving school before 19 earned \$100 or more on their first jobs; whereas 70 per cent of those who continued in school until they were past 22 years of age received \$100 or more; 5 per cent of them received \$200 or more.

Rates of Pay on First Job in Relation to Educational Training

An analysis of rates of pay received in relation to grade in school completed for boys shows that amount of education bears a relation-

PER CENT IN INCOME CLASSIFICATION

BOYS



GIRLS

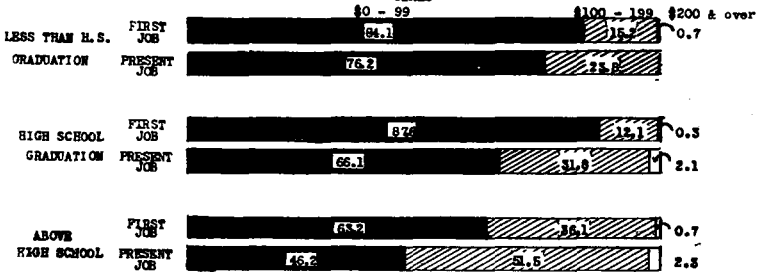


Fig. 15—Distribution of youth by monthly rates of pay received on first and present (1942) job in relation to amount of education. (Chart represents 1897 civilian boys for the first job and 2202 for the present job, and 1426 girls for the first job and 1120 for the present job).

ship to income. Figure 15 groups boys and girls into three educational classifications: those with less schooling than high school graduation, those who completed high school, and those who went beyond high school. In studying the chart for boys, it will quickly be observed that the more education received, the fewer youth that fall in the low income class, both at the time of the first job and at the time of the present (1942) job. In the higher levels of income the relationship was not quite so consistent. Approximately the same proportion of high school graduates and those with less than a high school graduation received over \$200 per month on their first jobs. Twice as many, however, of those with more than a high school education fell in this high income group. A similar relationship prevailed at the time of the present job although little difference was seen between the high school education and the less than high school education groups, since approximately the same per cent were in the \$200 and over income. A considerably

higher proportion of those with more than high school education fell in this group.

The relationship between earning power and education for girls was much more striking than for boys both at the time of the first job and at the time of the present job. The two groups with a high school education and with less than a high school education at the time of their first job in 87.6 and 84.1 per cent of the cases respectively fell in the lowest income class. At the time of the first job, having a high school education or less than a high school education seems to have made no difference in earning power; if anything, the better-educated group had slightly less earning power. However, those who finished high school progressed better on the job, since more than twice as many of this group fell in the \$100-\$199 income group and six times as many in the \$200 or more earning group at the time of the study in 1942 as of those who did not complete high school.

The superior earning capacity of girls who had gone beyond high school was especially marked on their first jobs. Instead of 85 per cent or more falling in the lowest income group, there were only 63 per cent. Also approximately 37 per cent earned over \$100 a month, whereas 12.4 and 15.9 per cent only of the two groups with less education earned as much. The difference carried over also to the present job. Over half of those who had education beyond high school were in the group earning \$100 or more a month, whereas of those with less education only 13.8 per cent earned this amount.

Monthly Rate of Pay in Relation to Length of Time Since Leaving School

The period of time one has had to adjust to his job bears a relationship to the amount of income received. In the case of boys (Fig. 16), there is a constant relationship between years out of school and amount of income. It is true that a considerable proportion remained in the low income bracket, even after eight or more years out of school, and that a small per cent began work in the high income brackets. It will be observed, however, that the proportion in the highest income bracket more than doubles over a period of eight years, and the proportion in the lowest income bracket was cut by almost half.

Almost three-fourths of the girls fell in the low income bracket during the first year out of school; approximately half after eight or more years (Fig. 16). The proportion in the higher income brackets, however, increased considerably from year to year. As in the case of the boys, the more years of experience, the greater the proportion in the higher income groups.

The above comparisons lack refinement in that they do not hold years of schooling constant and do not differentiate occupational

groups. Nevertheless, a constant climbing of the economic ladder is reflected.

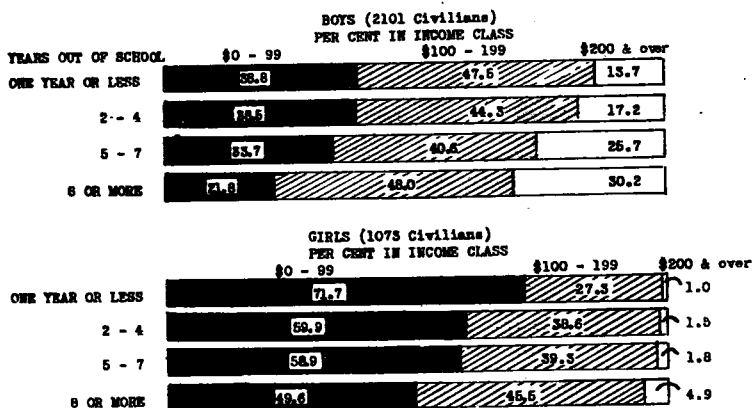


Fig. 16—Distribution of boys and girls by monthly rate of pay received by years out of school. (Chart represents 2101 civilian boys and 1073 civilian girls).

Father's Occupation as a Factor in Youth's Income

Presumably the occupation of the parent may have some effect on the earning power of the son insofar as "pull" and reputation of the father may be a factor in the son's obtaining a job, and perhaps insofar as the occupational heredity of one generation may reflect in the skills, formal and informal educational training of the next.

To check the relationship of the occupational heritage factor the monthly earnings of youth on their first jobs were related to the father's usual occupation (Fig. 17). It will be observed that sons of professional and semi-professional fathers more often received the higher incomes, whereas the domestic and service workers more often fell in the lowest income group; even lower, in fact, than the children of parents who have usually been unemployed or on government relief. The sons of professional and semi-professional fathers in 6.9 per cent of the cases earned more than \$200 a month. No other occupation placed quite such a proportion in this income group, although the sons of proprietors, managers and officials and of operatives and kindred workers were in the high income level almost as frequently. The professional group also had fewer in the under \$100 income class than any other occupation.

