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Descriptive Analysis of the Effect of Ethnic Identification on the Aspirations of Self-Image of Freshman and Senior Students in a Large Co-Institutional Roman Catholic High School in an Industrial City of the Midwest

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ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION:

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECT OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION ON THE ASPIRATIONS AND SELF-IMAGE OF FRESHMAN AND SENIOR STUDENTS IN A LARGE CO-INSTITUTIONAL ROMAN CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL IN AN INDUSTRIAL CITY OF THE MIDWEST

by

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DEDICATION

TO THE SISTERS OF THE HOLY CROSS

at BISHOP NOLL INSTITUTE 1966 - 1967

WITHOUT WHOM WHAT IS

NEVER WOULD HAVE BEEN

VITA

Sister Christopher Marie Fails was born in Anderson, Indiana, July 25, 1930. She attended parochial elementary and high school in that city, graduating from Saint Mary's High School in 1948. She was graduated from Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana in 1952 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in sociology and political science. In the course of her years in college, she spent the summer of 1950 in Europe and attended the summer session at the University of Fribourg.

In August, 1952, she entered the Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross and made final profession of vows August 15, 1958. Her teaching experience has been in elementary and high school over the past twelve years.

In August, 1961, Sister Christopher Marie was graduated from the University of Notre Dame with the degree of Master of Arts in Communication Arts. She entered the graduate school of Loyola University in the summer of 1963 and intends to pursue a Ph. D. in sociology there, with the intention of entering college teaching upon completion.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Purpose of the Study: On October 3, 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Immigration Act of 1965. By it the government of the United States of America made major changes in the 41-year-old policy which has governed the admission of the foreign born to her shores.

Probably the most significant feature of the new law was the elimination of the quota system which, since 1924, has formed the bedrock of what immigration "policy" this country has had.

Instead of quotas based on the national origin of the foreign born living in the United States in 1910, a limit of 20,000 a year will be placed on immigrants from any one country. On a first-come-first-served basis, an overall number of 170,000 persons may enter from Asia, Africa, and Europe. Over and above this number, priority will be given to members of "immediate families" of persons already living in the United States. Estimates place this number at an additional 50,000 a year.[1]

One of the most controversial elements of the bill is the provision for limiting immigration from the other nations of the Western hemisphere for the first time. After mid-1968 the proposed limit is 120,000 a year unless this figure proves totally unreasonable in the light of studies currently in progress. For example, the predicted rate of natural increase for Latin

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[1]"A New Mix for America's Melting Pot," U. S. News and World Report, October 11, 1965, p. 55.

America in the next 35 years will be triple what it is today.[2]

The passage of new legislation in the field of immigration raises some important questions. Will such a law motivate immigrants in larger and larger numbers to seek a home in the United States? From where will they come? Where will they settle?

One point is very clear, and that is that the foreign-born who are entering the country are still to be numerically controlled. There is to be no surge of immigration as there was in the decade 1901-1910. Yet the very existence of new legislation is an indication that the foreign-born are still pressing to come, that, like their ancestors, they will face their period of adjustment; we will still have groups of the "uprooted" striving to strike a modus vivendi with what they find here.

Even though the drama of entry is still to be played at many docks and airports throughout our nation, there is every indication that the ports of origin will differ somewhat. Essentially, two periods in our nation's history, to date, mark the high points of immigrant entry. One is the period from the early years of the 19th century to its last decade, the so-called "old immigration" period. This period marked the initial entry of the Irish, Germans, Scandinavians, and others from northern and western Europe in large numbers. There followed in the latter 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century the era of the "new immigration" of the Italians, the Jews, and the Slavs, drawn from southern and eastern Europe.

While there are still hundreds of persons eager to enter the United States

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[2]Ibid., p. 56.

from southern and eastern Europe especially, these will probably be matched very significantly in the years to come by Asians and by Negroes. It is interesting to note also that the Negroes seeking admission will not be from Africa, but particularly from the islands of the Western Hemisphere. Immigration from northern and western Europe has declined in recent years, and this decline is expected to continue as long as economic progress is made in those countries.[3]

Such immigration figures are facts to be indicated on tables or plotted on graphs. As such, they are of interest to the statistician. The figures come alive, however, to the sociologist when he probes their meaning in order to find out the way in which a nation like the United States has dealt with the absorption into its culture of over 41 million immigrants and their families. The current legislation is an indication that this is not just a subject for historical review. Today, in terms of communication and transportation, the world is smaller than it has ever been. What is more, it is a world strikingly on the move. The names of the immigrants may have a different ring, but still they come. The problem of immigrant absorption is as relevant today as it was in the 1920's.

Milton M. Gordon clearly deplores the all but non-existent treatment given to this important social process by the sociologists of the United States:

> One of the more remarkable omissions in the history of American intellectual thought is the relative lack of close analytical attention given to the theory of immigrant adjustment in the United States by its social scientists.[4]

This omission and its consequences first came to the attention of the

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[3]Ibid., See Table, p. 57.

[4]Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," Daedalus, XC (Spring, 1961), 263.

writer five years ago upon the reception of an assignment to teach at Bishop Noll Institute in the heavily populated Calumet Region of northern Indiana. The school was interesting for several reasons: First, it was in the process of transition from a coeducational high school of 1600 to a coinstitutional high school of 3000. (The school structure itself will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter III.) Secondly, the student body probably represented every nationality group dwelling in the region with the heaviest representation of Polish and Slavic peoples. Negro students were at a minimum for several reasons. One was the prohibitive element of tuition. Another was the relatively low percentage of Negro Catholics in the region. And still a third was the fact that the school was built in an area not easily accessible from the predominantly Negro neighborhoods.

Faced with such a situation, the writer began to ponder two questions. To what degree, if any, did these students of foreign descent identify with their own ethnic group and what effect did this identification or lack of it have on their image of themselves and their personal aspirations, socially, academically and occupationally? It was believed that these were measures of one's assimilation into the larger society. The second question bore some relation to the first. What was the probable effectiveness of the two religious teaching communities involved here in terms of their own ethnic identification, which was predominantly northern and western European, in contributing to the cultural absorption of these students? This research area was first suggested by these questions.

A review of the literature from 1955 to 1965 substantiated the belief that little, if anything, had been done on the adolescent's ethnic image of

himself, with the exception of the wealth of research now being done on the Negro.

Further, a review of the literature of immigrant assimilation in general kept bringing to the fore the positive value, if not necessity, of incorporat- the essentials of reference group theory into the theoretical framework of the research.

Hypotheses: The research was begun with two closely related hypotheses in mind. They can be stated as follows:

First: Students who exhibit positive ethnic identification consistently will tend to have high aspirations and a satisfactory self-image.

Second: Students who are negative or at least ambivalent with regard to their ethnic identification will tend to have low aspirations and a less than satisfactory self-image.

Problems of Conceptualization: At the outset, let it be clear that this research is not simply concerned with the student's national origin. Rather, it is an attempt to get at the degree of his identification with it, his acceptance or rejection of whatever values may be involved; in short, his awareness of belonging to a specific ethnic group, and the meaning this has for him.

The term "ethnic group" throughout the paper is to be understood as Milton Gordon has defined it. Gordon refers to "any group with a shared feeling of peoplehood" as an "ethnic group."[5]

Gordon's notion of ethnic group within the national boundaries of the United States is broad enough to embrace any group which is defined or set off

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[5]Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 23-24.

from others by race, nationality, or religion. These categories are by no means synonymous for Gordon, but he does insist that all of these "have a common social-psychological referent in that all serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood for groups within the United States."[6]

There seem to be distinct advantages in the adoption of this definition. One is that research can focus on any one category of race, religion, or national origin on the common basis of the shared sense of peoplehood without detailed concentration on the other two. Another advantage is that, in accepting this definition, one accepts the belief that the key to ethnic group identification is precisely the shared sense of peoplehood, and is not at all dependent on the time a particular group or individual within a group has lived in the new nation. Therefore, it is possible, that given certain circumstances, a group which is second-, third-, fourth-generation and beyond may be as strongly identified with an ethnic group as someone of the first generation. The bases for identification may change, but the sense of identification, of belonging, may certainly persist. It is equally possible that such a sense of identification may be accompanied by alienation from other groups in the particular social structure. The implications of this phenomenon will be more thoroughly explored as the theoretical orientation of the research takes shape.

Within the limits of this research, one may be said to have a completely positive identification with his ethnic (nationality or descent) group when he can identify his ethnic origin, when he practices ethnic or foreign customs at

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[6]Ibid., pp. 27-28.

home, including the speaking of a foreign language and/or the reception in the home of a foreign language newspaper or magazine, reacts negatively on the "indices of 'foreignness'" scale incorporated into the study, reacts positively on the "indices of acceptance in school" scale incorporated into the study, and chooses his parents as his primary reference group.

On the other hand, one may be said to have a completely negative identification when he can identify his ethnic origin, rejects foreign customs at home, including the speaking of a foreign language and/or the reception in the home of a foreign language newspaper or magazine, reacts positively on the "indices of 'foreignness'" scale, reacts negatively on the "indices of acceptance in school on the basis of ethnic origin" scale, and chooses groups other than his parents for his primary reference groups.

The schema of the research also allows for a consideration of those cases which fall in between these two extremes, especially those which are noncommittal or somewhat contradictory on the various attitude questions.

Since the research deals with a high school student population, it is not possible to test adjustment and the degree of assimilation by marriage patterns. Therefore, educational, occupational, social and academic aspirations as well as a certain degree of self-confidence have been utilized as the indices of adjustment and a certain tendency toward assimilation.

It is very clear from the literature that there is a generational aspect operative in one's ethnic identification. As much as is possible, the generational variable will be considered in the analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The Universe and Sampling Technique: When this study was first planned,

there was a question as to whether it should be based on comparisons among the three Catholic high schools of the diocese. Because of the diversity in enrollment among the three, this was abandoned. Instead, the decision was made to gather the data from the largest high school of the three whose population was also probably the most representative of the ethnic heterogeneity of the area.

The bishop of the diocese was approached early in 1965 as to the feasibility of such research and his permission was given.

Since the writer of the study was a member of one of the religious communities teaching in the school, she did not participate directly in the conducting of the research. All contact with both teachers and students was made through the administration.

Several weeks before the questionnaire was to be administered, a bulletin went to the faculty from the administration which informed them that Bishop Noll had been invited by the Sociology Department of Loyola University to participate in a study of certain attitudes of high school youth. Their cooperation was requested.

The first class period of March 29, 1966, was chosen as the time for the gathering of the data. The questionnaires were taken to the homerooms and the administration of them was presided over by the homeroom sponsor.

Since the teachers simply knew that a study was being conducted, and had not been made aware of its specific purpose or content, a brief page of instructions accompanied the questionnaires. The opening paragraph stressed the importance of the research and the responsibility of the teacher in seeing

that the students took it seriously.[7] (As an aside here it seems well to mention that among the 1135 questionnaires examined in the early phases of the analysis, only four had to be discarded because of obvious inaccuracies in answers.)

At the end of the class period, the questionnaires were returned to the central office. The homeroom teachers signed a paper noting the number of students in their homeroom, the number answering the questionnaire, and the number absent.

The questionnaires were administered to the entire student body[8] but the study design planned concentration only on the senior and freshman classes.

From the 1135 students answering the questionnaire from these two classes (444 seniors, 691 freshmen), a sample was drawn.

The sample actually used in the analysis was composed of those senior and freshman students whose parents each had completed high school. The sample consisted of 257 students. Of these, 160 were freshmen (62%);[9] 97 were seniors (38%). By sex, 135 were male students (53%); 122 were female (47%).

The Questionnaire: The instrument used in the research was designed to gather data on all of the variables considered pertinent to the hypotheses and the purpose of the investigation.

Personal information was gathered from each student: his parish, sex, class in school, and age (Questions 1-5).

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[7]The complete text of these directions along with the student questionnaire appears in Appendix I.

[8]Approximately 2466 students. The absentee count was not calculated for juniors and sophomores.

[9]The percentages have been rounded in each case.

Questions 6 through 13 sought nationality descent as well as the generational position of the respondent with respect to birth of parents and grandparents in countries other than the United States. The generation of foreign born was assessed through parents to both maternal and paternal grandparents.

The actual engagement in those practices considered by students of ethnicity to be strong indicators of ethnic solidarity were considered reliable indices of ethnic identification, with added weight in the analysis given to the speaking of a foreign language, and/or receiving a foreign language newspaper or magazine, as compared to membership in an ethnic organization, and/or practice of foreign customs, and/or eating of foreign foods (Questions 16 through 20).

In an attempt to see if foreign languages were used at all in the churches and to determine if this language coincided with the foreign languages spoken in the homes, the respondents were asked, if they indicated that a foreign language was spoken at home, which language (Question 21). They were also asked if any services, sermons, or announcements in their church were given in a foreign language (Question 14). If the answer was in the affirmative, the respondent was asked which language (Question 15).

Questions 22 through 31 were attempts to assess the respondent's attitudes toward what were called for the purposes of the study the "indices of 'foreignness'". These covered a range of areas from whether or not persons coming to America from another country should become "Americanized" as soon as possible to whether or not the respondent would avoid attending Sunday Mass where the non-Latin parts were not in English. The possible answers were arranged on a five-point scale with a high score (maximum: 50) indicating attitudes

favorable to identification with the ethnic group; a low score (minimum: 10) indicating unfavorable attitudes. The actual categories used will be discussed in detail in the analysis of the data.

Questions 32 through 41 were an attempt to see if the respondents made any judgment concerning the nationality-descent of the faculty in relation to their own nationality descent. This part of the questionnaire was the least successful, it seems, for reasons which will be presented when the limitations of the study are discussed.

The problem of an ethnic base for identification was approached in two other ways in Questions 42 through 47. For the first five, a five-point scale was constructed which gathered the respondents' attitudes toward the relationships between students and faculty on the basis of nationality-descent. One of these, Question 46, was an attempt to determine if the respondents felt that their parents were rejected by the faculty if they could not speak English well. In Question 47 they were asked to whom here in school would the respondent go if he had a problem he had to talk about.

A battery of questions (Questions 48 through 53) then sought information about whether or not there was any connection between the respondent's peer group and his nationality-descent.

A measure of self-confidence was determined by five questions taken from the long form of the Minnesota Survey of Opinions. The questions chosen were from those in the Survey constructed to measure feelings of inferiority. The wording was changed slightly in some of the questions in order to preserve an inferiority-directed consistency for purposes of the scale values.

The establishment of a specific reference group for each respondent was

measured with items from the instrument Coleman used in his study of the adolescent society (Questions 60-62; 64). From the results it was possible to specify a parent, a peer group, a teacher orientation, or no definable reference group orientation.

Social, academic, occupational, and educational aspirations were assessed in Questions 63; 65-67. The first two of these also came from the Coleman study.

The questionnaire ended with items designed to measure the education and occupation of the respondents' parents (Questions 68 through 73). These data were then converted for use in the Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position.

Cumulative scores were recorded for the respondents' generational relationship to the foreign-born element in the family (Questions 16 through 12), the practice of foreign customs in the home (Questions 16 through 20), the respondents' attitudes to the "indices of 'foreignness'" (Questions 22 through 31), the respondents' identification of the nationality-descent of the faculty (Questions 32 through 41), the respondents' attitudes toward relations with the faculty based on ethnicity (Questions 42 through 46), measure of inferiority (Questions 54 through 59), reference groups (Questions 60 through 62; 64), aspirations (Questions 63; 65 through 67), and social class (Questions 68 through 73).

The questionnaires were coded for IBM processing.

The questionnaire was subjected to a pre-test among 70 students in a high school in a neighboring city with a student body comparable in size and ethnic composition to Bishop Noll. For reasons which will be explained below, this pre-test was less than satisfactory.

Limitations of the Study: Many of the limitations of this research are common to all descriptive studies; others are common to the local situation.

In order to keep the possibility of biased answers at a minimum, the writer remained anonymous throughout. As was previously indicated, all communication reached the respondents through the administration via the homeroom teacher. All they knew was that they had been invited to participate in this study by the Sociology Department of Loyola University. Even though there is every reason to believe that great care was taken to insure the validity of the results, the possibility of error or bias certainly exists since there was no direct communication with the respondents at any time except through the homeroom teachers.

A second limitation is related to this. Great care was taken to word the questions in such a way that there would be a minimum of ambiguity. However, since the pre-test was less than satisfactory in its results, it is entirely possible that some ambiguous items remained in the final instrument, and this becomes especially limiting in the light of the fact that the study design did not provide for any follow-up schedule of personal interviews.

The conditions surrounding the pre-test have already been alluded to. Arrangements had been made for the scheduling of the pre-test early in the year. However, for some reason still unknown to the writer, when the questionnaires arrived at their destination, no action was taken for some time. Finally, after some prodding, questionnaires were answered by 12 senior girls and 58 freshman girls. No boys were included in the pre-test. When the results were finally returned and tallied, the date for distribution in the actual test school was due and it was then impossible to make any but the most superficial revisions, utterly impossible to structure a new pre-test situation.

For example, the fact that Questions 32 through 41 tended to be ambiguous was known from the pre-test. However, these items, of necessity, remained basically the same in the final instrument. As was expected, in the final analysis, these items gave evidence of ambiguity. This was the only place, however, where such ambiguity was blatantly evident. The overall results on the pre-test established validity to the author's satisfaction, considering the circumstances discussed above.

Another limitation concerned the matter of IBM processing. Due to considerable turmoil and staff changes in the data-processing department of the university at the time this study was going through, some of the intended computations and statistical techniques were never possible. For the most part, the final analysis was actually accomplished as the result of manual tabulation.

The decision had been made to consider the generational factor as an important variable as it appeared. At the same time the decision was made to consider only those freshman and senior respondents whose parents both had completed high school. Since the number of respondents who were either first- or second-generation Americans was minimal, the criterion of a high school education for parents seemingly eliminated this as a variable. A cursory review of the remaining questionnaires tended to verify this suspicion. More respondents would fit into the first- and second-generation category only if one waives the high school education requirement. For analysis, however, the original sample was kept intact, and where feasible, the first- and second-generational factors were combined.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION AND SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Theoretical Orientation: There is little necessity of going beyond the most fundamental text in introductory sociology to conclude that unity and coherence in any social order depend upon the successful operation of the process of assimilation.[1]

Essential to the notion of assimilation is a confrontation between two diverse cultures, one of whom is dominant over the other.

The classic definition of the concept is attributed to Robert Park and Ernest Burgess. For them assimilation was "a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."[2]

Forty years after the appearance of the Park and Burgess definition Milton Gordon called attention to two additional variables contained in it. "Assimilation has not taken place, it is asserted [by Park], until the immigrant is able to function in the host community without encountering prejudiced

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[1]John F. Cuber, Sociology: A Synopsis of Principles (5th ed.; New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1963), pp. 629-632.

Leonard Broom and Philip Selznik, Sociology (3rd ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1963), pp. 492-495.

Francis E. Merrill, Society and Culture (2d ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961), pp. 42-43.

[2]Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Scuince of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 735.

attitudes or discriminatory behavior."[3] As a second variable Gordon introduces a significant distinction made by Arnold Green:

> Persons and groups may 'acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups,' and at the same time be excluded from 'sharing their experience' and find themselves indefinitely delayed in being incorporated with them in a common cultural life. Why? Because many of the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of the receiving group are common property; the inclusive ones in America--such as patriotism, Christianity, respect for private property, and veneration for legendary heroes--are vested in the total society, and they are readily accessible to all. On the other hand, the matter of sharing experience and incorporation in a common life is limited, first, by a willingness on the part of the receiving group, and second, by a desire on the part of the new arrivals to foster social participation.
>
> Although it is usually the receiving group which erects barriers to social participation, the immigrant group, or segments of it, may likewise wish to do so.[4]

The Green distinction is especially relevant to the theoretical orientation presented in this study because clearly assimilation is not an automatic process. Rather, it demands "willingness" on the part of the host group and "desire" on the part of the newcomer. Confrontation alone is insufficient. In some sense, the two groups must become referents for one another.

For the student at Bishop Noll Institute the process of assimilation is actually in potency on two levels. First of all, he is being socialized into the dominant culture from what has been satisfactorily identified as an

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[3]Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 63.

[4]Arnold Green, Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1st ed., 1952), p. 66.

adolescent sub-culture.[5] For him, the "Dominant culture" at this level is the adult world with its value-attitude system. The goal is eventual assimilation.

As if the problems connected with the passage from adolescence to adulthood were not enough, there is a second level of assimilation operative among these students in this school. By and large they are the sons and daughters or grandsons and granddaughters of immigrants. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suspect that they not only live with the problems of marginality which plague the ordinary adolescent's passage to maturity, but theirs is also a world between two ethnic cultures, the "foreign" on the one hand, the new or "American" on the other, whatever this may mean.

The present study does not minimize the importance of the marginality which accompanies the process of physical and social maturation, but its orientation places particular emphasis on the complications necessarily involved in the concomitant factor of ethnic marginality.

Since the research in question is laid within the framework of American society, the theoretical construct must take into consideration the various theories of assimilation.

The process, as it has been described by such observers of the saga of immigration into America as Oscar Handlin and Marcus Hansen, has been clearly and fairly presented by Milton Gordon in an article which appeared in Daedalus in 1961, preceding the publication of his provocative book on assimilation in 1964.

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[5]James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), pp. 1-11.

In this article Gordon sets up three conceptual models which he believes explain the way, historically, in which America has attempted to construct a rationale for the absorption of immigrants.

The first is simply "Anglo-conformity." Under this title are included all those theories of assimilation into the American social structure which advocate the desirability of maintaining those English institutions which were successfully modified by the American Revolution. Such a position would establish the primacy of the English language and all English-oriented cultural patterns as being dominant in American life.

Anglo-conformity was the basic position of such founding fathers as Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin, who did not favor mass immigration. In this matter, however, they faced a dilemma: the young country, expanding its frontier and exploiting its resources, had great need for manpower from abroad. Yet the great influx of Irish and Germans in the early decades of the 19th century posed a distinct threat to the values and traditions of the "establishment." Such fear, in its extreme form, gave rise to the Native American Movement of the 1830's and '40's and the "Know Nothing" Party of the 1850's.

The ravages of the Civil War and subsequent reconstruction only served to increase the need for people. This time the call was answered by the inhabitants of southern and eastern Europe. Such a phenomenon aroused a varying form of racism in the "American" breast. ("At least those of the 'old' immigration were of Celtic and Aryan stock, a 'superior' race, but these .....!")[6]

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[6]Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," Daedalus, XC (Spring, 1961), 265-270.

The consequence of such thinking was a fanatic effort to Anglicize the newcomer as quickly as possible. Its zenith was reached in the Americanization movement of World War I which was followed by a series of restrictive legislative acts culminating in the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

Students and advocates of the theory of Anglo-conformity eventually became disenchanted with its effectiveness and validity when, after years of "Assimilation," ethnic enclaves with most visible cultural peculiarities were still very much a part of the American scene.

Old causes, like old soldiers, seemingly never really die, however. Obscure items appearing in Newsweek for August 29, 1966, and The Washington Post for September 10, 1966, allude to a publication of the National Education Association entitled "The Invisible Minority" which reports on a study of Mexican-Americans in the schools of five Southwestern states. One phase of the report treats the attitude of the personnel of some of these schools toward the few Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans who do not drop out of school. He is told, "If you want to be an American, speak American," and is frequently punished for using Spanish.

In fact, then, there are at least pockets in the United States where Anglo-conformity is still a value. One does suspect, however, that some "modifications" have taken place. Witness the substitution of "American" for "English."

Much more in line with the evolution of assimilation theory is the NEA's exhortation to the schools in question to stress bilingualism in order to enable the children to "adapt to the dominant 'Anglo' culture while

encouraging a pride in his native tradition."[7]

Gordon lays the groundwork for the second conceptual model by observing:

> The very condition of life in America made the maintenance of English institutions in their original form impossible. America was not to become a modified England, but was to be a whole new blend, culturally and biologically, in which the stocks and folkways of Europe, figuratively speaking, were indiscriminately mixed in the political pot of the emerging nation and fused by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new type.[8]

And so "The Melting Pot" theory of assimilation was born. The "new type" alluded to was not to equal the sum of the various groups; rather it was to be a new creation emerging from the interaction among, and the influence upon, one another.

The "melting pot" theory was strengthened considerably by the thesis which the noted historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, presented to the American Historical Society in Chicago in 1893. According to Gordon, Turner's thesis was that American institutions and American democracy did not grow from the country's European heritage nor from the influence of the eastern seaboard cities, but rather from the experiences created by an ever-moving western frontier. The frontier was the great leveller of men, the great builder of national character. Surely one brought one's past to the frontier, but the experience swallowed the past in its creative force. The frontier environment acted as a "solvent" for national heritages.[9]

America must have rationalized and romanticized the "melting pot" to such an extent that all situations would have been made to "fit," but within five

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[7]"The Invisible Minority," Newsweek, August 29, 1966, p. 46; The Washington Post, September 10, 1966, p. A4.

[8]Gordon, Daedalus, 270.

[9]Ibid., p. 271.

decades, it was obvious that the "melting pot" was to go the way of all "theories of the middle range." It was to be expanded and questioned and modified by subsequent research.

The "research" alluded to most frequently in the literature and lauded by Herberg's classic treatment of Protestant-Catholic-Jew was an article in 1944 under the title "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," by Mrs. Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy.

In her analysis of intermarriage patterns in New Haven, Mrs. Kennedy found that over a seventy-year period, intermarriage in New Haven was not "general and indiscriminate" as the "melting pot" advocates implied. Rather, intermarriage in New Haven was controlled by religious barriers. Persons of the same religion tended to intermarry even though they rather freely crossed nationality lines to do so. The data showed that Irish, Italians, and Polish (all Roman Catholic), tended to intermarry as did British-Americans, Germans and Scandinavians (all for the most part, Protestant). Seldom did Jews marry gentiles.[10]

Her general conclusion was stated thus:

> Assortative mating, rather than random intermarriage, has been occurring in New Haven since 1870 and assimilation in this city is of a stratified character. The 'melting-pot, general mixture' idea has failed to materialize in this particular community. Religious differences function as the chief bases of stratification.[11]

Will Herberg took up the Kennedy conclusion that the "melting pot" theory was oversimplified. In speaking especially of the third-generation American,

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[10]Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven," The American Journal of Sociology, XLIX (January, 1944), 339.

[11]Ibid.

he observes:

> The newcomer is expected to change many things about himself as he becomes American--nationality, language, culture. One thing, however, he is not expected to change--and that is his religion. And so it is religion that with the third generation has become the differentiating element and the context of self-identification and social location.[12]

Even though Herberg concurs with Mrs. Kennedy's conclusion, he is not content to allow the matter to stop there. He contends that the "typical" American does not look upon himself as a composite of all the ethnic groups involved, but the American's image of himself is still the Anglo-American ideal as it was after the American Revolution. "The 'national type' as ideal has always been, and remains pretty well fixed. It is the Mayflower, John Smith, Davy Crockett, Washington and Lincoln ...."[13]

Herberg's conclusion is that "our cultural assimilation has taken place not in a 'melting pot' but rather in a 'transmuting pot' in which all ingredients have been transformed and assimilated into an idealized 'Anglo-Saxon' model.[14]

Out of the ashes of the controversy over the exact meaning and validity of the "melting pot" thesis, a third conceptual model attempting to explain the assimilation process in America has come into prominence in recent years. It is proposed, in part at least, as an answer to the theories of "Anglo-conformity" and "The Melting Pot." It is the notion of "Cultural Pluralism" and it currently enjoys immense popularity. Actually, Gordon calls it "the

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[12]Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., Anchor Books, 1960), p. 23.

[13]Ibid., p. 21.

[14]Ibid.

natural consequence of the 'Triple Melting Pot' thesis,"[15] based as it is upon the creation of numerous ethnic enclaves which provided the new immigrants with security against what was strange and new, and often hostile.

The theory found ripe soil for growth among the settlement workers at the turn of the century, because they soon discovered that the almost fanatic pressure to "Americanize" resulted in ethnic self-hatred. The product of "Americanization" was not adjusted and assimilated at all. The nation faced a generation of "marginal men."

The term "melting pot" was coined and popularized by Israel Zangwill whose play of the same name appeared in this country in 1908. The clarion call for the "melting pot" theorists was sounded by Frederick Jackson Turner, and the classic statement for the cultural pluralists was made by Horace Kallen, a Harvard-educated philosopher whose "Democracy vs. the Melting Pot" appeared in The Nation in 1915. Kallen stressed the way in which the various ethnic groups in the United States coincided with specific regions and the way in which the immigrant was preserving his own language, culture, and religion. At the same time, however, the immigrant was learning the ways of participating in the economic and cultural life of the nation. It was "the best of two worlds" type of thinking and Kallen refused to draw any conclusion. Only time would tell whether both could be sustained.[16]

As is the case with all thoughts of any magnitude or depth, all of the theories of assimilation, but particularly "cultural pluralism," have undergone numerous revisions and refinements.

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[15]Gordon, Daedalus, p. 274

[16]Ibid., p. 277.

Paramount among these was the significant contribution of Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan published in 1963 and entitled appropriately Beyond the Melting Pot. In this fascinating study of the ethnic enclaves of New York City along political, economic, cultural, religious, and social lines, the authors clearly give evidence in depth of being familiar with all of the theorizing which has gone before. They observe:

> It is true that language and culture are very largely lost in the first and second generations, and this makes the dream of 'cultural pluralism' ... as unlikely as the hope of a 'melting pot.'[17]

Once again the previous "answers" are rejected as much too simple. Moynihan and Glazer are prepared to add additional factors:

> As the groups were transformed by influences in American society, stripped of their original attributes, they were recreated as something new, but still as identifiable groups. ... They are linked to other members of the group by new attributes that the original immigrants would never have recognized as identifying their group, but which nevertheless serve to mark them off, by more than simply name and association in the third generation and even beyond.[18]

Glazer and Moynihan then proceed to sound a note that previously has been muted, if sounded at all. The impact of assimilation, they contend, was different because the groups were different. There were Catholic peasants from southern Italy, urban Jews from central Europe and "their differences meant that they were open to different parts of the American experience."[19]

In the light of this thinking, it seems valid to conclude that a person

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[17]Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1963), p. 13.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid., p. 14.

or group brings something with him to a new situation at the same time that he/it confronts something which is already there.

Glazer and Moynihan put it extremely well when they say,

> In the third generation, the descendants of immigrants confronted one another and knew they were both Americans, in the same dress, with the same language, using the same artifacts, troubled by the same things, but they voted differently, had different ideas about education and sex, and were still in many essential ways as different from one another as their grandfathers had been.[19]

The nature of American society itself made its own contribution to the creation of such a situation. It either could not or would not assimilate the immigrant fully or equally.

It is this which leads Milton Gordon to conclude his presentation of the three theoretical models traditionally used to explain the assimilation process the way he does.

It is Gordon's contention that "assimilation" is simply a blanket term; distinctions are necessary. The most important distinction to be made is between what Gordon calls "behavioral assimilation" and "structural assimilation."

The first refers to the immigrant's absorption of the cultural behavior patterns of the "host" society. Here Gordon notes that simultaneously there is often some modification of the cultural patterns of the host country as well. It is Gordon's belief that this process is covered by the simple term "acculturation."[20]

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Gordon, Daedalus, p. 279.

This, however, is only half of the picture. "Structural assimilation" refers to the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, and institutions of the dominant group. The test of whether or not this process has taken place on a large scale is whether or not a high frequency of intermarriage has taken place.[21]

After making the distinction between "behavioral" and "structural" assimilation, Gordon generalizes that the characteristic ethnic group experience has been one which encourages the development of internal organizations and informal relationships among "one's own." However, complicating the American picture is the existence of social class divisions which cut across ethnic lines. Therefore, a further restriction is placed in the way of structural assimilation. While it is true that the immigrant can feel a certain vague oneness with the total group, his most intimate relationships are not only ethnically controlled but class controlled as well.[22]

To summarize Gordon's essential point: "While behavioral assimilation or acculturation has taken place in America to a considerable degree, structural assimilation, with some important exceptions, has not been extensive."[23]

The two "exceptions" Gordon alludes to are the "triple melting pot" thesis of Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy and Will Herberg and the subcultural experience of the world of the intellectuals in which true structural intermixture along both ethnic and religious lines has actually, in Gordon's opinion, taken place.[24]

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., p. 280.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., pp. 280-281.