We may conclude from this chart that children with parents in the white collar occupations generally, with the exception of clerical workers, tend to rank highest in initial earnings, whereas children of farmers, farm workers, craftsmen, laborers and others whose parents

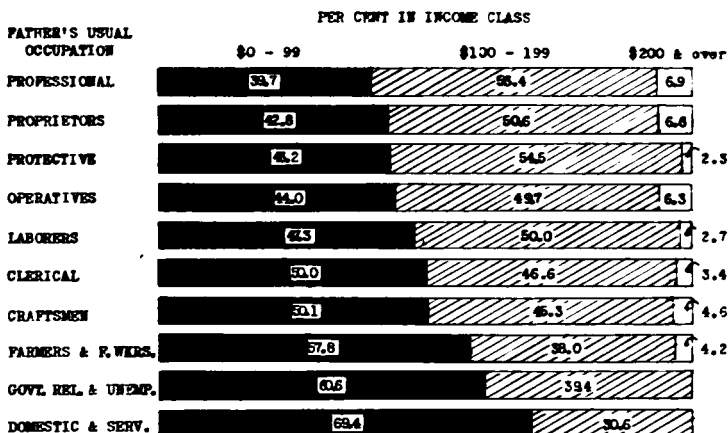


Fig. 17—Distribution of boys by monthly pay received on first job in relation to father's usual occupation. (Based on 1907 civilian cases).

work primarily with their hands tend to fall in the lower income classes. A possible explanation is that sons of these more privileged groups have greater educational opportunities, remain in school longer and otherwise enter the work better equipped to earn.¹

The second chart (Fig. 18) shows the relationship between income on the present (1942) job and the father's usual occupation. In order that the contrast between Figure 17 and Figure 18 may be more striking, the same order is followed in listing fathers' occupations. It will be seen at a glance that rather than sons of professional and semi-professional fathers ranking high in income compared to all other groups as they did at the time of the first job, in 1942 they ranked much lower in income than the sons of fathers in several other occupations.

The initial advantage which occupational heritage gave the professional group did not carry over as the youth acquired experience in his vocation, and the initial disadvantage faced by youth in most other groups did not affect their earning power in 1942. The abnormal times may be a partial explanation. For example, sons of craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers, to the extent that they followed their father's occupation, found themselves in a high-paid occupations during the first war year.

¹The sons of professional fathers and proprietary and managerial groups do go on to college in a high proportion of cases, compared to those of other occupations; face less handicaps in college due to having to work their way, and have other advantages as compared to the farmer and laborer groups. See Raymond W. Hatch and Paul H. Landis, "Social Heritage as a Factor in College Achievement," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. X., No. 4, December 1942.

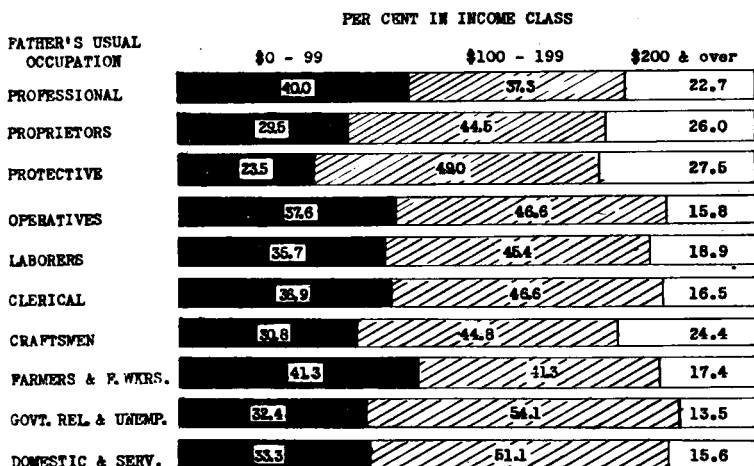
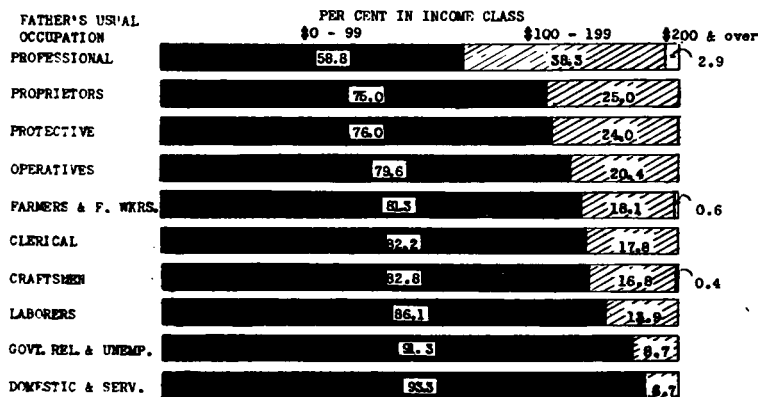


Fig. 18—Distribution of boys by pay received per month on present job in relation to father's usual occupation. (Chart represents 2224 civilians).

The occupational heritage of the family is also significantly related to the pay girls received on their first jobs (Fig. 19). As with the boys, the children of professional and semi-professional people, proprietors, managers and officials more often succeeded in getting into higher income groups. Children of domestic and service workers



NOTE: There are 115 girls unclassified.

Fig. 19—Distribution of girls by pay received per month on first job in relation to father's usual occupation. (Chart represents 1480 civilians).

again fell into the lowest paid group, even lower than government relief work.

For girls, the relationship between father's occupation and earning power on the present job followed approximately the same pattern as at the time of the first job (Fig. 20). Girls with professional parents still ranked near the top, being exceeded only by the protective services. Girls with a family occupational heritage associated with low earning power on the first job remained low in earning power at the time of the present job.