In attempting to cite the reasons for the factors discouraging structural assimilation as well as to explain the exceptions, Gordon believes that the answer is to be found in the attitudes of both the majority and the minority groups and in the way these attitudes have interacted.

For example, he believes there is considerable evidence to suggest that white, Protestant America has never really invited the minorities to assimilate. On the other hand, the minorities themselves have resisted. For most of the immigrant groups, assimilation was out of the question, for socioeconomic reasons, if for no other.

For the minority religious groups, assimilation, and its consequent patterns of intermarriage, constitutes a threat to the particular religious ideology.

This lengthy treatment of the theoretical models within which the assimilation of the foreign-born into the United States attempts to take form and meaning would be irrelevant and superfluous if it did not lead somewhere, if it did not give some direction to the current state of the question. Again the thinking of Milton Gordon is relevant:

> To understand that behavioral assimilation (acculturation) without massive structural intermingling in primary relationships has been the dominant motif in the American experience in creating and developing a nation out of diverse people is to comprehend the most essential sociological fact of that experience.[25]

If Gordon is correct, we should expect to find, among those students at Bishop Noll Institute who most clearly evidence influences from another culture, evidences of marginality. We would expect this to be observable in their attitudes toward certain indices of foreignness, their aspirations, and their

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[25] Ibid., p. 285.

own feeling of confidence in themselves, for they have, in most cases, probably not "arrived," either as adults or as "Americans."

Theirs is, then, a two-fold search for belonging. As a broad rationale for explaining what processes have been operative historically, the various models for assimilation presented above suffice. But this research is with 255 individual students, considered collectively, considered one by one. Theirs is a socio-cultural milieu where ethnic differences are generally evident, where ethnic differences have meaning. However, some of these students will be absorbed and in turn will absorb the prevailing American culture, coming to terms with its many diversities; others will not. The attempt to explain why some will and why some probably will not is to introduce another dimension to the theoretical orientation of this study. This is the concept of "reference group" and the accompanying concept of "marginality" which have attained significant levels of theoretical sophistication through relevant research, particularly in the last 25 years.

The reference group concept was first posed by Herbert Hyman in his famous monograph which appeared in 1942. In this monograph Hyman assumed that people make fundamental judgments and self-assessments based on a psychological identification with a group rather than on the fact of formal membership in the group. Hyman did not rule out membership groups as reference groups. He was simply saying that for any group to be a reference group for someone, some psychological identification had to be present.[26]

Although the term was new in 1942, the underlying assumptions were not.

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[26]Herbert Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," Archives of Psychology, CCLXIX (1942), 48.

As early as 1922, Charles Horton Cooley explored the phenomenon of the development of a self-image and coined his now famous "looking-glass self" concept.[27] For Cooley, the "self" was drawn from the life of the actor as this life was immersed in a context of "others." He recognized three elements in the self-idea. First, there was the imagination of our appearance to the other person, then the imagination of the other's judgment of that appearance, and finally, some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or humiliation. It is important to note that, for Cooley, the entire process took place in the imagination of the actor as he confronted the "other."

It remained for George Herbert Mead in 1934 to clarify the social context in which the development of the self takes place. It was Mead's contention that the human individual, endowed with "mind" and "self," was the product of society, not its creator, for "mind" and "self" arise only through social interaction and communication.[28] For him interaction and communication were biological properties common to all the animals, but only man possesses language, and therefore only man can experience society because only through language can the endurance of society be assured through the process of socialization. It is through language that man internalizes the attitudes of other individuals and of the social groups with which he operates.[29]

Still, Mead was not satisfied with his explanation. He went on to say:

> If the given human individual is to develop a self in the fullest

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[27]Charles Horton Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Scribner's, revised ed., 1922), p. 184.

[28]George Herbert Mead, "Play, the Game, and the Generalized Other," Mind, Self, and Society ed. Chas. W. Morris (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 152.

[29]Ibid., p. 156.

> sense, it is not sufficient for him merely to take the attitudes of other human individuals toward himself and toward one another within the human social process, and to bring that process as a whole into his individual experience merely in these terms: he must also, in the same way that he takes the attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another, that their attitudes toward the various phases or aspects of the common social activity or set of social undertakings in which, as members of an organized society or social group, they are all engaged; and he must then, by generalizing these individual attitudes of that organized society or social group itself, as a whole, act toward different social projects which at any given time it is carrying out, or toward the various larger phases of the general social process which constitutes its life and of which these projects are specific manifestations.[30]

Not only did Mead add the notion of language as necessary to the development of self, he also argued for two general stages in the full development of the self. In the first, an individual's "self" is simply constituted by the organization of other individuals' attitudes toward him and toward one another in situations involving social interaction. But in the second, "self" is constituted, not only by an organization of these particular individual attitudes, but also by an organization of the social attitudes of the "generalized other" or the social group as a whole to which he belongs.

It seems, then, that Hyman's insistence upon psychological identification as a necessary component of the reference group concept has its theoretical roots in the work of Cooley and Mead.

Since the emergence of the concept in 1942, it has been the subject of modification and speculation. At the same time, the concept has served as the theoretical construct for significant empirical studies.

What follows is, of necessity, selective. It is an attempt to present, chronologically, those modifications and developments which have characterized

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[30] Ibid., p. 154.

the maturation of reference group theory. Only those developments have been chosen which seem to be pertinent to the study under discussion here.

Sherif, commenting on the direction which the reference group concept has taken since its introduction into the literature says, "The major character of the trend ... is the realization that group situations generate differential effects of significant consequence."[31]

He explains his position by observing that two sets of events have forced the reference group concept into the foreground: one was socioeconomic; the other, psychological.

From the socioeconomic point of view, Sherif cites the emphasis on mobility in industrialized nations, especially the United States, as confronting man with the constant threat of marginality and its consequences, an essential characteristic of a mobile society. It is the rule rather than the exception for each person to simultaneously wear many "hats," as it were, and this fact presents the individual with the possibility of multiple role-conflicts, and all of the pressures, demands, and diverse goals which are characteristic of opposing ideologies.

At the conceptual level of functioning, Sherif sees man passing from one group situation to another from time to time, and reacting

> to the demands, pressures and appeals of new group situations in terms of the person he has come to consider himself to be and aspires to be. In other words, he reacts in terms of more or less consistent ties of belongingness in relation to his past and present identifications and his future goals for the security of his identity, and also his status and prestige concerns.... This conceptual level of

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[31] Muzafer Sherif, "Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Group Relations at the Crossroads, ed. by Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (New York: Harper and Bros., 1953), p. 203.

> functioning makes possible the regulation of experience and behavior in relation to values and norms that lie at times far beyond immediate group situations.[32]

Sherif concludes that "the values and norms of a man's reference groups constitute the major anchorages in relation to which his experience of self-identity is organized."[33]

In a brilliant article in The American Journal of Sociology, Tamotsu Shibutani makes significant observations concerning the reference group concept as it had evolved by 1955. At the very beginning of this article, Shibutani establishes his perspective by observing that "all discussions of reference group involve some identifiable grouping to which an actor is related in some manner, and the norms and values shared in that group."[34]

Following this very fluid presentation of a general framework for the theory, he presents those conceptions of reference group which he says are implicit in actual usage.

The first operational implication is that a reference group is "a standard or checkpoint which an actor uses in forming his estimate of the situation, particularly his position in it."[35]

At this level Shibutani concludes, therefore, that logically, any group with which an actor is familiar may become a reference group for him.

Or, Shibutani continues, a reference group can be that group "in which

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[32] Ibid., p. 205.

[33] Ibid., p. 207.

[34] Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," The American Journal of Sociology, LX (May, 1955), 562.

[35] Ibid., p. 563.

the actor aspires to gain or maintain acceptance."[36] From this point of view, then, it is a group whose claims are paramount in situations where choice is a factor.

The third implication in actual usage is that a reference group is "that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference of the actor. Through direct or vicarious participation in a group one comes to perceive the world from its standpoint. This group need not be one in which he aspires for acceptance."[37] According to Shibutani, the emphasis in this usage of the concept is more of the psychological, an "organization of the actor's experience" rather than an objectively existing group of men.

From this point of view a reference group becomes "any collectivity, real or imagined, envied or despised, whose perspective is assumed by the actor."[38]

In the second part of the article Shibutani contends that there is a special contemporary relevance (1955) to reference group theory. In support of this contention he notes, first, that men often use groups in which they are not recognized, groups in which they have never participated, or even groups which do not exist as standards of behavior. Secondly, our society, with its emphasis on cultural pluralism, presents each person with the possibility of internalizing many perspectives. And finally, the development of social psychology facilitated the development of the theory. Shibutani shares

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[36] Ibid., p. 564.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 565.

with Sherif the conviction that a reference group arises through the internalization of norms.

One more very interesting point rounds out the Shibutani perspective. Not only does he agree with Sherif that an individual passes from one group situation to another, but he argues that each new situation gives rise to variations in outlook. The maintenance of social distance through such devices as segregation or conflict, or simply the reading of different literature leads to the development of different cultures, all within American society, so that actually there is a variety of standards by which Americans live. The greatest sense of identification, according to Shibutani, is in the communal structures--"the underworld, ethnic minorities, the social elite, or the associational structures of doctors, actors, etc."[39] Together, such structures constitute one's "social worlds."

He sees each social world as a "culture area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor by formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication."[40] Each social world, then, has its own communication system, and its own norms, values, and methods of stratification.

Obviously, one participates in a number of social worlds. "To understand what a man does, we must get at his unique perspective--what he takes for granted and how he defines the situation--and the social world in which he is participating in a given act."[41] On this point Shibutani is clearly reminiscent of the theoretical construct of W. I. Thomas.

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[39] Ibid., p. 566.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., p. 567.

As it is with Sherif, the mobility factor is important to Shibutani. He contends that people become aware of different perspectives only in those situations where conflicting demands are made, all of which cannot be satisfied. Any social mobility essentially involves displacements of reference groups for such mobility involves a "loss of responsiveness to the demands of one social world and the adoption of the perspective of another."[42] As does Sherif, Shibutani sets the stage for marginality. Turner attempts to further clarify the thinking of Sherif and Shibutani with an exercise in semantics, which, however, is valuable enough to be included here.

Turner contends that "the dispute over the proper meaning of 'reference group' seems to center about the acceptable generality of the concept."[43] He then attempts what he considers some necessary distinctions.

If one follows the line of thinking adhered to by both Sherif and Shibutani, one may speak of the "identification group," i.e., the "source of values." In such a framework the individual assumes the role of a member, taking the member's point of view as his own.

At the other extreme, Turner argues, there are those groups which an actor must merely take into consideration as he sets out to accomplish a particular purpose. They are essentially neutral. "The manner in which he takes them into account may or may not require role-taking, and they may or may not constitute his membership group."[44] Turner calls such a group an "interaction group."

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[42] Ibid., p. 568.

[43] Ralph H. Turner, "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference Group Behavior," The American Journal of Sociology, LXI, (January, 1956), 328.

[44] Ibid.

He then posits another type which lies somewhere in between the ones treated above. These he calls "valuation groups." They acquire value for the individual "because the standpoint of his identification groups designates them as points of reference."[45]

Finally, Turner turns his attention to what he considers a dichotomy cross-cutting the other distinctions, and this is that there are certain reference groups with each of the preceding types which might be regarded by the individual as "audience groups." "These are the groups by whom the actor sees his role performance observed and evaluated, and he attends to the evaluations and expectations which members of the group hold toward him. The actor takes the role of the audience reflexively."[46]

Turner belives that an individual may relate to his identification groups at one time as his audience, and at another time not. His reaction to his "audience" may be one of unqualified acceptance of their evaluations and expectations, or he may psychologically "answer back."

Turner concludes by relating reference groups and role-taking, admitting that reference group is more inclusive than role-taking "since one may take account of a reference group without taking the role of a member."[47]

It is his view that a reference group is "a generalized other which is viewed as possessing member roles and attributes independently of the specific individuals who compose it."[48]

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

Here "the generalized other" is seen purely as a psychological other and Turner further strengthens the contention that a group may become a reference group for an individual even though he is not acquainted with any of the group's actual members.

By 1956, the reference group concept had a level of sophistication which made the distinctions and relationships examined by Turner appropriate. Also appropriate was the section devoted to it in Robert K. Merton's Social Theory and Social Structure, which appeared in revision in 1957, and which is perhaps the best definitive statement to date on the reference group concept.

In this edition Merton devoted two chapters, some 170 pages, to its consideration. The first of these, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," is a revision of a paper written in collaboration with Alice Rossi which originally appeared in the 1950 publication of Continuities in Social Research, edited by Professor Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld. It is particularly valuable because it is an excellent working out in practice of Merton's contention that there is a continual interplay between research findings and the development of theory. The purpose of the paper is to "attempt to identify and to order the fairly numerous researches in The American Soldier[49] which, by implication or by explicit statement, bear upon the theory of reference group behavior."[50]

The second, "Continuities in the Theory of Reference Groups and Social

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[49]The Merton-Rossi paper was built around research done on the famous study The American Soldier which was conducted by Samuel Stoutfer et al., published in 1949 by the Princeton University Press.

[50]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), p. 225.

Structure" was incorporated into the book "to bring out some of the specifically sociological, as distinct from the socio-psychological, implications of current inquiries into reference group behavior."[51]

Merton begins the chapter on continuities with an allusion to a section in the one on contributions which he uses to present his clarification of the concept.

> That men act in a social frame of reference yielded by the groups of which they are a part is a notion undoubtedly ancient and probably sound. Were this alone the concern of reference group theory, it would merely be a new term for an old focus in sociology, which has always been centered on the group determination of behavior. There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations, and it is the problems centered about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group theory. Ultimately, of course, the theory must be generalized to the point where it can account for both membership- and non-membership-group orientations, but immediately its major task is to search out the processes through which individuals relate themselves to groups to which they do not belong.[52]

With his orientation clarified, he proceeds to crystallize much of what has already been said here with allusions to those current (1957) studies which had concentrated on the problem of identifying the various types of reference groups on the basis of those functions which are considered characteristic of them for those involved. Merton says the papers are in "substantial agreement" in designating two main types. The first is the "normative type" which "sets and maintains standards for the individual," and the second is the "comparative type" which "provides a frame of comparison relative to

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[51] Ibid., Preface, pp. vii-viii.

[52] Ibid., p. 234.

which the individual evaluates himself and others."[53]

Merton recognizes Turner's "interaction groups" as distinct from the two "types." Of these he says, "These 'interaction groups' ... are simply part of the social environment of the individual just as physical objects are part of his geographic environment; he must take them into account in working toward his purposes, but they are not of normative or comparative significance to him."[54]

With Merton's clarification of the concept and his synthesis of the types of reference groups clearly in mind, a specific aspect of his development promises special relevance to the present research.

Among the cases reported in The American Soldier was one designed to test the hypothesis, "One factor which hardly would have failed to enter to some extent into the judgment of an officer in selecting a man for promotion was his conformity to the officially approved military mores."[55]

In order to test this hypothesis, a panel study of three groups of enlisted men was designed to find out if those who expresses attitudes most in conformity with the official mores were most likely to be promoted. Such was found most frequently to be the case.

What is particularly valuable about these findings are the theoretical implications Merton attaches to them. He observes:

> The type of attitude described as conformist in this study is at the polar extreme from what is ordinarily called social conformity ... for social conformity usually denotes conformity to the norms and expectations current in the individual's own membership group.

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[53] Ibid., p. 283.

[54] Ibid., p. 284.

[55] Ibid., p. 263.

> But in this study, conformity refers, not to the norms of the immediate primary group constituted by enlisted men but to the quite different norms contained in the official military mores.[56]

Such conformity to the official mores constitutes a positive orientation toward a non-membership group as a frame of reference.

What is presented here is an example of what Merton calls "anticipatory socialization" by which an individual internalizes what he believes to be the norms and values of a group in which he does not at present hold membership. He anticipates acceptance by this group, however, and in so doing, seems perfectly content to repudiate the norms and values of the present membership group.

According to Merton, such "anticipatory socialization" has several consequences: for the individual himself, for the sub-group in which he finds himself, and for the total social system.

For the individual, such an orientation may enable him to realize his aspirations sooner and to become adjusted more easily after he has become part of the new group. However, Merton points out a significant aspect of the process.

> Anticipatory socialization is functional for the individual only within a relatively open structure providing for mobility.[57]

For only in such a system could aspiration be followed by realization.

> By the same token, anticipatory socialization could be dysfunctional for the individual in a relatively closed social structure, where he would not find acceptance by the group to which he aspires and would probably lose acceptance because of his outgroup orientation, by the group to which he belongs. This latter type of case will be recognized as that of the marginal man, poised on the edge of

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[56] Ibid., p. 264.

[57] Ibid., p. 265.

several groups but fully accepted by none of them.[58]

For Merton the marginal man pattern revealed here is that special case in a relatively closed system where the members of one group adopt as a frame of reference the norms of a group from which they are excluded in principle.

For the group to which the individual belongs, such out-group orientation can be nothing but dysfunctional. The result is Shibutani's "displacement of reference groups." What is more, the membership group often reacts by putting numerous social restraints on the recalcitrant member.

For society at large, the orientation to the values and norms of a non-membership group is functional if those values and norms are in conformity with what may be considered, in a given situation, the official mores; otherwise, there is always the possibility that the orientation will be dysfunctional.

Merton concludes this particular section with what is now probably a truism.

"To the degree that the individual identifies himself with another group, he alienates himself from his own."[59]

He observes, however, that sociology has given very little systematic attention to group alienation with the exception of the second-generation immigrant or the gang and the family. The emphasis has been clearly on cohesion.

For the writer of this thesis, the Merton position remains definitive.

One additional point is perhaps added by Nelson who in 1961 argues that there was really no reference group theory as such and proceeded to set forth

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[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., p. 269.

those "base points" which he considered useful as a foundation for constructing a theory. After setting forth his six base points, he considers the implications in four general propositions. The third seems especially worthy of note, not that it adds anything new to what has already been said or at least implied, but it is valuable as a point of emphasis.

> Reference group selection and behavior are a function of the individual's position in the social structure and the structure's position in the structural framework in that the structure and the structural framework determine the characteristics of situations presented to the individual, which situations, in turn, determine the groups that are perceived as important in that situation.[60]

If we accept this, it would seem that the membership group is important to the individual choosing a reference group insofar as it has contributed to the particular "definition of the situation" which prompts him to choose the norms of the particular reference group in the first place.

In his Presidential Address to the annual meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society in Milwaukee, April 19, 1963, Manford Kuhn was still asking the question, by what process do one's "others" get selected? His question seems to recast the concept in psychological terms, but his suggestion that a substitute for "reference group" might be "orientational other" was accompanied by four defining attributes which seem to sum up all the theorizing which has been done concerning the concept.

1. The term refers to the others to whom the individual is most fully, broadly, and basically committed, emotionally and psychologically. [Hyman, Merton, Shibutani]

2. The term refers to the others who have provided him with his

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[60]Harold A. Nelson, "A Tentative Foundation for Reference Group Theory," Sociology and Social Research, XXXXV (April, 1961), 278.

general vocabulary, including his most basic and crucial concepts and categories. [Mead]

3. The term refers to the others who have provided and continue to provide him with his categories of self and other and with the meaningful roles to which such assignments refer. [Turner]

4. The term refers to the others in communication with whom his self-conception is basically sustained and/or changed. [Mead][61]

Whatever it is called in the future, it is clear that the concept of the reference group is important to contemporary observation and interpretation of human behavior.

In summary, the theoretical orientation for this research is extremely complex. It rests on the following assumptions.

1. An individual receives his concept of himself from those "others" who surround him in the various groups which, at any one time, make up his world.
2. Since the various collectivities of "others" may make conflicting demands upon him, he comes to govern his behavior by the norms and values of that group or groups with which he psychologically identifies.
3. Depending upon the situation and his definition of it, the particular reference group involved may change.
4. The fact of mobility, which is an essential characteristic of the stratification pattern of American industrialized society, constantly confronts the individual with the need to aspire to the norms and values of another "higher" status group of which he is not a member.

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[61]Manford H. Kuhn, "The Reference Group Reconsidered," Sociological Quarterly, V (Winter, 1964), 13.

5. Such "anticipatory socialization" is functional for the individual insofar as the social system is open, that is, he has reason to believe he will be acceptable to the reference group; it is dysfunctional insofar as the system is closed, that is, insofar as the rewards which the reference group in question has to bestow are denied to him, often on principle.

6. A survey of the literature on the process of assimilation of minority nationality groups in the United States seems to indicate that the dominant society is, at least in some sense, closed to the members of the minority or minorities.

7. If this is so, one should expect to find evidence of marginality among the members of minority nationality groups, if their reference groups are non-membership groups which are closed. At the same time, if their reference groups are not closed, one should expect to find adjustment and a sense of belongingness among them.

Review of the Literature: The purpose of this portion of the present chapter is to present the direction in which the research relevant to this study has gone in the last decade (1955-1965). Already a three-dimensional theoretical framework has been proposed: the theoretical conceptualizations concerning the absorption of immigrants, the relation of these conceptualizations to reference group theory, and the function of the theory of marginality with regard to both.

A perusal of the literature from 1955-1965[62] does not yield any research explicitly linking the three, but does yield some pertinent findings in the three areas separately. Therefore, this review will deal with each of these areas separately. Further, the review does not propose to be an item by item summary of every contribution contained in the bibliography of this paper. Rather, the emphasis in each area is on overview, direction, major influences.

Since the major dependent variables involved in this research are measures of aspiration and self-image, some attention will be given to the literature involving these also.

Concern about the problem of minorities in all the nations of the world received heightened attention at the close of World War II when thousands of displaced persons roamed the gutted highways of Europe and Asia. Some commentators held that the prospects for a lasting peace rested precisely on the solution to this problem.

In a singularly prophetic statement, Louis Wirth wrote,

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[62]Sources for the literature of the decade in question were drawn from Sociological Abstracts, Psychological Abstracts, The Education Index, The International Index of Periodical Literature, The American Sociological Review Index.

> The influence which the United States will exert in the solution of these problems abroad is contingent upon the national conscience and policy toward minorities at home, for it is unlikely that our leaders in the making of the peace will be able to advocate a more enlightened course for others than we are able to pursue ourselves.[63]

Wirth's position was based upon the fact that within her own boundaries, the United States had representatives of all the national allegiances of the entire world. What she would do with these was therefore significant internationally.

In the introductory pages of this study Milton Gordon's definition of "ethnic group" was adopted.[64] The suggestion that an ethnic group was in some way set off from the others certainly carries with it the implication that such a group could conceivably experience minority status in the society of which it was a part.

According to Wirth, the ethnic group which is also a minority must be understood in terms of both their objective and their subjective position.

Objectively, they are distinct from the dominant group by certain physical or cultural marks. They occupy what is considered a disadvantageous place in the society which keeps them from certain opportunities which may be economic, social, or political. These barriers, at least in some sense, control the individual's freedom of choice and his self-fulfillment. Further, the members of minority groups may be held in such low esteem that they become objects of contempt or ridicule, sometimes hatred and violence. They are often segregated

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[63] Louis Wirth, "The Problem of Minority Groups," from The Science of Man in the World Crisis, ed. Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 347.

[64] See page 5 of the present study.

in their neighborhoods and generally isolated from social participation.[65]

Besides the objective characteristics which identify the minority, Wirth notes certain subjective characteristics. Among these are a set of attitudes and forms of behavior which evolve largely as a result of the objective conditions and only serve to set them further apart. The minority often tends to internalize its own feeling of inferiority while at the same time it rebels against the unjust treatment it believes it receives.[66]

After presenting an overview of the dimensions of such minority status in the various parts of the world, Wirth specifies the position of "linguistic, religious, and national minorities within the white group in Europe and America."[67]

In every situation of dominance-subordination between two groups of people he observes: "It is not the specific characteristics, ... whether racial or ethnic, that mark a people as a minority, but the relationship of their group to some other group in the society in which they live."[68]

Wirth is quick to add that in one set of circumstances these characteristics may signify identification with the dominant group; at another, identification with the minority.

He insists, therefore, that any adequate typology of minorities must "take account of the general types of situations in which minorities find themselves and must seek to comprehend the modus vivendi that has grown up

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[65] Wirth, p. 348.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., p. 351.

[68] Ibid., pp. 351-52.

between the segments of those societies in which minority problems exist."[69]

Among other things, such a typology would necessarily take into consideration the following:

(1.) The number and size of distinct minorities in the particular society.

(2.) The degree to which minority status involves friction with the dominant group or exclusion from participation in the common life of the society.

(3.) The nature of the social arrangement governing the relationship between the minority and dominant group.

(4.) The goals toward which the minority and dominant groups are striving in quest of a new and more satisfactory equilibrium.[70]

With regard to the first, Wirth observes that a single, unique minority in a society must bear the total brunt of the anti-minority sentiments of the dominant society, whereas in the United States, this sentiment could be spread throughout many ethnic minorities simultaneously. It is a fact, however, that it is the Negro who has borne the overwhelming weight of the burden for all.

On the second point of the typology, Wirth again introduces important distinctions:

> Where the groups differ widely in race and culture and are thus easily distinguishable in appearance and behavior, the lines separating them tend to persist without much overt effort. ... Where, however, the respective groups are of the same racial stock but differ only as regards language, religion, or culture, the tension between them becomes more marked, and the attempts at domination of the minority become more evident. The segregation of minority groups may be relatively complete or only partial, and their debarment from rights and privileges may be negligible or severe. Much depends upon their

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[69] Ibid., p. 352.

[70] Ibid.

> relative numerical strength and the extent to which they are believed to constitute a threat to the existing order.[71]

The nature of their social relations is especially relevant to the problems which arise:

> When the relationship between the two groups is that of master and slave, of rulers and ruled, of exploiters and exploited, the conflicts that arise are those characteristic of super- and subordination. They become essentially power relationships involving, on the part of the dominant group, resort to the sanctions of custom, law, and force, whenever persuasion, prestige, and the manipulation of economic controls do not suffice. Where the minority occupies the position of a caste, the sanctions of religion and custom may be quite adequate, but in secular societies the perpetuation of a group in minority status requires the manipulation of public opinion and of economic and political power, and, if these fail, the resort to violence.[72]

Wirth's analysis of the major goals toward which the ideas and sentiments of the minority tend yields useful categories: "Viewed in this way minorities may be typed into: (1.) pluralistic, (2.) assimilationist, (3.) secessionist, and (4.) militant."[73]

A pluralistic minority is "one which seeks toleration for its differences on the part of the dominant group."[74] In this regard Wirth observes, "Throughout the period of awakening of dominant ethnic minorities in Europe in the 19th century and subsequently in all parts of the world, the first stages of minority movements have been characterized by cultural renaissances."[75] During these, the religious, linguistic, and cultural heritage of the group was emphasized in order to gain recognition and toleration from

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[71] Ibid., p. 353.

[72] Ibid., p. 354.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

the dominant society.

The pluralistic minority, however, is simply a way-station on the road to other stages. For the assimilationist minority, this is full participation in the life of the dominant group. Merger through marriage and social intercourse, rather than toleration and autonomy is the keynote.

The secessionist minority, on the other hand, has for its "principal and ultimate objective" the achievement of "political as well as cultural independence from the dominant group."[76]

The final type of minority mentioned by Wirth is the militant which has domination over others as its goal. It does not suffer from feelings of inferiority, but considers itself essentially superior to the dominant group.

As Wirth has it, "The justification for singling out the four types of minorities ... lies in the fact that each of them exhibits a characteristic set of collective goals among historical and contemporary minority groups and a corresponding set of motives activating the conduct of its members."[77]

Against the background of this typology drawn from an earlier date (1945), but amazingly applicable to our own decade, it is most interesting to review some of the research which has actually been done in the United States on the acculturation and assimilation of ethnic groups, all of whom enter our society, at least, as minorities.

In this regard Melford Spiro, writing in The American Anthropologist in

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[76] Ibid., p. 361.

[77] Ibid., p. 363.

1955 could deplore, as did Milton Gordon later, the dearth of material on both the culture of or the acculturation of the American ethnic groups.

Spiro's review of two decades of anthropological data on the subject reveals that prior to 1955 several groups had actually been studied. He cites eight studies of Mexicans and persons of Spanish descent, six studies of Jews, five studies of Japanese, four of Italians, one each of Norwegians and Chinese, and one study by Warner and Srole in 1945 incorporating Irish, French Canadians, Armenians, Greeks, Poles, and Russians.[78]

The content of these studies was concerned with such things as the various impediments to acculturation, leadership, linguistic behavior, marriage and the family, religion and folklore, youth, personality, besides the more general ethnographic and acculturation data common to such studies.

Even though the number of the studies of any group has been rather small, some significant conclusions had been reached by 1955. Spiro reports that the studies showed a positive relationship between acculturation and social mobility. Mobility served as a threat not only to the group's social solidarity but to its cultural survival as well.[79] These studies also led to the conclusion which has been alluded to previously. The acculturation of an ethnic group in the United States is an exclusive function of that group's desire for acculturation; but assimilation, the disappearance of group identity through non-differential association, is a function of the behavior of both the ethnic group and the dominant group.[80]

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[78]Melford E. Spiro, "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," American Anthropologist, LVII (December, 1955), 1241.

[79]Ibid., p. 1242.

[80]Ibid., pp. 1243-44.

Other conclusions included the findings that when a group with mobility aspirations is denied assimilation, the result may be a form of nativism. Also, in those groups where distinctiveness rests in both ethnic and religious characteristics, acculturation is more rapid in the ethnic characteristics than in the religious. And finally the family can serve to retard acculturation, but at the same time the family can also serve to reduce the emotional disturbances which frequently accompany culture contact.[81]

Leonard Broom and John Kitsuse took up the question of acculturation and assimilation also in 1955. They asserted that "validation is the empirical test of the individual's achieved acculturation."[82] This validation must occur, as they see it, in interethnic situations where the individual is unprotected by his group and where his latent mobility is critically assessed.

They go on to say, however, that acculturation is not something which is decided at a point in time once and for all. Rather, it is an ongoing process which must constantly extend itself into new areas.[83]

They, too, stress access to participation in the dominant institutions as a precondition for assimilation, but they also posit such access as a precondition for the validation of acculturation.[84]

It seems that one could extend their position to say that the validation of acculturation is actually the first indication of assimilation. Emphasis

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[81] Ibid., pp. 1250-52.

[82] Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, "The Validation of Acculturation: A Condition to Ethnic Assimilation," American Anthropologist, LVII (February, 1955), 44.

[83] Ibid., p. 46.

[84] Ibid., p. 47.

in the validation process is on the receiving group. And the existence of validation bespeaks their willingness to accept the newcomer.

In 1963 Gordon highlighted what he considered the most important trends in the study of minority and race relations, thus, from a sociological point of view, bringing Spiro's anthropological data up to date. The second part of this article is especially relevant for our purposes since it considers the work done on nationality groups from 1958-1963.

Gordon notes that these years have seen scattered studies of Jews in the United States collected by Martin Sklare. Among the convergent findings in this volume is the verification of the solid middle-class occupational concentration of this group and the rapid acculturation of native-born generations.[85] Gordon also cites Father Joseph Fichter, S.J., as a key contributor to the studies of Catholic groups.

From the form that his review takes it is easy to see that Gordon accepts the fact that as a result of the Kennedy and Herberg theses, studies of nationality groups during the particular period in question tended to merge into studies of religious groups.