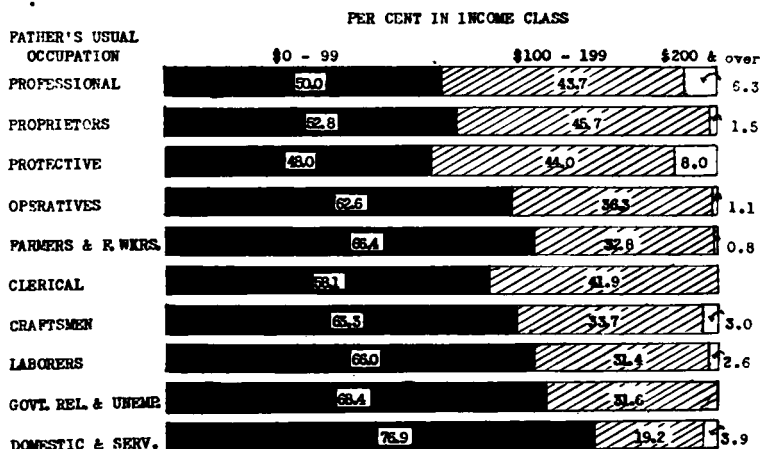


Fig. 20—Distribution of girls by pay received per month on present (1942) job in relation to father's usual occupation. (Chart represents 1135 civilians).

Effect of Occupation on Earning Power

It is a commonly observed fact that there is a close relationship between occupation and earning power in society. This relationship in part is no doubt reflected in the preceding data showing the relationship between age of leaving school and income and education. In general, youth who leave school at a later age and who achieve the higher levels of education are preparing for better paid occupations. A comparison of earning power of youth by occupation on the first and present job is presented in the following paragraphs.

First, the earning power of boys by type of occupation on the first job was considered (Fig. 21). Ranking first in earning power were proprietors, managers and officials, and professional and semi-professional groups. In these classes less than 15 per cent were in the low income groups and more than 10 per cent were in the upper income groups. Labor ranked next from the standpoint of having a smaller

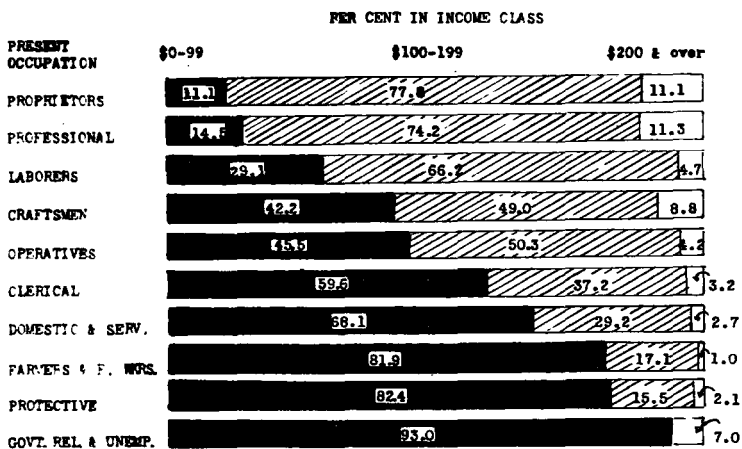


Fig. 21—Distribution of boys by pay received per month on first job by occupations. (Chart represents 1802 civilian boys).

proportion in the low income groups, although craftsmen and kindred workers exceeded them in proportion receiving \$200 a month or more. At the bottom of the list were those on government work relief who either received under \$100 a month or over \$200. Presumably those over \$200 were the supervisory personnel.

Aside from the relief group, the lowest paid occupations were the protective services, farmers and farm workers. Most workers in both of these occupations received under \$100 per month. The non-cash income of the farmers and farm workers is probably not shown since such income would probably not have been reported by students filling out the schedules. In many cases the real income from perquisites, food consumed at home, rents, etc., was considerable.

The relatively high pay of the domestic services and service workers is probably explained by the fact that the chart deals with boys only. They would be engaged in non-domestic services for the most part; in barber shops, press shops, etc., which pay better than domestic services.

The second chart (Fig. 22) shows the incomes of boys in various occupations on their 1942 jobs. Some marked contrasts to the situation pictured in Figure 21 are shown in addition to the general fact that a much higher proportion of all occupations were in the \$200 class.

Proprietors, managers and officials realized the greatest economic gains between the first job and the present job of any occupational group. Although only 11.1 per cent were getting over \$200 at the time of the first job, 56.3 per cent were getting over \$200 a month at the

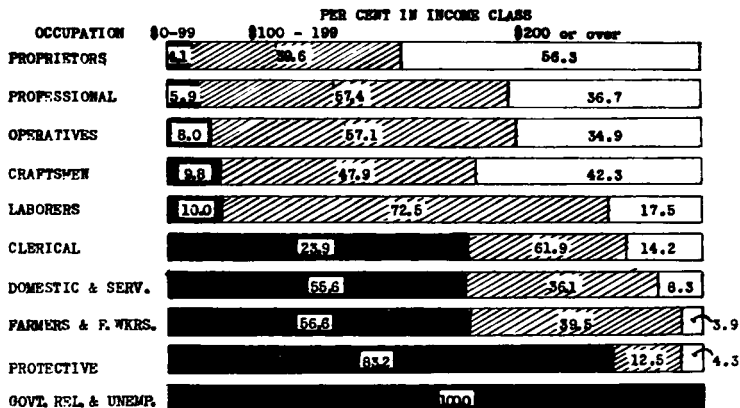


Fig. 22—Distribution of boys by pay received per month on present (1942) job by occupation. (Chart represents 2135 civilian boys).

time of the present (1942) job. Apparently this is an occupational field in which one climbs to the top fairly rapidly, or at least youth have done so during the period of study.

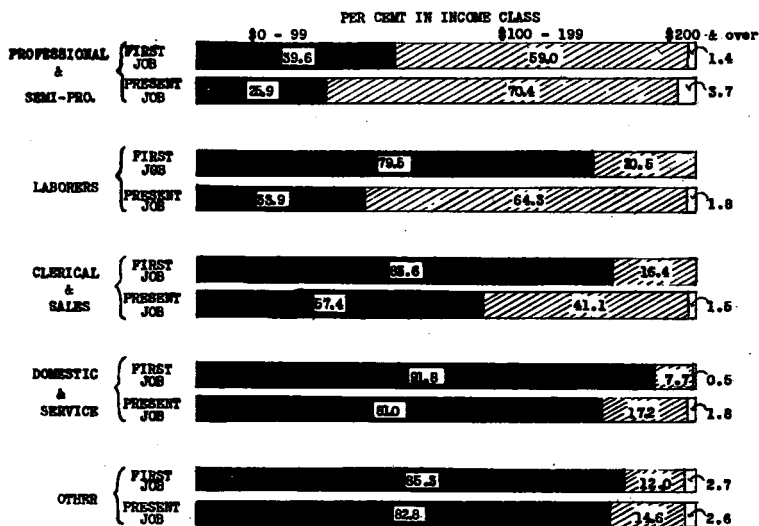
A higher proportion of craftsmen and kindred workers in 1942 were receiving over \$200 a month than were professional and semi-professional people who were no doubt much better educated. Operatives and kindred workers were well represented in the \$200 a month classification. Clerical and kindred workers, while still a relatively low paid group, showed a marked gain between the first job and the present job. At the time of the first job 59.6 per cent of boys in the clerical and kindred worker class received under \$100 a month; whereas in 1942 only 23.9 received so little.

The proportion of farmers and farm workers receiving low incomes was still large but only about two-thirds as large as at the time of the first job. The relative economic position of farmers and farm workers also in 1942 was much better from the standpoint of cash wages earned than that of the protective service group.

The third chart (Fig. 23) analyzes the income of girls for the few main occupations in which most girls were engaged. The same chart compares the distribution of girls by rates of pay on both the first and present (1942) job. The professional and semi-professional group of women rated best in income on both the first and present job. The marked improvement in wage distribution noted for boys between the first and the present job was not so characteristic of girls.

Comparatively few women rose to the \$200 earning level even in the professions during the average period of five years between the

first and present job. Over one-fourth of them still remained in the group receiving under \$100. This is a significant fact when one considers that the professions, especially such fields as teaching, nursing, library work, have been more accessible to women than any other fields.



NOTE: Other includes farmers, proprietors, craftsmen, operatives, protective service, relief, unemployed, a total of 78 girls, first job and 233 girls, present job.

Fig. 23—Distribution of girls by rates of pay received per month on first and present (1942) jobs by occupation. (Chart represents 1396 civilians for first job and 1102 for present job).

In the labor group a very high proportion of women had climbed from the under \$100 class to the \$100-\$199 class during the interval, probably because of "war" jobs. Clerical and sales work, which attracts a large proportion of women, has been an extremely low-paid occupation. It remained so in 1942. More than four-fifths of the group working in this field received less than \$100 on their first jobs and over half still received less than \$100 on their present jobs. Very few had attained the \$200 income level.

Domestic and service occupations also were extremely low paid, and the possibilities for advancement with the passing of time during the period covered, were few.

V. FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH OCCUPATIONAL AND TERRITORIAL MOBILITY

Presumably such factors as size of home community and education have some bearing on mobility and also upon shifts from occupation to occupation. It seems likely also that there is a logical relationship between occupational and territorial mobility, at least for the person in the small community which offers few vocational outlets. This individual, if he wishes to shift vocations, usually has to migrate in order to find an opportunity to do so. Territorial mobility, on the other hand, often no doubt gives the original impetus to a change in vocation, since through migration the youth may learn of occupations not represented in his home community.

It is possible also that differences in rates of pay in metropolitan and non-metropolitan communities and in rates of pay of different vocations may have a direct bearing on territorial mobility and also upon occupational change from one generation to the next. Data obtained in this study throw some light on most of these points.

First it is obvious that place of residence has a definite relationship to a number of factors which probably bear directly on territorial mobility. One of these is the amount of schooling. Since amount of schooling determines to quite an extent the kind of work one can enter, it is certainly a very critical factor in the experience of the average youth.

Highest Grade in School Completed by Size of Town

The smaller the place of residence of the pupil, the lower the average amount of educational training received. A difference of more than one year in average schooling was found in comparing the training of boys in places of under 2500 and in places of over 100,000. The difference in the average education of girls in places of various sizes was much less extreme. An increase in average educational training was found with each increase in size of place for both sexes, as shown in Figure 24.

This finding is further substantiated by a study of the after-commencement roles of 133,651 graduates of Washington high schools.¹ It was found that graduates from smaller schools pursued their educational training beyond high school much less frequently than did those in the larger places.

¹ Paul H. Landis, *Six Months After Commencement: An Analysis of the Activity Roles of 133,651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes of 1934 Through 1941*. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 420, September, 1942. These findings are further confirmed in Paul H. Landis, *High School Graduates in the First War Year: A Study of the After-Commencement Activities of 15,277 Graduates from Washington High Schools in 1942*. Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 438, March, 1944.

PER CENT IN EDUCATIONAL CLASS

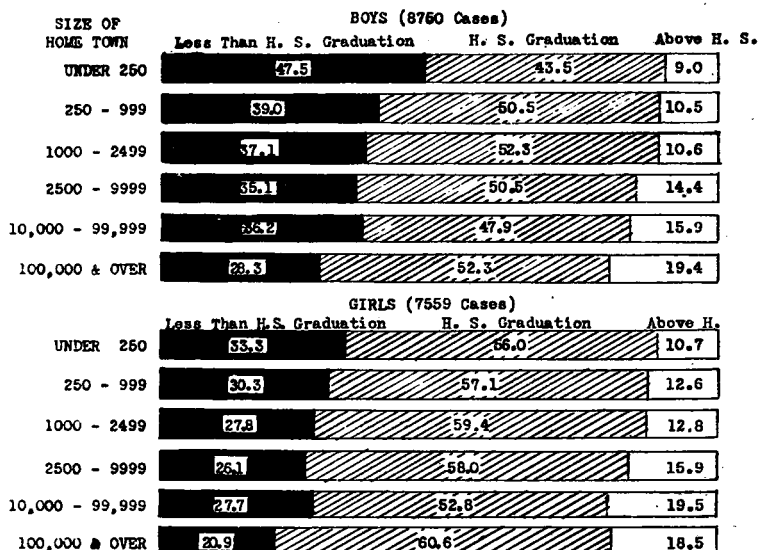


Fig. 24—Distribution of boys and girls by grade in school completed by size of home town. (Represents 8760 boys and 7559 girls).