Not only has the fact of the processes of assimilation and acculturation been considered, though admittedly insufficiently, but the very language used to describe these processes has come under attack. In a very interesting article Philip Gleason takes the "melting pot" theory alone and shows historically how many alternatives have been presented to it. The same phenomenon

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[85]Milton M. Gordon, "Recent Trends in the Study of Minority and Race Relations," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCL (November, 1963), 154.

has been described as a "pressure cooker," a "flower garden," an "orchestra," a "weaving machine," a "pipeline." On the derogatory side it has been a "dumping ground," a "village pound," a "catch basin," and a "cul de sac for immigrants."[86] The point Gleason is trying to make is that, at best, the term is a symbol only, but goes on to note a basic ambiguity even in the symbol:

> The fundamental ambiguity in the melting pot as a symbol and the point of greatest confusion in the theory is whether the immigrant only is changed, or whether America, the host society, is also changed by the processes of the melting pot.[87]

While admitting the ambiguity, however, Gleason still is on the side of those who consider the "melting pot" the most satisfactory symbol of all in the final analysis.

More interesting and certainly more meaningful to the sociologists are those studies which attempt to capture the effects of that culture contact which begins every time a citizen of another nation passes through the immigration stiles at one of the many ports of entry to the United States.

Joseph Roucek has studied the educational problems of children from immigrant, refugee, and migrant families and seems to have synthesized what had been long suspected by the students of the phenomenon. Basically, Roucek concentrates on the two areas of language and marginality. With regard to the first he observes that a second language can interfere especially when the stigma of inferiority is placed on the original language by the dominant

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[86]Philip Gleason, "Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" American Quarterly, XVI (Spring, 1964)

[87]Ibid., p. 44.

group.[88] The NEA study previously alluded to corroborates this finding.[89]

Another observation Roucek makes is that the more pressure is brought upon the child and his family to "Americanize," the more intense his native language attachment becomes because something representing the entire culture with which the family is emotionally involved is being threatened.[90]

On the subject of marginality, Roucek repeats what is by now almost a truism, namely, that acculturation always precedes assimilation. But he continues by contending that the ones best adjusted to their home cultures are the least likely to succeed in the larger host society. In the context of this study we may suspect that the marginal person probably has even less chance.

Roucek implies this when he points to the problem of juvenile delinquency and rebelliousness among youth as a function of immigrant status, noting that immigrants who arrive in the United States in infancy or early childhood actually have higher crime rates than those who arrive as young adults.[91]

Another type of assimilation study was done by Raditsa Bogdan, contrasting the post-revolution Hungarian immigration and the pre-revolution immigration. This article points up the importance of pre-immigration experience in determining one's post-immigration orientation toward the dominant society.

Bogdan reports that the Hungarian immigrants are mostly Croatians and

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[88]Joseph S. Roucek, "Some Educational Problems of Children of Immigrant, Refugee, and Migrant Families in the U. S. A.," International Review of Education, VIII, 2 (1962), 226.

[89]See page 19 of this study.

[90]Roucek, p. 228.

[91]Ibid., p. 234.

these give evidence of a deep generational split. The Croatians, for example, who entered the United States in the late 19th century have now "arrived" and can be considered for the most part "economic" immigrants, farmers and fishermen who came to the United States in search of the better life.

The post-1945 Croatian was not a peasant or a fisherman seeking economic opportunities. Rather, he was a refugee from Communism with a rather sophisticated political and intellectual background. He had a deep sense of class and status. He found that in America he could get money, but his minority status gave him no access to political or labor leadership to which his background led him to aspire. Historically, as a result, he has tended to be race-conscious and anti-Semitic.[92]

Bogdan sums it up very well when he concludes that the post-revolution Croatian's alienation from the United States is, in the final analysis, connected with his position and attitude toward the old country.[93]

Charles Nam has also considered differences among nationality groups in his study of social stratification. Nam's study of both "old" and "new" immigrant groups was based on the data in the 1950 census. In considering ten nationality groups, he found that although the various members are scattered all over the country, their orientations toward life were affected by similar economic, social, and cultural traditions and values.[94]

Nam also discovered that added to the factors which enable each

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[92]Raditsa Bogdan, "Clash of Two Immigrant Generations," Commentary, XXV (January, 1958), p. 11.

[93]Ibid., p. 14.

[94]Charles B. Nam, "Nationality Groups and Social Stratification in America," Social Forces, XXXVII (May, 1959), pp. 31-32.

nationality group to determine their own status, there are those which simultaneously arise from the dominant society's definition of the group's status.[95]

Further, Nam discovered that vertical mobility was not necessarily the prerogative of either the "old" or the "new" immigrants for the English, the Welsh, and the Germans ("old" immigration) and the Russians ("new" immigration) ranked, on the whole, higher than the native born (3.92, 3.75, 4.47, respectively, as compared to 3.72 for the native born).[96]

He observed also that among the second generation all five of the "old" nationalities and all but one of the "new" ranked higher than the native born. The "old" were slightly higher than the "new" but not significantly.

If these findings are correct, one suspects that for these groups, the dysfunctional aspects of marginality were softened by some additional variable, perhaps an unusual openness on the part of the host society coupled with their own ability to and willingness to accommodate.

Other interesting studies considered the effect of "in-group" attitudes on "out-group" receptivity in other segments of the society[97] but basically their findings have been discussed in the studies presented in more detail above.

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[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

[97] William R. Catton, Jr., and Sung Chick Hong, "The Relations of Apparent Minority Ethnocentrism to Majority Antipathy," Ameri-Sociological Review, XXVII (April, 1962), 178-91; Milton J. Yinger, "Contraculture and Subculture," American Sociological Review, XXV (October, 1960), 625-35; John D. Photiadis and Jeanne Biggar, "Religiosity, Education and Ethnic Distance," American Journal of Sociology LXVII (May, 1962), 666-72.

Since the conceptual development of reference group theory has been dealt with extensively already,[98] this survey will simply highlight some of the pertinent research findings related to the conceptual development over the decade.

Typical and most representative of this research is Clay Brittain's "Adolescent Choices and Parent-Peer Cross Pressures" which posed the hypothesis:

> The extent to which adolescents are peer-conforming when confronted with parent-peer cross-pressures depends upon the nature of the content alternatives presented to them; i.e., they tend to be peer-conforming in making certain kinds of choices.[99]

Brittain accepted the Shibutani definition that a reference group is "one whose perspective constitutes a frame of reference for the actor."[100]

Brittain posited both parents and peers as reference groups and presented his subjects (girls in grades 9 through 11) with situations involving conflict between parent-peer expectations.

After the analysis of the data Brittain was in a position to offer new hypotheses:

(1). The responses reflect the adolescents' perception of parents and peers as competent guides in different areas of judgment.

(2). The responses reflect concern to avoid noticeable difference from peers.

(3). The responses reflect concern about separation from friends.

(4). The choices made reflect perceived similarities and differences between self and peers and self and parents.

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[98]See this study, pp. 28-42.

[99]Clay V. Brittain, "Adolescent Choices and Parent-Peer Cross Pressures," American Sociological Review, XXVIII (June, 1963), 386.

[100]Shibutani, 564.

From the interview data and from the discrepancies between the test and the interview it was further hypothesized:

(1). The tendency toward parent conformity is directly related to the perceived difficulty of the choices.

(2). The adolescent attempts to come to terms with parent-peer cross pressures by simply not communicating with his parents.[101]

Particularly valuable are the suggestions Brittain made for further study. One would be the stability of social values. In this regard he observed, "Adolescents are more strongly given to peer-conformity in making choices in areas where social change is rapidly taking place."[102] The second concerns the time perspective: "Adolescents are more disposed toward peer-conformity where immediate consequences are anticipated."[103]

To some extent Brittain's findings had been antedated by eight years in a study conducted by Bernard Rosen in which Rosen considered parent-peer cross pressures among 50 Jewish high school students on the subject of the use of Kosher meat.

Significant among Rosen's findings was the fact that children of observant parents are proportionately more likely to be observant than children of non-observant parents (60 per cent as opposed to 32 per cent), whereas 80 per cent of those respondents whose peer-group clique was also observant were themselves observant as compared to 23 per cent of those whose peer group

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[101]Brittain, pp. 388-89.

[102]Ibid., pp. 389-90.

[103]Ibid.

was non-observant.[104]

Rosen raised the possibility that this phenomenon might be explained by the fact that parents direct their children to peers who share the parental point of view. He concluded, however, that the findings indicate that this is true in only a few cases and that there is a definite tendency for respondents to agree more with peers than with parents.[105] However, he very clearly noted that membership in a particular group does not completely explain the fact that certain adolescents possess certain attitudes.

Even though it seems to be true that when the membership groups are homogeneous in their attitudes on a particular issue, the adolescent most probably will also possess the attitude, not all membership groups are significant, and, as Brittain later observed, a group which is significant on one issue may not be on another.[106]

Another problem Rosen pinpointed with regard to reference group theory was that an individual's attitudes stem from, and are related to, those of his significant others, and that "this consequence of attitudes is a function of the interiorization and legitimation of the referent's expectations."[107]

This research again supports the contention that one's reference group is the one which is important to the individual, not necessarily the one in which he holds membership.

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[104]Bernard C. Rosen, "Conflicting Group Membership: A Study of Parent-Peer Group Cross-Pressures," American Sociological Review, XX (April, 1955), 157.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Ibid., p. 158.

[107]Ibid., p. 159.

This point is further established in Newcomb's Bennington Study where, according to Newcomb, the findings are best understood in terms of the following thesis:

> In a membership group in which certain attitudes are approved (i.e., held by majorities and conspicuously so by leaders), individuals acquire the approved attitudes to the extent that the membership group (particularly as symbolized by leaders and dominant sub-groups) serves as a positive point of reference.[108]

Newcomb discovered that in the Bennington community

> all individuals belong to the total membership group, but such membership is not necessarily a point of reference for every form of social adaptation, e.g., for acquiring attitudes toward public issues. Such attitudes, however, are not acquired in a social vacuum. Their acquisition is a function of relating oneself to some group or groups, positively or negatively.[109]

He goes on to observe that the process of referring social attitudes to one group negatively usually involves referring them to another positively, or vice versa so that the attitudes become dually reinforced.

Newcomb concludes,

> The Bennington findings seem to support the thesis that, in a community characterized by certain approved attitudes, the individual's attitude development is a function of the way in which he relates himself both to the total membership group and to one or more reference groups.[110]

A summary statement on the literature reviewed thus far can now be made. The process of eventual assimilation of an individual from one group into another--whether the group complex be ethnic, social, religious, etc., is a

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[108]Theodore M. Newcomb, "Attitude Development as a Function of Reference Groups," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Eleanor E. Macoby, Theodore Newcomb, and Eugene Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), p. 265.

[109]Ibid., p. 274-275.

[110]Ibid., p. 275.

function, on the one hand, of the willingness of the dominant group to communicate its lore, its inner mysteries, its values to the individual. This involves eventually an unqualified acceptance. On the other hand, the same process requires a willingness, an intense desire on the part of the newcomer to consider the lore, the mysteries, the values of the dominant group of primary importance even if such a priority necessitates repudiating all that is important in the newcomer's own membership group. It also presupposes the ability on the part of the aspirant to meet the qualifications.

It has been said in this research that seldom is the situation one of simple in-group or out-group orientation in the classic sense of those terms. What is usually involved is process, movement of a person or persons from one to the other. If one seeks membership in a new group which has expectations incompatible with the old, one must endure the often limitless phase of marginality.

And so it is that the third factor, marginality, becomes important in the survey of the literature on the subject involved here.

The Sherifs, in examining certain elements of psychological harmony and conflict which are evident in various minority group ties, have provided some very valuable insights into the question or marginality. From their psychological perspective they contend at the outset that, traditionally, the problems of psychological ties with groups, in the sense of "belongingness" are linked with the concept of identification.[111] This identification of which the Sherifs speak is always to be understood as identification with

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[111]Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, "Psychological Harmony and Conflict in Minority Group Ties," American Catholic Sociological Review, XXII, 3 (Fall, 1961), 207.

something. Identification, then, always implies a relationship between a subject and an object. The subject is always an individual. The something which is the object of identification may include the various aspects of the subject's world.[112]

In the light of this, the Sherifs contend that no psychological analysis of identification is possible without reference to social groups--the way in which they function and are organized, their goals, their values.

> When a person indicates that he identifies himself with some group, he ordinarily means, 'I am one of them,' or 'I want to be one of them,' or 'I want to be like them'.[113]

In any case, something about "them" becomes intimately associated with the "I" of the situation.

Since some form of identification is obviously important to the sound psychological and social grounding of a person, any lack of social anchorages gives rise to tensions within the individual. Therefore, the Sherifs observe that withdrawal from a group seldom occurs in the absence of a movement toward new identifications with other groups which appear at the time more satisfactory to the individual.[114]

It is their contention that "awareness of the social distance scale and its accompanying stereotypes sheds considerable light on the nature of the individual's reference groups, conflicts between reference groups, withdrawals to new reference groups, and many of the psychological accompaniments."[115]

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[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid., p. 210.

[114] Ibid., p. 211.

[115] Ibid., p. 216.

In a particularly valuable section of the article treating conflicting reference groups, Sherif and Sherif show that an individual establishes group preferences in the very process of forming an ego. In order to be a good member of his various reference groups, he must accept the social distance scale with its accompanying stereotypes.[116]

With this awareness, however, comes the simultaneous awareness of one's own social category and in the case of a person from a minority ethnic group the realization that one is being evaluated negatively by others.

Once aware of the status differentials, the individual tends to strive for the status, the achievements, the prestige of the groups highest on the scale, the ones with the most power. However, as the individual finds his ascent barred, the Sherifs contend that the psychological consequences are "thwarting of aspirations, discrepancies between desires and actual strivings, frustrations, personal insecurity and self devaluation."[117]

As the Sherifs have it, such situations seem intensified in periods of rapid social change:

> Situations and opportunities arising in periods of more rapid change encourage, even demand, that the individual in a discriminated group conceive himself as a full-fledged, first-class citizen on a par with everyone else. At the same time, the established demarcation lines and social distances between groups require that he conceives himself, not just as different, but as inferior. He is placed simultaneously in two positions which are psychologically incompatible.[118]

Lest one be left with the idea that multiple reference groups, which are

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[116] Ibid., p. 216-217.

[117] Ibid., p. 219.

[118] Ibid.

a fact of complex societies, can lead only to frustration intthe individual, the Sherifs do take pains to note that "diverse reference groups ... can be integrated into a harmonious self-conception if the standards, values and goals embraced by his various groups are themselves compatible. If his multiple reference groups are participating in significant common ends, if each group is engaged in activities complementary to other groups, if each group has values which supplement others, the individual could develop an ego formation which is highly differentiated and complex, but integrated."[119]

In another place Kerkhoff and McCormick have re-evaluated Stonequist's original "marginal man" concept in the light especially of the subsequent research conducted by Child[120] and Green.[121]

They comment that in the Stonequist position it is not always clear what the relationship is between the status in society of the marginal man and the personality characteristics which supposedly accompany marginality. Taking the "In-Groupers" and the "Rebels" from the Child typology (those who had accepted the Italian pattern and were attempting to cement Italian ties even to the exclusion of identifying with things American and those who were rejecting the pattern, were attempting to sever the ties and identify with things American, respectively), Kerkhoff and McCormick established the following expectation: the "In-Groupers" would not exhibit the marginal personality characteristics to as great an extent as the "Rebels" because in any

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[119] Ibid., p. 220.

[120] Irvin Child, Italian or American? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).

[121] Arnold Green, "A Re-examination of the Marginal Man Concept," Social Forces, XXVI (1947-48), 167-68.

marginal situation the dominant group defines the "right" position for the subordinate group. "To the extent that the subordinate group member remains a member of the subordinate group, his experiences will not contradict his expectations and aspirations."[122]

This much has already been established. What Kerkhoff and McCormick do is add a third variable to the concept of the marginal situation:

> To gain a basic picture of the marginal situation, we must consider not only the general status occupied by the group and the individual reactions to the situation in terms of group identifications; we must also ge able to assess the level of rejection encountered by each individual.[123]

They assume *a priori*, that personality problems will increase in proportion to the severity of the rejection encountered, but add immediately that in order to evaluate such an *a priori* assumption, one must realize that the impact of the rejection on an individual's personality organization will depend to some extent upon the treatment his group usually receives from the dominant group.[124]

The application of the foregoing conceptualizations was in the form of a study of Chippewa Indians in which this hypothesis was posited: "In a partially accepted group ... none of the individuals meet with complete rejection, and thus the impact on the individual personality was to increase in proportion to the impermeability of the barrier encountered."[125]

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[122]Alan C. Kerkhoff and Thomas C. McCormick, "Marginal Status and Marginal Personality," *Social Forces*, XXXIV (October, 1955), 50.