Age at Leaving School in Towns of Various Sizes

A second check on amount of education by size of community was made using data on average age at leaving school. It will be observed that the smaller the community, the earlier youth dropped out of school; the larger the community, the longer they continued in school (Fig. 25). This relationship holds good for both boys and girls. However, the difference in age at leaving school for girls in large and small communities was not as extreme as for boys.

It is clear from these data that, to the extent that lack of education is a handicap, young people in the smaller communities had the greater handicap. It is also clear that to the extent that lack of education is an obstacle to choosing a vocation different from that of the parent, children in these same communities were handicapped. In stating this, it must be recognized that the average level of education of youth in the State of Washington is extremely high. (Of the total group of 15,779 youth only 11.3 per cent terminated their schooling at the grade school level, Table 2.)

While those in the smaller communities, on the average, have somewhat less educational training than those in the larger places, a

very high proportion of youth even in the smallest towns go on to the higher levels of education, and the majority of youth even in these small communities obtain sufficient educational training to fit into a great number of vocations. With the notable exception of the professions, high educational attainment is not a necessary prerequisite to successfully entering most types of work. Practically all industrial jobs can be entered and mastered in a few days or weeks by those of very meager educational training, according to studies of the American Youth Commission.¹

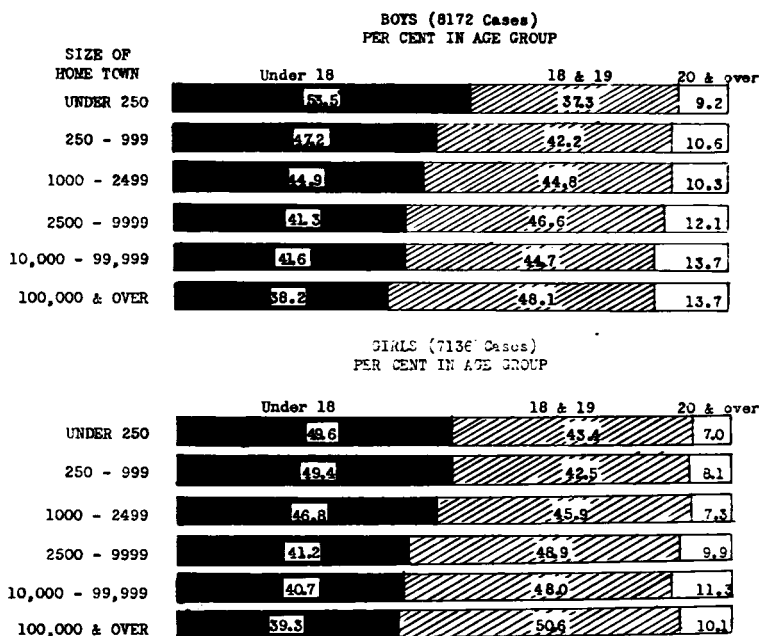


Fig. 25—Distribution of boys and girls by age at which they left school by size of home town. (Represents 8172 boys and 7136 girls).

Job Opportunities and Rates of Pay as Factors in Territorial Mobility

It is usually considered that job opportunities are an important factor in the migrations of youth. There is no doubt a great deal of truth in this common-sense observation; in fact, this observation is backed by considerable evidence from various studies. This study gives some opportunity to relate patterns of territorial migration to job

¹ Howard M. Bell, *Matching Youth and Jobs*, pp. 56-60, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1940.

opportunities and to wage levels. The data make it clear that the dominant trend of migration was from the most rural areas of the state toward metropolitan regions, and from open country and smaller towns to the larger towns and the metropolises themselves. Wages rose with the size of the community. The urbanward migration was, however, well under way during the school period, especially among the girls. Almost twice as many girls as boys from the eastern part of the state had their last schooling in metropolitan areas. This is probably because a large number of girls from the eastern farming areas go to Spokane to attend business college or enter nurses' training.¹ Girls from other parts of the state also went to metropolitan areas for schooling slightly more often than boys.²

Girls from all districts of the state were also more likely than boys to find their first jobs in one of the metropolitan areas. However, about equal proportions of young men and young women from each district were living in the metropolitan areas of Washington at the time the study was made. Thus it appears that girls were not more likely than boys to go to metropolitan areas but that they were likely to go at an earlier age than the boys.³ Abnormal migration patterns of the war period may have operated during 1942 to bring about an unusually heavy migration of young men to metropolitan areas. More boys received less than \$100 per month on their first jobs in the eastern non-metropolitan and central areas of the state than was true in the western and metropolitan areas. Fewer boys received \$200 or more per month on their first jobs in the western non-metropolitan areas than anywhere else in the state. The economic motive, as measured by wages actually received, for movement out of the non-metropolitan western regions was not so great, if wages are accepted as an index; for although few received very high wages on their first jobs in this region, no more received low wages than was the case in the western metropolitan region.

Both boys and girls received lower rates of pay for their first jobs in communities of less than 10,000 than in the larger communities. This difference was marked for the boys but was slight for the girls. This suggests that, although the desire for higher wages may have been an important motive for the migration of young men, it probably was not so important a motive for the young women. This is about what one might expect since most girls have to go to towns and cities

¹ Strong confirming evidence is presented in Paul H. Landis, *Six Months After Commencement: An Analysis of the Occupational Roles of 133,651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes 1934 through 1941*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin 420, 1942.

² *Ibid.*

³ A study of migration of former high school pupils in Missouri shows that more boys than girls there go to large cities and more girls than boys to medium sized cities. Noel P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad and Cecil L. Gregory, *Selective Factors in Migration And Occupation*, University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XVIII, p. 42, Columbia, 1943.

to find any work that interests them. The rural community offers few opportunities for gainful employment for young women.

Sons of farmers and of domestic and service workers were more likely to migrate than the sons of men in other occupational groups. These are the groups that normally have a higher than average birth rate¹ and have most youth to export. In the case of farmers only one child is usually needed to take over the family occupation.

Young men from the open country who were engaged in professions were likely to be living in towns or cities at the time of the survey. About as many girls, however, as were engaged in professions from the open country were living in the open country at the time of the survey.²

Those from rural areas who entered the clerical, domestic, and service occupations were likely to be living in towns and cities at the time of the study. This was to be expected since there are few opportunities in rural areas for these types of work.

Cities of 10,000 and over gained craftsmen and operatives from other places.

Education and Mobility

Those who had college educations were more mobile territorially than those who had no education beyond high school. This was true for residents of every region. Of those who had left for their first jobs, those with college training were less likely than others to return later to their home community to live. Figure 26 compares the col-

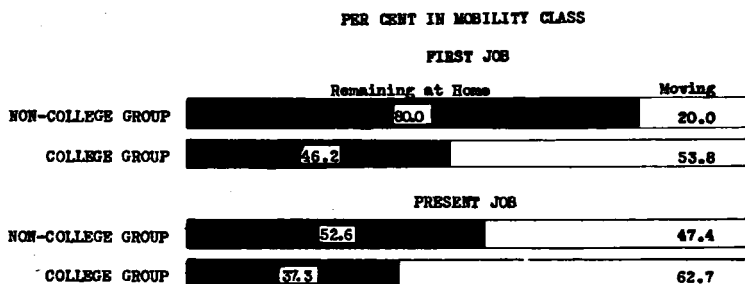


Fig. 26—Comparison of non-college and college groups as to mobility at the time of first job and present (1942) job. (Based on 196 civilian college cases and 1617 civilian non-college cases for the first job and 158 civilian college cases and 1064 civilian non-college cases for the present job).

¹Women Classified By Number of Children Ever Born, 1940, Series P-44, No. 2, Bureau of the Census, February 10, 1944.

²The high proportion of women in the teaching profession probably explains this fact. Gist and his colleagues find that rural people who become teachers tend to locate in small places rather than large cities. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 93-97.

lege and non-college group showing the per cent of each remaining at home at the time of the first job and the present job. It will be seen that whereas 20 per cent of the non-college group moved at the time of the first job, 53.8 per cent of the college group moved. The differences at the time of the present job, although not so great were still large, 47.4 per cent of the non-college group had moved and 62.7 per cent of the college group.

Relationship Between Rate of Pay and Occupational Mobility

It is logical to assume that there might be some relationship between rate of pay of a given occupation and the tendency of youth either to remain in that occupation or to change occupations between first job and present job. The data gave little evidence of any constant relationship on this point.

Although farmers received low rates of income on their first jobs they were occupationally stable. Clerical workers who were also in the low-pay group were only slightly more occupationally mobile than the average. The other occupational group in which rates of pay for first jobs were very low was the domestic and service group. This group is highly mobile occupationally.

Highest rates of pay for first jobs were found among the professional and proprietary groups. Although the professional group was highly stable occupationally, the proprietary group was more mobile than the average.

These findings suggest that the occupational mobility of youth cannot be satisfactorily explained in terms of income alone.

Relationship Between Territorial and Occupational Mobility

Some evidence on the question of relationship between territorial and occupational mobility was obtained. The findings tend to bear out rather strongly what might be anticipated; that is, that those who have migrated territorially also shifted occupations between first and present job. For a check on this problem the high school sample was divided into a migrant and a non-migrant group. It was found that although 46.4 per cent of the non-migrants were still in the same occupational class as at the time of their first job, only 23 per cent of the migrant group were still in the same occupation (Fig. 27).

A third group was also differentiated, those who had moved to a community of the same size as that in which the home town was located. This group fell between the non-migrant and total migrant group.

	PER CENT IN OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	
	SAME	DIFFERENT
ALL NON-MIGRANTS	46.4	53.6
MIGRANTS TO COMMUNITIES SAME SIZE	33.4	66.6
ALL MIGRANTS	23	77

Fig. 27—Distribution of boys by occupational stability on first and present (1942) job in relation to territorial mobility as measured by parental home address and youth's address on present job. (Chart represents 592 non-migrants, 388 who went to communities of same size as home community and 948 total migrants. All were civilians.)

Territorial mobility in all these comparisons is based on a comparison of parental home address with address of youth on present job, and occupational mobility was measured by a shift in occupation between first and present job.

Occupational Stability with Migration by Class of Town

The middle group in Figure 27 is broken down by size of community in Figure 28. Migrants who are now living in communities of the same size as their home communities were more likely than other migrants to be in the same occupational class as at the time of their

SIZE OF COMMUNITY	PER CENT IN OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	
	Same	Different
0 - 249	41.4	58.6
250 - 2499	37.3	62.7
2500 - 9999	35.9	64.1
10,000 - 99,999	28.2	71.8
100,000 & OVER	26.2	73.8

Fig. 28—Distribution of boys who moved to communities of the same size as their parental home community for the present (1942) job by occupational stability. (Chart represents 358 civilians).

first job but less likely than non-migrants to still be in the same occupational class. Those who migrated from open-country communities to other open-country communities were most likely to remain in the same occupational class; and those who migrated from metropolitan communities to other metropolitan communities were less likely than other migrants to remain in the same occupational class, but more likely to do so than the total migrant group.

VI. SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

This study of 16,732 youth outlines the typical patterns of their territorial migration and the patterns of their inter-occupational mobility. Data are also assembled dealing with the education of youth, and their employment and earnings. These various forces, entering into the adjustments of youth to maturity, are interrelated. Because of certain limitations of the data (refer again to pp. 6-14), findings on some points must be accepted as tentative.

Patterns of Territorial Mobility

The dominant pattern of territorial mobility in the state is migration from rural to urban areas. The larger the city, the greater its drawing power over youth in the surrounding territories.