[123]*Ibid.*

[124]*Ibid.*

[125]*Ibid.*, p. 51.

As a result of this study, Kerkhoff and Mc Cormick were able to draw the following conclusions as their particular contribution to the development of the marginal man concept:

1. The barrier is likely to be different for different 'kinds' of individuals in the group. (What kind of individual faces a high or a low barrier will probably vary from one marginal group to another.)

2. The tendency of a member of the subordinate group to identify with the dominant group increases with the permeability of the barrier confronting him.

3. These individual variations in the barrier when considered together with the individual group identification, are associated with the development of marginal personality characteristics.

4. The greatest incidence of marginal personality characteristics occurs in those individuals who are inclined to identify with the dominant outgroup but encounter a relatively impermeable barrier.

5. If the barrier is relatively permeable for the individual, identification with the dominant outgroup is associated with the lowest incidence of marginal personality characteristics.

6. Differences in the permeability of the individual's barrier are less important if the identification is with the subordinate ingroup, all those with such identifications having roughly the same incidence of marginal personality characteristics.[126]

Throughout this study, this researcher has used the variables of educational, social, and occupational aspirations along with a degree of self-confidence as an expression of one's self-concept as measures of adjustment and, in this context, as indicants, at least, of acculturation. It is appropriate, then, that this survey of the literature would include some observations on the research done in these areas over the last decade.

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[126] Ibid., p. 54.

Many interesting techniques have been used empirically to explore the concept of "self." Kuhn and McPartland, posing the question "Who Am I?" to be answered on 20 numbered blanks by a student group, divided the responses into categories labelled "consensual" and "subconsensual." The consensual referred to groups and classes whose limits and conditions of membership are matters of common knowledge; e.g., girl, student, husband .... " The subconsensual referred "to groups, classes, attributes, traits or any other matters which would require interpretation by the respondent ...; e.g., happy, bored, too heavy ...."[127]

Two significant features seemed to emerge from this study. One was that the respondents tended to exhaust the consensual references they could make before they would go into the subconsensual ones, and secondly, the number of consensual references made by the respondents varied from 20 to none. The same was true for the subconsensual.[128]

Another way of assessing self-concept was devised by Toch et al. in which 112 subjects (52 Jewish college students and 60 non-Jewish - 44 Protestant and 16 Catholics) were given a sorting task of three sets of pictures (one of children, one of college students and one of middle-aged adults) in order to divide the pictures into three equal groups of four each with respect to age, brightness, and personal preference. The major concern was for the identification of the pictures of Jews along with questions concerning how such identifications were made. The sorting sessions were all followed by

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[127]Manford Kuhn and Thomas S. McPartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes," American Sociological Review, IXX (February, 1954), 68.

[128]Ibid., 74.

interviews.[129]

Toch and his associates found:

1. Pictures of Jews were identified at a level better than chance expectance by all the subjects.

2. Jewish subjects attain a higher level of accuracy than non-Jewish in identifying Jewish pictures.

3. The identifiability of pictures does not vary in clear-cut fashion with age or sex. There was some indication that greater identifiability of males might occur within certain age groups.

4. A tendency toward ethnocentric sorting was obtained, but:

   a. All subjects identified as 'bright' a larger proportion of Jewish pictures than non-Jewish pictures (although Jews show more of this tendency).

   b. In the case of both 'brightness' and 'likeability' some pictures are classified the same way by most subjects.

5. There was a strong positive relationship between pictures identified as 'bright' and those considered as 'liked best.'[130]

Also typical of the type of research done in this area of the self-concept is Mitchell's study of the relationship between perceptions of oneself within the family setting and the personality variables of self-acceptance, manifest anxiety, and neuroticism.

Among his 145 college sophomore females Mitchell discovered:

1. The relationship between self-acceptance and the factor of satisfaction with family life is significantly greater than that between manifest anxiety and the same factor.

2. The relationship between manifest anxiety and the factor of meeting parental standards appeared significantly greater than

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[129]Hans H. Toch, Albert I. Rabin, and Donald M. Wilkins, "Factors Entering into Ethnic Identification: An Experimental Study," Sociometry, XXV (September, 1962), p. 300.

[130]Ibid., pp. 310-311.

between manifest anxiety and satisfaction with family life. [The same is true for neuroticism and parental standards.]

3. Self-acceptance is at least, if not more, closely related to the factor of satisfaction with family life than meeting parental standards.[131]

Shlien explores still another aspect of the research concerning the self when he examines "self" in its several theoretical conceptualizations. After positing "self" as "a psychic agent which regulates, guides and controls man's behavior,"[132] he contends that though self is often conceived of as a "doer," it is now considered more of a process of group of processes.[133]

After reviewing the theoretical formulations of both James and Cooley, Shlien presents the self as it has been conceptualized by Carl Rogers. For Rogers the self is

> an organized, consistent, conceptual Gestalt composed of perceptions of the characteristics of the "I" or 'me' to others and to various aspects of life, together with the values attached to these perceptions. The self-concept is the person's view of himself. The self structure is a person viewed from an external frame of reference.[134]

The Rogerianconceptualization is the one which Shlien believes comes closest to his notion of self as process.

From the foregoing examples, it is clear that the research on the self concept has included not only the theoretical development, but the concept as

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[131]James V. Mitchell, Jr., "Self-Family Perceptions Related to Self-Acceptance, Manifest Anxiety and Neuroticism," Journal of Educational Research, LVI (January, 1963), 236-42.

[132]John M. Shlien, "The Self-Concept in Relation to Behavior: Theoretical and Empirical Research," Religious Education Research Supplement, LVII (July, 1962), S-111 - S-127.

[133]Ibid.

[134]Ibid.

it is internalized in the individual, expressing itself in simple identification, and the self in relation to other social objects in a variety of social situations.

On the question of aspirations, Herriott probably sums up the best of the research with his observations on those factors which influence aspirations. His remarks are particularly valuable to our perspective.

He begins by citing what we already know about aspirations. For example, we know that in general boys have higher educational aspirations than girls. We know that children of the well-educated, and that children from high income families have higher aspirations than children in low. Herriott, however, is interested primarily in those factors which influence aspirations.

In order to reach his conclusions, Herriott then reviews some of the previous work which has been done on this subject. For example, he notes a contribution of Chapman and Volkman in 1939 in which they contend, "One way in which the social environment might determine the level of aspiration of a given individual would be through his knowledge of the achievement of groups whose status or ability, relative to his own, he could assess."[135]

In 1942 Hyman studied a person's "subjective status" which was nothing else but his conception of his own position relative to others. Hyman coined the term "reference group" to refer to this phenomenon, and we have already placed this concept in a central place in our research.

After alluding to Merton's observation that one's reference group need not be one's membership group, Herriott cites a 1958 study by Gross in which

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[135]Robert E. Herriott, "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspirations," Harvard Educational Review, XXXIII (Spring, 1963), 159 (quoting Chapman and Volkman).

Gross presents three basic ideas which appear in most of the conceptualizations of the term "role" which he examined: "...Individuals (1.) in social locations (2.) behave (3.) with reference to expectations."[136]

Herriott concludes that one influence upon an individual's level of aspiration is the level of his self-assessment relative to others. In other words, an individual will aspire to do that which he perceives others have done who are similar to himself in relevant ways.[137]

A second influence on the individual's level of aspiration is the level of the expectations which he perceives significant others hold for his behavior.[138]

This concludes the representative survey of the literature on the elements involved in this task we have set for ourselves. After a brief profile of the school in which the study was conducted, attention will be directed to the task itself, the analysis of the data gathered.

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[136]Mason N. Gross and A. W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendent's Role (New York: John Wiley, 1958), 17, quoted in ibid., p. 161.

[137]Ibid., pp. 161-62.

[138]Ibid., p. 162.

CHAPTER III

A DESCRIPTIVE PROFILE OF BISHOP NOLL INSTITUTE AT THE TIME OF THE CURRENT STUDY (1966 - 67)

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the setting in which the present study took place.

In order to do this, it will be necessary to explain very briefly how the school in its present state came to be, to indicate some of the diverse elements making up the administration and the faculty, and to indicate those aspects of its life which may serve to make it unique among schools of its size.

Ground was broken for the new Bishop Noll Institute May 4, 1962. The $5,000,000 edifice which was eventually to replace Bishop Noll High School had been on the planning boards for several years. As is the case with any project of some importance, consensus was finally arrived at through much discussion. Some argued that two separate schools should be built, one for boys and one for girls, but the advocates of one school for all prevailed, and a co-institutional complex for 3,600 students was envisioned.

The building was to house more activities for its clientele than the academic. There was to be a field house seating approximately 7,000, complete with one of the few full-sized indoor tracks in the country. There was to be a swimming pool, a little theatre accommodating 600 persons, a cafeteria accommodating 900, and a library and research unit seating 400, if necessary, at one time.

In addition there were 96 teaching units including language and science

labs, and audio-visual rooms. Closed circuit TV was a goal for the future.

The plan became a reality in September, 1963, when the F-shaped complex opened its doors to a new generation of Americans.

Its staff is as diverse as its student body and year by year a cosmopolitan quality is evidenced which leaves the new teacher gasping at the experience.

The Sisters who administer the Girls' Department are members of a well-known community founded in France in 1841. For over 100 years they have staffed elementary and secondary schools, hospitals and colleges across the United States. They maintain missions in Brazil and East Pakistan and have recently made plans to extend their foreign mission apostolate to Uganda in 1967. The Sisters have been at Bishop Noll since 1933 and have been integral contributors to the growth process.

With the expansion an invitation was extended to a well-known community of teaching Brothers, who came to administer the Boys' Department and to provide one of their number to serve in the capacity of superintendent. With the inauguration of this move, the diocesan priests were replaced as administrators of the school, a post they had held for many years.

Four Septembers have come and gone since the new Bishop Noll opened its completed doors in 1963.

The figures representing the evolution of a faculty over these four years tell an interesting story.

	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67
Priests	9	12	12	14
Brothers	10	10	10	12

Sisters	19	23	22	20
Lay Teachers	56	51	62	70
Total	94	96	106	116

The most dramatic increase, of course, is in the area of the lay teachers who comprise over one-half of the faculty. They head departments, sponsor classes and activities, but do not participate, except in an advisory capacity, in the administration of the school. Departments function well. In general, one senses an open atmosphere in the school between faculty and their department heads, between the faculty and the administration. This has not just happened by chance. It has been an expressed goal from the beginning and part of its success is certainly due to an extremely complementary complex of persons at the head. With other persons at other times, the story might have been quite different; it may be quite different in the future.

From the beginning every attempt has been made not to let "bigness" prevail nor to permit a division to take place between the Boys' and the Girls' Departments within the co-institutional setting. For the last two years the school has operated on a modular schedule, and this year every attempt has been made to place boys' and girls' classes in the same general subject area close to one another so that within the same period team teaching and much enriching exchange of personnel can take place. All organizations are mixed, as are cafeteria periods. Departments function across co-institutional lines as do classes.

The students, no less than the faculty, have realized the necessity of maintaining the personal in the midst of bureaucratic necessity. Several activities have been initiated with precisely this goal in mind. The senior

girls are now "big sisters" to the freshmen. There is an opportunity every year for all seniors to make a closed retreat away from the school if they so desire. The homerooms are organized under class sponsors (shared responsibility between boys' and girls' faculties). The Guidance Department is administered by two very capable persons, a Brother and a Sister, who work, along with their assistants, to personally reach every student. Their work is supplemented by the services of twelve full-time priest counsellors, two of whom hold degrees in psychological counselling.

The student organizations function well to round out the academic day. Besides the various subject-matter clubs, there are others geared to reach other areas of the student's multi-faceted life. Paramount among these are the Mission Club (raising nearly $10,000 a year for the foreign missions), the Booster Club (containing within its ranks the famous trophy-winning "yell block"), the National Honor Society, and the Student Council.

Ideally, it might be called the land of opportunity; yet within its walls are stresses and strains which never really surface enough to be cared for. The marginal student passes through the doors one September and out another June and still remains marginal. Some of the hostile merely feed their hostility at the same table where the happy grow in contentment. What happens to each is never a question which receives a finished answer.

What follows is an attempt to describe some one aspect about some one group of our students. It is this writer's conviction that all pedagogy begins with a knowledge of the student, from his point of view, and this, then, is one beginning.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Age Distribution: The age distribution of the sample by grade in school and sex is presented below in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE OF THE SAMPLE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

AGE	FRESHMEN		SENIORS		TOTAL
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	
Younger than 14	1.1				.4 (N=1)
14	26.4	50.7			22.6 (N=59)
15	58.2	39.1			31.1 (N=80)
16	13.2	10.1			7.8 (N=19)
17	1.1		45.4	58.4	20.2 (N=52)
18 or over			54.5	41.5	17.9 (N=46)
TOTAL	100.0 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	99.9 (N=44)	99.9 (N=53)	100.0 (N=257)

The overall impression one gets from this age distribution is the realization that the female respondents are, on the whole, younger than the males. This is especially interesting in the light of later findings where maturity may be injected as an explanatory factor.

One could hypothesize that the ages of the seniors vary considerably less than the ages of the freshmen. This, however, seems unwarranted since one does

not know how many of those seniors who are "18 and over" fall into the "and over" category.

Since the questionnaire was administered in the spring (1966), it is not surprising that so many of the freshman males and both the senior males and females had reached 15 and 18 years, respectively. It is surprising, however, and supports our first observation, that over half of the freshman females are still 14 (50 per cent). The number of 16-year-olds among the freshmen was unexpected (7.8 per cent of the total; N = 19).

Social Class: Table 2 presents the social class position of the respondents as this was calculated according to the Hollingshead Two Factor Index of Social Position.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CLASSES (HOLLINGSHEAD TWO FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL POSITION) BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Social Class Position	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
I					(N=0)
II		1.4	2.3		.8 (N=2)
III	26.3	16.0	15.9	28.3	22.2 (N=57)
IV	68.1	82.6	79.5	69.8	74.3 (N=191)
V	5.5		2.3	1.9	2.7 (N=7)
TOTAL	99.9 (N=91)	100 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

The respondent's position on this index is determined by the occupation and education of his father.

As was expected the majority of the respondents fell into Class III or Class IV on the Hollingshead scale.[139] The concentration of three-fourths of the sample in Class IV is quite striking.

Some indication of what this means will become clearer as we proceed.

Hollingshead's Index is based on three assumptions:

(1) The existence of a status structure in the society.

(2) Positions in this structure are determined mainly by a few commonly accepted symbolic characteristics.

(3) The characteristic symbolic status may be scaled and combined by the use of statistical procedures so that a researcher can quickly, reliably, and meaningfully stratify the population under study.

Although the results do fall mainly in the Class III and Class IV categories for the reasons already stated, there are a few variations. This seems to be accounted for in terms of occupational differentiation. Onethe other hand, the fact that there are so few falling in either the Class II or the Class V category seems to be an indication that one's education is an important factor in one's choice of occupation, and therefore, one's possibility of vertical mobility. It is to be remembered also that the school involved is located in one of the most highly industrialized areas of the United States where the proportion of Class III and Class IV persons would be expected to be high.

Since slightly over 3 per cent of the respondents fall in either the

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[139]This finding was expected because of the fact that the parents of all the respondents had high school educations only.

Class II or the Class V category, only Hollingshead's descriptions of persons in Class III or IV will be discussed.