In general, the most rural counties of the state lost the largest proportion of the youth of the generation studied through migration; the greatest gains were registered in King County, the most metropolitan county in the state. The Seattle-Tacoma metropolitan area lost the smallest percentage of its youth of any area in the state. At each stage in the career of youth an increasing proportion of youth from outside areas was found there.

At the time of the study, metropolises in the state, that is, cities of 100,000 population, had more than twice as many of the youth generation as were born there. In contrast, rural areas of under 2500 population had lost 28 per cent of the youth generation. While the contribution of the open country and small town areas to the metropolises was greatest, all places of under 10,000 made a substantial contribution to the young blood of large cities.

Metropolitan areas are clearly consumers of population; they keep their own and add a large fraction of those produced in rural, small town, and to a lesser extent, small city areas of the state.

Youth from rural places are most likely to locate in metropolitan centers and secondly in intermediate sized cities. There is evidence that the intermediate-sized city is used by rural youth as a stepping stone to the metropolis. The migration toward larger population centers for many youth begins during the later years of their schooling. It increases as youth become experienced in the work world.

This general pattern of migration in the state leads one to infer that the rural school should give its youth some general understanding of life and occupations of larger communities. For example, 44 per cent of youth from schools in places of 1000 to 2499 population will, probably within an average of five years after leaving school, live in larger places. Over half of the youth in places of under 1000 population will

eventually work and live in larger centers and almost 60 per cent of youth schooled in places of under 250 population will later locate in places larger than the school community.

Transmission of the Occupational Heritage from Father to Son

Of young men, 26.3 per cent were in the same occupations as their fathers at the time of the present job; of the girls, 4.5 per cent were in the same occupational class as their fathers. A higher proportion of sons of laborers than of any other group, 37.7 per cent, followed in the occupational footsteps of their fathers. Farmers and farm laborers were second with 34 per cent of sons following the father's occupation. Almost 30 per cent of the sons of operatives followed their fathers' occupations; 20 per cent of sons of craftsmen; only 10.5 per cent of sons of professional fathers.

In some instances a larger proportion of sons whose fathers were in a particular occupational class entered another occupation class than the parental occupation. Sons of professional fathers in 22 per cent of the cases were laborers and in 20 per cent were operatives. Twice as high a proportion of sons of fathers in proprietary occupations entered clerical work as became proprietors.

In ratio to their numbers in the sample, the sons of professional fathers were more likely to enter their fathers' occupations than were the sons of any other occupational group. The professions had a ratio of 4.2, rather than of 1.00, as would be the case if sons of professional fathers entered all occupations in equal ratio. Sons of domestic and service workers had a ratio of 3.7 and sons of proprietors of 3.6. Sons of farmers and farm laborers had a ratio of 2.7. At the other extreme, sons of fathers in the protective services had an index of only .96.

Inter-Occupational Mobility between Generations

It is clear that a large proportion of youth finds a place in occupations that are outside the family occupational heritage. Groups with relatively high birth rates, namely, farmers, farm laborers and common laborers, move in large numbers into every other occupational class, even into those occupational classes which represent high socio-economic status.

Children of farmers or farm laborers made up almost one-fourth of the professional group of the youth generation. Sons of professional fathers made up only 10.8 per cent of the professional group of the youth generation. It is clear, therefore, that the agricultural group contributed almost two and one-half times as many to the professional group as the professional group itself does. Sons of fathers in service occupations have the greatest difficulty in entering the professions, at

least a smaller proportion of sons of this group than of any other were found there. Sons of laborers made up almost 10 per cent of the professional group. In other words they contributed almost as many to the professions as sons of professional fathers themselves. Few of the sons of the farm group and sons of laborers had entered business at the time of the study, probably because of the lack of capital. It may be, however, because they are not interested in the general pattern of business operation.

Slightly larger proportions of farm youth were attracted to the professions than to business, perhaps because of their generally idealistic viewpoint, which finds more ready expression in such service-motivated professions as teaching and the ministry rather than in profit-motivated business.¹ Both sons and daughters of farmers in the sample showed a greater tendency to enter teaching than other professions. The index for both young men and young women with farm parentage in teaching was 2.0.

The contribution of the professional class to agriculture and business was negligible. Capital and experience are probably the limiting factors. It is true that farm labor does not require capital, but it does require a knowledge of agricultural practice if success is attained.

The proprietary group contributed heavily to the professional and clerical groups. Clerical work is apparently used as a stepping stone to the proprietary occupations. Unemployed parents contributed more heavily than any other occupational category to the unemployed group of sons. Farmers, craftsmen and laborers also contributed heavily to youth in the unemployed group.

Source of Occupational Replacements Between Generations

Occupational replacements differ markedly for the various occupations, as is implied above. Farming is more nearly self-sufficient as far as replacing itself with its own sons is concerned than any other occupation. In the farmer-farm laborer group almost four-fifths of the replacements in the youth generation came from the farmer-farm laborer occupational group, a little less than one-fifth from outside occupations. By contrast, the professions were filled to only 10.8 per cent by sons of professional fathers, approximately 90 per cent of professional replacements between generations coming from outside the professions.

The situation in the professions no doubt reflects in part the effect of the low birth rate of the professional classes; it probably also reflects an expansion of professional services in the state. Throughout the nation during the past several decades the number of professional

¹Such a view has frequently been expressed in rural sociological literature. Factual data of many studies show that farm youth do select teaching and the ministry as favored non-agricultural vocations.

personnel has increased in ratio to the total gainfully employed population;¹ undoubtedly a similar situation has prevailed in the state.

The data summarized herein suggest that there is a great deal of freedom of movement among the various occupational classes, an American tradition which must be maintained as long as many occupational classes fail to reproduce themselves. The youth of the more prolific farming and laboring classes naturally move into those places left vacant by the deficient birth rates of the more successful socio-economic educational groups.

The chief method for keeping these channels of free mobility among socio-economic classes open is the school system. Unfortunately at the present time the rural child is at some disadvantage from the standpoint of formal schooling. This study and other studies of the youth in the State of Washington² show clearly that urban youth more frequently than rural youth go on to the higher levels of education and obtain the socio-economic advantages that are associated with these higher levels of education.