> Class III adults have strong feelings about their position in the social structure. Above them they see the Is, who they realize are much higher in prestige because of their wealth, lineage, and way of life. Likewise, they know the IIs occupy a position superior to their own, but a position that rests on different bases: dignified occupations, more income, higher education, and leadership in the prestige-giving activities - traits they too possess, but not in such generous amounts. The cavalier treatment they receive from IIs in community activities and the fact that IIs identify themselves psychologically with Class I, and many times act as its agents in community enterprises builds resentment among the IIIs toward the IIs rather than the Is. IIIs look down upon IVs as "the common man," but they do not condemn or scorn them as many IIIs trace their immediate background to this stratum. ... Income is derived from profits, fees and salaries earned by both the mother and the father. ... IIIs strive to live in a better residential area and for the most part they succeed. ... Since ethnic background is connected directly with religious affiliation in most families, the Catholic and Lutheran churches claim large blocks of Class III people. ... In Class III membership in many associations, implemented by active participation, confers high prestige within the class. ... Class III advertises its activities in the "Society" column of the local paper.[140]

Of Class IV persons Hollingshead says,

> Class IV persons are aware of the inferior position they occupy in the prestige hierarchy, and they resent the attitudes most persons in the higher classes exhibit toward them. They discriminate sharply between 'people like us' and the 'socially ambitious' IIIs who they believe put on airs they do not rightfully deserve. Conversely they are convinced Vs are inferior to themselves because they live in hovels and shacks, are dirty, immoral, and do not 'try to get ahead.' ... On the whole, Class IV people consider themselves to be the backbone of the community....All ethnic elements are found in Class IV.[141]

From the descriptions presented above, one would expect the members of Class III especially, and Class IV, at least to some extent, to have upwardly

[140]August B. Hollingshead, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community," in Class, Status, and Power ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1953), 217-22.

[141]Ibid.

mobile aspirations. The IVs would be expected to run into more hostility, thus increasing the possibility of marginality, both because of their own hostility and their social distance from the higher prestige groups.

The numbers in the Class IV category are significant and may easily affect the outcome with regard to many of the other variables. Whereas 74.3 per cent of the entire sample fall into Class IV as compared to 22.2 per cent in Class III, 68.1 per cent of the freshman males are in Class IV as compared with 82.6 per cent of the feamles; 79.5 per cent of the senior males are in Class IV as compared with 69.8 per cent of the senior females. These percentages are compared to 26.3 per cent, 16.0 per cent, 15.9 per cent, and 28.3 per cent in Class III respectively.

Parish Affiliation: Table 3 presents the parish distribution of the sample according to the various cities represented. It is to be noted that Bishop Noll serves approximately 80 parishes located in Indiana and Illinois.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PARISH
OF THE SAMPLE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
PARISH	Male	Female	Male	Female	
No Parish Affiliation	11.1		4.5	1.9	1.6 (N=4)
Hammond	36.2	30.4	31.8	49.0	36.6 (N=94)
East Chicago	15.4	30.4	38.6	20.7	24.5 (N=63)
Whiting	13.2	4.3	11.4	11.3	10.1 (N=26)
Gary	9.9	18.8	2.3	5.7	10.1 (N=26)
Griffith	2.2	1.4		1.9	1.6 (N=4)

Highland	4.4	1.4		1.9	1.9 (N=5)
Hobart					
St. John	1.1	1.3			.8 (N=2)
Dyer				1.9	.4 (N=1)
Other (Lowell, Schererville, Chesterton, La Porte, Crown Point)	4.4	5.8	2.3	1.9	3.9 (N=10)
Illinois:					
Calumet City	9.9	4.3	9.1	5.7	7.8 (N=19)
Chicago	1.1	1.4			.8 (N=2)
Lansing	1.1				.4 (N=1)
Protestant					
Total	100 (N=91)	100 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

Two findings seem important here. One is the number of communities represented and the other is the concentration of respondents from the Hammond and East Chicago area (Over 50 per cent of the total when considered together).

The differences between the figures for the seniors and the freshmen from Gary is explained by the fact that during the transition period (1962-63) Noll held Gary students at a minimum, and the build-up has been gradual since that time.

There is also a marked difference between the number of males and females from Calumet City. This is explained by the fact that within the last four years a new Catholic girls' high school has been erected in South Holland drawing many of the girls from the Calumet City area.

The various communities represented on the table cover a radius of perhaps 35 miles from the school. The additional scattering of freshman students over seniors perhaps is an indication of a developing trend as the outlying areas become more populated. However, there is every reason to expect the construction of new schools to match these population developments, so that Bishop Noll will probably continue to draw primarily from the Hammond, Whiting, East Chicago area.

There are no Protestants and those with no parish affiliation in the sample are minimal.

Nationality Descent: The nationality descent of the respondents by grade in school and sex is presented in Table 4.[142] Fifteen separate non-American nationalities are represented. One freshman male and one senior female identified themselves as "Americans." Two freshman females identified their "nationality" as "Negro."

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY DESCENT OF THE SAMPLE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

NATIONALITY DESCENT	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Canadian					
Czechoslo-vakian	23.1	23.2	33.8	13.2	22.6 (N=58)

[142]Question 13: "Even if you were born in the United States, what is your nationality descent?" (In a directive the respondents were told, "IF YOU ARE A COMBINATION OF NATIONALITIES, JUST INDICATE THE MAJOR ONE").

English	1.1	2.9	2.3		1.5 (N=4)
French		2.9			.8 (N=2)
German	14.3	17.3	12.6	20.8	16.3 (N=42)
Dutch	1.1			1.9	.8 (N=2)
Irish	12.1	5.8	4.5	18.9	10.5 (N=27)
Italian	4.4	5.8	6.8	9.4	6.2 (N=16)
Japanese	1.1				.4 (N=1)
Lithuanian	2.2	2.9	4.5		2.3 (N=6)
Mexican	1.1	2.9		1.9	1.5 (N=4)
Polish	37.4	30.4	31.8	30.2	33.2 (N=85)
Russian		1.4			.4 (N=1)
Scotch		1.4			.4 (N=1)
Spanish			2.3		.4 (N=1)
Swedish	1.1				.4 (N=1)
American	1.1			1.9	.8 (N=2)
"Negro"		2.9			.8 (N=2)
Other				1.9	.4 (N=1)
Don't Know			2.3		.4 (N=1)
Total	100 (N=91)	100 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

In nationalities represented by ten or more respondents, both the "old" and the "new" immigration is evident, with the greater number from the "new." The "old" immigration is represented by the German and Irish respondents (16.5 per cent and 10.5 per cent of the sample respectively), and the "new" by the Slovak (22.6 per cent), the Italian (6.2 per cent), and the Polish (33.2 per cent). It is regrettable that more of the newest of the "new" group - the

Mexicans and Puerto Ricans - do not appear more often in the statistics since they are most present in the region. However, as has been indicated before, one of the reasons for their being underrepresented here is the arbitrary cut-off point of a high school education for the parents of the respondents. Another, of course, is the prohibitive fact of tuition which keeps them from entering Bishop Noll at the time of their entry into this country.

Among the larger groups represented, there seems to be considerable consistency on the basis of class in school and sex. There are notable exceptions, however, in the Slovak and Irish groups. Among the freshmen in the Slovak group there is a difference of only 0.1 per cent between males and females while among the seniors, the difference is considerably greater (31.8 per cent for the males as compared to 13.2 per cent for the females).

Among the Irish there are twice as many males as females in the Freshman Class (12.1 per cent as opposed to 5.8 per cent) and over twice as many females as males percentage-wise in the senior class (18.9 per cent as opposed to 4.5 per cent). There seems to be no particular explanation for this.

The German, Italian, and Polish groups exhibit more consistency from class to class, sex to sex. What differences there are do not seem to fit into any particular pattern.

It may be slightly important that the freshmen as a group mention more nationalities than do the seniors. Then, again, if there is any truth to the contention that nationality groups tend to settle in specific geographic areas, the diversification of nationalities among the freshmen could well be a function of their geographical diversification (See Table 3).

In order to determine if there were any foreign born elements in the

families of the respondents back through their maternal and paternal grandparents, they were asked to indicate through a code letter the country of birth for their father's father, their father's mother, their mother's father, their mother's mother, their father, their mother, themselves.[143]

For purposes of analysis the answers to these questions were grouped into six categories. The first contained those respondents who themselves were not born in the United States; the second was made up of those whose parents, either/both had not been born in the United States. The third was reserved for those whose grandparents on both sides (both/either grandparent on the side) were not born in the United States. The fourth and fifth categories were reserved for those whose maternal and paternal grandparents respectively had not been born in the United States. The "True Blue" category was devised to include those who had no foreign born heritage through maternal and paternal grandparents. In any generational view of the findings it was hoped that these latter might serve as a control group. The results are presented in Table 5.

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY GENERATION OF FOREIGN BORN OF THE SAMPLE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

GENERATION OF FOREIGN BORN	FRESHMEN		SENIORS		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Respondent not born in U. S.	1.1	1.4	5.7		1.9 (N=5)

[143]See Questions Six through Twelve in the Questionnaire, also the accompanying code.

Parents: Both/Either not born in U. S.	11.0	1.4	9.1	7.5	7.4 (N=19)
Grandparents Both not born in U. S.	49.4	59.4	43.2	52.8	51.7 (N=133)
Grandparents maternal only not born in U. S.	13.2	11.6	9.1	9.4	11.3 (N=29)
Grandparents paternal only not born in U. S.	6.6	14.5	18.2	3.8	10.1 (N=26)
"True Blue"	18.7	11.6	20.4	20.7	17.5 (N=45)
Total	100 (N=91)	100 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

Generation: Table 5 reveals that over half the respondents (51.7 per cent) fall into the third generation category. As was indicated previously, this seems to be due to the fact that the respondents' parents had to be high school graduates. A cursory perusal among the remaining questionnaires of both the freshmen and the seniors reveals that more respondents would have fallen into the first and second generations had the parents' educational requirement been lowered.

The first generation respondent (himself born in a country other than the United States) made up only 1.9 per cent of the sample with three senior females comprising the highest number in either of the classes.

The numbers increased somewhat in the second generation category comprising 7.4 per cent of the sample. There were more males in this category than females.

As has been indicated, the next three categories were designed to identify

third generation respondents while the last was reserved for those whose grandmothers, grandfathers, and parents had been born in the United States.

The general pattern of the table is fairly consistent; there is a slight deviation among the freshman females who have the lowest percentage in the second generation and the "True Blue" (1.4 per cent and 11.6 per cent respectively) and the highest among those third generation respondents whose grandparents were both born outside of the United States.

Reference Group Orientation: Since a very important part of this study concerned the reference group orientation of the respondents, questions were chosen which provided a situation for the respondent to choose either parents, peers, or teachers as the main referent. The items were taken from the Questionnaire Coleman used in The Adolescent Society. They were not placed absolutely together in our instrument so that there could be more chance of the respondent treating each one as a separate situation and therefore more chance of reference groups varying with situations as Brittain showed.[144]

Again categories were chosen to facilitate the analysis and the findings are presented in Table 6. For the entire sample there is a fairly even distribution between parent orientation and peer orientation. We take this to be an indication of a marginal factor operating within the student body and not just the difference in situations as a look at Questions 60 and 62 will

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[144]See this research, pp. 58-59.

prove that the situations presented are just not that different.[145]

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF REFERENCE GROUP BY PREFERENCES OF THE SAMPLE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

REFERENCE GROUP	FRESHMEN		SENIORS		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Favors Parents Always	24.2	20.3	45.4	24.5	26.8 (N=69)
Favors Closest Friend Where Possible	20.9	39.1	22.7	35.8	29.2 (N=75)
Favors Teacher/Parent over Friend	40.6	33.3	25.0	34.0	34.6 (N=89)
Favors Teacher over Parent/Friend	12.1	7.2	6.8	5.7	8.6 (N=22)
No Reference Group Discernible	2.2				.8 (N=2)
Total	100 (N=91)	100 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

[145] Question 60: "Let's say you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and you were finally asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of this group. Do you think you would ... 1. definitely join anyway, 2. probably join, 3. probably not join, definitely not join?"

Question 61: "For each of the kinds of people at the left below, pick from the list on the right the first word that occurs to you when you think of the person on the left.

Teacher	_____	1. dull
Father	_____	2. inspiring
Scientist	_____	3. odd
Congressman	_____	4. challenging
Musician	_____	5. you can have it
Mother	_____	6. good example
	_____	7. frightening
	_____	8. interesting

Question 62: "What if your parents approved of a group you wanted to join, but by joining the group, you would break with your closest friend who was not asked to join. Would you ... 1. definitely join anyway, 2. probably join, 3. probably not join?"

Question 64: "Which of these things would be the hardest for you to take - your parents' disapproval, your teachers' disapproval, or your best friend's disapproval?"

Coleman allowed for this for he says, "The balance between parents and friends indicates the extent of the state of transition that adolescents experience - leaving one family, not yet in another. They consequently look forward to their peers and backward to their parents.[146]

The dual parent-peer orientation is certainly evident, but an edge is given to the adults when one considers those responses which chose either parents or teachers over a friend where such a choice was possible. When teachers are considered by themselves, however, it is clear that they account for little by way of orientation as compared with parents. Therefore, even in cases where respondents did not choose their parents in every case, they chose them far more often than they did anyone else.

It is interesting (and as a teacher, discouraging) to note the steady decline in teacher choice as the student grows older. Even in the decline, teacher choice is somewhat higher for males than for females.

What seems to be remarkable in these findings is that when those respondents who chose their parents as a reference group always, are looked at by grade in school and sex, 45.4 per cent of the senior males fall into this category. This is compared to 24.5 per cent of the senior females, 24.2 per cent of the freshman males, and 20.3 per cent of the freshman females.

Basically, the same finding for males in general was common to the Coleman study[147] but not to the same extent. The senior males in the Bishop Noll study chose their parents as a reference group approximately twice as many times as they chose their peers (45.4 per cent as compared to 22.7 per cent),

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[146]Coleman, 5

[147]Ibid., 5-6

whereas in the Coleman study the difference was generally in the vicinity of one percentage point.

Among both the freshmen and seniors the females chose their parents less and their peers much more often than did the males. Perhaps an explanation lies in the fact that females generally mature faster than males and therefore would be expected to make the transition from the world of parents to the world of peers at an earlier age.

Again, however, some marginality among the females seems to be evidenced by the fact that when it is a question of parents or teachers over peers, the senior females tend to fall into this category nearly as often as they choose peers (34.0 per cent as compared to 35.8 per cent).

A striking comparison between the freshman and senior males is most interesting to note. Whereas 45.4 per cent of the senior males always choose their parents, 24.2 per cent of the freshman males do. On the other hand, whereas 40.6 per cent of the freshman males choose their teachers or their parents over their peers, 25.0 per cent of the senior males do. This could be an indication that the freshman male is more open to the influence of the school than is the senior male. This conclusion is perhaps strengthened by the finding that proportionately almost twice as many freshman males choose their teacher(s) as reference groups as senior males (12.1 per cent as compared to 6.8 per cent). Such differences are not evident among the females in the sample on this particular point.

In a very few (.8 per cent of the sample; N=2) no reference group was discernible at all. That these two would be freshman males is not surprising, however, since, presumably, all things being equal, they would be the

most immature of the respondents.

Choice of Faculty Referent: The original purpose of Question 47 was to see if there seemed to be any foundation for believing that choices would be based on ethnicity.[148] Without question the findings presented in Table 7 deny this possibility. The categories "Religion Faculty" and "'Secular' Faculty" do not refer to religious or lay teachers, but rather those--both religious and lay--who teach religion as distinct from those who teach "secular" subjects, that is, English, mathematics, etc.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY GROUP TO WHICH RESPONDENT WOULD GO TO DISCUSS A PROBLEM BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Confidante Group	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Administration	22.0	10.1	4.5	3.7	12.1 (N=31)
Guidance and Counselling	24.2	17.4	31.8	13.2	21.4 (N=55)
ReligionFaculty	22.0	15.9	27.3	56.6	28.4 (N=73)
"Secular"Faculty	25.3	36.3	13.8	18.9	24.9 (N=64)
Other	2.2	15.9	15.9	5.7	8.9 (N=23)
Don't Know				1.8	.4 (N=1)
No Answer	4.4	4.3	6.8		3.9 (N=10)
Total	100.1 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	100.1 (N=44)	99.9 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

[148]Question 47: "If you had a problem that you had to talk to someone here in school about, to whom would you go?" (NAME THE PERSON.)

Looking at the sample grade by grade, however, one is struck by several differences. In general, more students choose members of the religion faculty than any of the others. This would be expected in a Catholic school. Specifically, members of the administration are chosen more often by freshmen than by seniors. More boys than girls choose the guidance personnel. The senior girls choose members of the religion faculty far more often than any other group does while more freshman girls choose teachers of "secular" subjects than does any other group.