Employment and Income

The smaller the place, the lower are the average rates of pay. Moreover, there is a relationship between amount of schooling and age at leaving school, and wages earned by youth on their first jobs. Parental occupation also has a definite bearing on the initial wages of sons and daughters. Sons and daughters of professional parents obtained the highest wages of any group on their first jobs. Sons and daughters of white collar workers also had a relatively high initial wage. Children in the service groups had the lowest wages; children of farmers, farm workers and craftsmen also obtained a low initial wage. After the average five-year period of experience included in the range of the study, sons of professional and white collar parents did not rank at the top in earning ability.

The job in which the youth is engaged also has a definite bearing on his initial wage. Youth who become proprietors, managers and officials and who enter the professional classes receive a high initial wage. Youth who enter farming and farm labor have the lowest initial wage. Proprietors, managers and officials make the greatest gains as far as earnings are concerned between the first and present jobs. In 1942 more young men who were occupied as craftsmen and kindred workers were earning \$200 or more a month than were young men engaged in the professional and semi-professional occupations. Pro-

¹ U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics chart, "Trend of Gainful Occupations, 1870-1940."

² Paul H. Landis, *Six Months After Commencement: An Analysis of the Activity Roles of 133,651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes of 1934 through 1941*. Wash. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. No. 420, September 1942; and Paul H. Landis, *High School Graduates in the First War Year: A Study of the After-Commencement Activities of 15,277 Youth Graduating in Washington High Schools in 1942*. Wash. Agric. Exp. Sta. Bul. No. 438, February, 1944.

fessional and semi-professional women were still at the top as far as women's wages were concerned.

Changing from job to job once the youth has selected his initial occupation has no constant relationship to rate of pay, but depends more upon the nature of the handicaps which are faced in entering the occupation. The most stable occupations, as measured by changes between first and present jobs, are the professions and farming. In the first case stability probably reflects the long period of training necessary to get into the professions; in the case of farm operators, stability probably reflects the initial difficulties in acquiring the capital necessary to the operation of a farm. In many cases, the stability of the youth on the farm is explained by the shifting of the responsibility of the family farm from the father to son.

The labor and service groups are the least stable; apparently these occupations are most often used as stepping stones to occupations that represent better socio-economic status.

Rate of pay is undoubtedly of some importance in explaining both territorial and occupational mobility. Rates of pay for boys are much higher in metropolitan centers than in rural territories. The major trend of migration is also, as has been pointed out, toward metropolitan centers. On the other hand, the wages of girls in smaller communities and larger cities are not much different, yet girls move to metropolitan centers in great numbers. This is undoubtedly explained by the fact that the girl who wishes to find a specialized vocation must move urbanward; rural areas and small towns offer a very limited number of job outlets for girls. Large cities also offer social attractions and opportunities for acquiring status which probably make a stronger appeal to feminine than to male interests.

Sex Differences in Earnings

In spite of the high educational attainments of girls in the state, the beginning wages of girls are much lower on the average than those of boys. Girls faced the same discrimination with the passing of time; they made much less progress in wages between the time of the first job and the time of the study than did boys.

In the case of both boys and girls, education is an important factor in wages. With girls, however, the relationship between education and wages is apparent for the beginning wage only among girls who reached the highest level of education. Apparently on the first job, women tend to pay the low wage penalty of their sex regardless of their level of educational attainment. After experience on the job, however, the woman of better training more often moves into the higher pay brackets. Experience and education do not, however, bring women's earnings equal to those of men.

The Educational Problem of Rural Youth

This study demonstrates that education is related to territorial and occupational mobility. Education tends to free the person from the limitations of his local environment, to make him feel more at home in the larger society, and is, therefore, correlated with migration. Similarly, the educated person has a greater choice of vocations and a greater knowledge of available vocations. The more educated person, therefore, is more often found in an occupation differing from that of the parent.

It is clearly demonstrated that rural young people in Washington, as elsewhere, do not in as high a proportion of cases as urban young people, achieve the higher levels of education, and are therefore at a disadvantage in the above respects.

Because of the extensive interoccupational mobility of youth, especially youth from the farming class, it is obvious that the school system has a definite obligation to prepare youth of the rural community for many non-farm vocations. The average farm family in the state can expect that only 34 per cent of its boys will enter agriculture. The other 66 per cent will enter non-agricultural occupations.

APPENDIX

Exhibit 1

The following form was used for obtaining information from pupils in the eighth grade:

County School District

YOUTH MIGRATION-EMPLOYMENT STUDY

(Fill one card for each older brother or sister who has finished school)

1. Your name
2. Name of older brother or sister
3. Age of older brother or sister Married? Yes..... No.....
4. What was the last grade completed in school by him (or her)?.....
5. What school did he (or she) attend last?
6. Where?
7. Age when older brother (or sister) left school
8. Where does he (or she) now live?
9. What is his (or her) work now?
10. What is your father's usual work?

Exhibit 2

Social science pupils in high school were asked the same questions. The first nine were in the same order as above and are not repeated below. The remainder of the high school form was as follows:

10. Where did he (or she) obtain his (or her) first full-time job after finishing school?
11. What was this job?
12. Did he (or she) obtain it immediately after graduation?
13. If not, how soon after graduation did he (or she) obtain a job?.....
14. About how much did it pay?
15. About how much does his (or her) present job pay?
16. What is your father's usual work?

Exhibit 3

The following guide was given teachers administering the eighth grade form:

TEACHER'S GUIDE SHEET

Question

- 2 One older brother or sister only should be entered on a sheet. A separate sheet should be filled for each older brother or sister who has finished school.
- 5 The name and location by state and town should be entered.
- 7 Age of older brother or sister.

- 8 State and town is sufficient address. If street address is known, it may also be entered.
- 9 The occupation is desired. If girl is married and keeping house, rather than being gainfully employed, the answer is "housewife." If person is unemployed, the word "unemployed" should be entered.
- 10 Enter "unemployed" if not working.

The high school form differed only in the following items:

- 10 Town and state is desired.
- 16 Enter "unemployed" if not working.