Practice of Foreign Customs: Questions 16 through 20 were designed to determine the prevalence of the practice of foreign customs in the home as indices of ethnic group belonging.[149]

Although Table 8 reveals that 46.7 per cent of all the respondents say they do not practice any foreign customs in their homes, over half (53.3 per cent) say that they do.

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[149]Question 16: "Does your mother or father belong to any club or organization concerned with foreign customs or interests?"

Question 17: "Do you practice any customs in your home which are common in a particular foreign country?"

Question 18: "Does your family regularly eat foods associated with a particular foreign country?"

Question 19: "Does your family regularly receive a particular foreign language newspaper or magazine at home?"

Question 20: "Do your parents regularly speak a particular foreign language at home?"

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PRACTICE OF FOREIGNCCUSTOMS IN THE HOME BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

PRACTICE OF FOREIGN CUSTOMS	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Member of organizations, customs, food, newspaper, language	1.1	1.4	4.5	7.5	3.1 (N=8)
Newspaper and/or language	27.5	24.6	15.9	17.0	22.6 (N=58)
Organizations and/or customs and/or foods	22.0	24.6	34.1	35.8	27.6 (N=71)
All negative	49.4	49.3	45.4	39.6	46.7 (N=120)
No answer					
Total	100 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	99.9 (N=44)	99.9 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

There is much more difference between grades in school than there is between males and females of the same grade. While the freshmen exceed the seniors in receiving a foreign language newspaper or magazine and/or speaking a foreign language in the home, the seniors exceed the freshmen in the practice of all the customs and in those customs other than receiving a foreign language newspaper or magazine in the home and/or speaking a foreign language.

While it is true that this section of the study was planned to provide bases for ethnic identification in terms of the practice of foreign customs, it is well known that such "foreign foods" as pizza or sauerkraut have become as much a part of "American" culture as they are a part of the culture in which they originated. The same can be said for certain customs.

Therefore, for purposes of codification, it was decided that specific weights be given to the first two categories indicating the greater importance of the first and second over the third in determining the possibility of in-group orientation. Category four serves as more or less of a control category here. Therefore, any subsequent analysis of this variable will concentrate on categories one and two as these are related to four.

Prevalence of Foreign Language Usage in the Parish: Table 9 reveals that approximately 40 per cent of the respondents of both sexes and both grades in school attend churches where a language other than English is spoken in the non-Latin parts of the Mass. It is to be noted, however, that in most of the parishes in which such a situation exists, all of the Masses are not of this type. On week days, usually an early Mass will feature the foreign language in the non-Latin parts. On Sundays and holy days one or two of the Masses will be such. The author is not aware of a parish, other than the few extreme national parishes where a foreign language has been adopted as the vernacular for all of the Masses.

Foreign Languages Used in the Parishes: When those respondents who answered "Yes" to Question 14 were asked what language was used, four languages predominated. Table 10 considers the results.

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PREVALENCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE USAGE IN THE PARISHES BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Prevalence of foreign language usage	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Yes	40.6	40.6	38.6	39.6	40.1 (N=103)
No	59.3	59.4	59.1	58.5	59.1 (N=152)

No answer			2.3	1.9	.8 (N=2)
Total	99.9 (N=91)	100 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY FOREIGN LANGUAGES USED IN PARISHES BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Foreign Languages Used in the Parishes	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Slovak	35.1	32.1	17.6	47.6	34.0 (N=35
Lithuanian	5.4	3.6			2.9 (N=3)
Polish	54.0	53.6	76.5	52.4	57.3 (N=59)
Spanish	2.7	10.7			3.9 (N=4)
No Answer	2.7		5.9		1.9 (N=2)
Total	99.9 (N=37)	100 (N=28)	100 (N=17)	100 (N=21)	100 (N=103)

As was expected, Polish was the language used in over half of the cases (57.3 per cent) and Slovak was used in 34 per cent of the cases. Spanish and Lithuanian were mentioned, but not significantly.

An interesting point to note here is the large number of respondents who come from parishes in East Chicago (Table 3: 24.5 per cent of the entire sample). If these students are reflected proportionately in the respondents reporting a foreign language in religious services, one wonders what has happened in the churches to the large numbers of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans who have entered the Indiana Harbor area of East Chicago but who are not adequately reflected in the sample. It is very possible that here we have an example of what is repeated often in religious bodies all over the country: namely, a "national church" situation where the "nationals" in question are not directly

served by the parish.

Questions 22 through 31 were statements to be either affirmed or rejected by the respondent.[150] On a cumulative basis a low score (6 through 26) indicated a degree of distance or negativism concerning ethnic in-group orientation. A score of 27-33 was taken to be an indication of a non-committal posture on the part of the respondent. And scores ranging from 34-54 were taken to be an indication of a degree of closeness or a sympathetic orientation toward an ethnic in-group concept. The results are to be found in Table 11.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ATTITUDES TOWARD THE "INDICES OF 'FOREIGNNESS'" BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Attitude toward Indices of Foreignness	Freshmen		Seniors		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Completely negative					
Mostly negative	1.1	2.9	6.8		2.3 (N=6)
Somewhat negative	13.2	4.3	22.7	5.6	10.9 (N=28)

[150] Question 22: "People who come to America from other countries should become 'Americanized' as soon as possible."

Question 23: "Parents should not insist that their children speak a language other than English at home."

Question 24: "I would avoid going to Mass if the sermon and/or the non-Latin parts were not in English."

Question 25: "The more parents insist on holding to a foreign background, the harder it is for them to understand their children."

Question 26: "It is embarrassing for students to bring their high school friends home when their parents are not "Americanized."

etc. from the questionnaire p.

Noncommittal	61.5	31.9	56.8	47.2	49.8 (N=128)
Somewhat positive	23.1	56.5	13.6	39.6	33.8 (N=87
Mostly positive	1.1	4.3		7.5	3.1 (N=8)
Completely positive					
Total	100 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	99.9 (N=44)	99.9 (N=53)	99.9 (N=257)

The most important thing to note about these findings seems to be the fact that nearly one-half of the respondents (49.8 per cent; N=128) were noncommittal in this area and that there are no responses falling in the extremes either by grade in school or by sex. The tendency to be noncommittal is fairly consistent between the grades and between the sexes except in the case of the freshman females who have a relatively low percentage in this category especially as they relate to the freshman males (31.9 per cent as compared to 61.5 per cent). We take this general finding to be another evidence of marginality among the respondents, a general lack of commitment to a position on the question. Some might argue that this is really an indication that the whole question really does not mean that much to the respondents. Other findings in this study, however, tend to negate that assumption. In this particular finding, it is to be noted that the male respondents are more noncommittal than the female respondents in both grades. There is a greater difference between the two among the freshmen than there is among the seniors, and we strongly suspect that the age factor is operating here.

When we look at the "somewhat negative" and the "somewhat positive" categories, other observations can be made. The male respondents from both grades show a greater negative reaction to the indices of "foreignness."

(13.2 per cent as compared to 4.3 per cent among the freshmen and 22.7 per cent as compared to 5.6 per cent among the seniors). The difference increases as the respondent is older (three times for the freshmen; four times for the seniors). This finding is then reversed in the "somewhat positive" category where the female respondents rather dramatically outnumber the males (56.5 per cent as opposed to 23.1 per cent among the freshmen; 39.6 per cent as opposed to 13.6 per cent among the seniors). As in the case of the "somewhat negative" category, the proportions tend to increase among the older respondents.

The high percentage of girls falling into this "somewhat positive" category is sufficient to give the findings a somewhat "positive" bias in the total picture.

However, even though those with a negative orientation are minimal by comparison, we do not by any means conclude that the respondents are ethnic in-group oriented. The large number of respondents falling in the noncommittal category and the position of the boys vis a vis the girls in both grades would make this position untenable.

Relation to Faculty on Basis of Ethnicity: Table 12 below presents the findings from Questios 42 through 46[151] which were attempts to determine if there were any ethnic bases for a sense of acceptance in classroom relations

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SENSE OF ACCEPTANCE IN SCHOOL ON THE BASIS OF SHARED ETHNICITY BY GRADES IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Sense of acceptance in school on the basis of shared ethnicity	Freshmen Male	Freshmen Female	Seniors Male	Seniors Female	Total
No ethnic basis for sense of acceptance	5.5	1.4		15.1	5.5 (N=14)
Little ethnic basis for sense of acceptance	37.4	63.8	31.8	47.2	45.5 (N=117)
Noncommittal	52.7	33.3	56.8	37.7	45.1 (N=116)
Some ethnic basis for sense of acceptance	4.4	1.4	9.1		3.5 (N=9)
Strong ethnic basis for sense of acceptance			2.3		.4 (N=1)
Total	100 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	100 (N=257)

with the faculty. The responses were again arranged on a five-point scale ranging from "Agree Strongly" to "Disagree Strongly." As in Table 12, one is

[151] Question 42: "I feel most comfortable in a class where the teacher has the same nationality descent as mine."

Question 43: "It is easier to explain things to a teacher who has the same nationality descent as mine."

Question 44: "My experience shows that teachers are likely to favor those students whose nationality descent is the same as theirs."

Question 45: "There is little chance in this school for students who practice foreign customs at home to share these with teachers and other students."

Question 46: "Teachers in this school look down on parents who do not speak English well."

struck by the number of respondents among both grades and both sexes who fall into the noncommittal category (45.1 per cent of the total) with male respondents again proportionately greater than females in both grades.

Here there is a slightly greater tendency to fall into the extremes than there was in Table 11 with special prominence evident for the senior females in the "No Ethnic Basis for Acceptance" category.

Also, corresponding to the findings in Table 12, we find a greater proportion of female respondents experiencing little ethnic basis for acceptance whereas the reverse is true, although on a much smaller basis, in the "Some Ethnic Basis for Acceptance" category.

These findings seem consistent with those presented in Table 12 on still another count. If the male respondents, regardless of grade in school, are more negatively oriented to the ethnic in-group or at best noncommittal, it seems reasonable to suspect that they will be more sensitive to what they consider ethnically based relationships in school. Also, if they show up noncommittal on one level of ethnic orientation, it seems reasonable to expect them to evidence the same on others.

Educational, Social, and Occupational Aspirations: The aspirational section of the study was designed to assess educational, social, as well as occupational aspirations. The students were asked to place themselves

socially by means of two questions from the Coleman Questionnaire.[152] Then they were asked simply what level of education they hoped to attain[153] and what occupation they hoped to enter after their education was completed. The findings were grouped into the categories which are shown in Table 13.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY THE EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL, AND SOCIAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE SAMPLE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Educational, Occupational, Social Aspirations	Freshmen Male	Freshmen Female	Seniors Male	Seniors Female	Total
All High	25.3	40.6	36.4	49.0	36.2 (N=93
High Academic/ Occupational only	4.4	4.3	18.2	7.5	7.4 (N=19)
High Academic/ Social only	45.9	18.8	20.4	22.6	28.8 (N=74)
High Occdpational/ Social only	7.7	2.9	6.8	7.5	6.2 (N=16)
High Academic only	7.7	11.6	4.5	3.8	7.4 (N=19)
High Social only	9.9	15.9	2.3	5.7	9.3 (N=24)
All Low		2.9	2.3	1.9	1.9 (N=5)
None Discernible	1.1	2.9	2.3	1.9	1.9 (N=5)
Total	100 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	99.9 (N=53)	99.9 (N=257)

[152]Question 63: "If you could be remembered here at school for one of the things below, which would you want it to be? (1). Most popular (2). Leader in activities (3). Brilliant student (4). Leading Athlete."

Question 65: Two sets of five concentric circles were presented. On the first the respondents were asked to place themselves where they thought they were in realtion to the center of things here at school. On the second they were asked to indicate where they would like to be.

[153]Question 66: "What level of education do you want to attain?"

Question 67: "In what occupation do you wish to earn your living after you finish your education?"

The more interesting finding presented in this table seems to be the large number of female respondents who fall into the "All High" category as compared to the male respondents in this same category. As was expected, both senior males and females ranked higher in this category than their freshman counterparts who were just completing their first year in high school. The overall picture also presents the respondents on the whole leaning in the "All High" direction (36.2 per cent), but this emphasis is definitely due to the female respondents.

The respondents also have a tendency to cluster in the "High Academic/Social Only" category. Important here is the proportion of freshman males. This finding is expected when one considers the age levels involved, but does not explain the difference between the sexes in the same grade. One explanation which occurs to us is that at this stage of their development, the freshman males are becoming aware of their intellectual and social potential. The fact that the freshman females rank in the "All High" category and the freshman males rank high in the "High Academic/Social Only" category may be a question of maturity only.

As was expected also, the senior males were appreciably more evident in the "High Academic/Occupational Only" category as opposed to any of the other groups. They, probably more than the others, were aware of what imminent entrance into the world after high school meant. They held their own in the "High Academic/Social Only" category also which seems to indicate their placing a high value on academic achievement as compared to, for example, "High Social Only" (2.3 per cent). However, in looking at the percentage of senior males who fall into the "High Academic Only" category (4.5 per cent), one is

forced to conclude that for them the academic takes on value only in partnership with or as a prelude to occupational or social status. However, as compared with the percentages in some of the other cells for some of the other groups, these are relatively low percentages. Another point worthy of comment in this same regard is the fact that while only 2.7 per cent of the entire sample fall into the "All Low" category, 9.1 per cent of the senior males are in this category.

The relative similarity of the overall percentages in the "High Academic/Occupational Only" the "High Occupational/Social Only," and the "High Academic Only" categories seems to indicate that, except for those whose aspirations are "All High," the academic aspirations mean most in combination with the social. This would seem to be a typical finding among adolescents.

Self-Concept: If there were evidences of marginality among the respondents, we expected this to show itself in the measure of their self-concept in terms of the confidence they had in themselves in social situations.

Six statements were chosen from the long form of the Minnesota Survey of Opinions.[154] Each statement in some way affirmed something about self in relation to others in a social situation. The five-point scale was again used for

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[154]Question 54: "After being caught in a mistake, it is hard to do good work for awhile."

Question 55: "Meeting new people is usually embarrassing."

Question 56: "It is hard to bring oneself to confide in others."

Question 57: "It is hard to keep cool in important situations."

Question 58: "It is not easy to express one's ideas."

Question 59: "Most people just pretend they like you."

the answers (Agree Strongly-Disagree Strongly) and the scores were considered on a cumulative basis. A cumulative score of 6-10 was an indication of no evidence of self-confidence in the respondent; 11-15, little evidence; 16-20, noncommittal; 21-25, some evidence; and 26-30, much evidence. The results appear in Table 14.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

Evidence of Self-confidence	Freshmen Male	Freshmen Female	Seniors Male	Seniors Female	Total
No Evidence		1.4	2.3	5.6	1.9 (N=5)
Little Evidence	24.2	31.9	31.8	15.1	25.7 (N=66)
Noncommittal	53.8	43.5	52.3	47.2	49.4 (N=127)
Some Evidence	20.9	21.7	11.3	28.3	21.0 (N=54)
Much Evidence		1.4	2.3	3.8	1.5 (N=4)
No Answer	1.1				.4 (N=1)
Total	100 (N=91)	99.9 (N=69)	100 (N=44)	100 (N=53)	99.9 (N=257)

What is especially significant about this data is the proportion of respondents who again fall into the noncommittal category (49.4 per cent for the total sample; 53.8 per cent, freshman males; 52.3 per cent, senior males; 43.5 per cent, freshman females; 47.2 per cent, senior girls). Once again also the proportion of males is higher in each grade situation than the

females. Whether this finding is related to the fact that, as in the questions involved in tables 12 and 13, these are concerned with some affirmation about oneself or one's own attitudes remains to be proven. It is entirely possible, as we indicated previously, that such answers are indices of marginality, but before such conclusions can be drawn, the evidence from the findings on other variables will have to be considered.

The range of manifestations of self-confidence are the widest among the senior females with the largest proportions in the extremes (5.6 per cent giving no evidence of any confidence in self as opposed to 3.8 per cent giving much evidence of self-confidence. These figures are meaningful in contrast to 1.9 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively in these categories for the entire sample). The other figures match exactly in the "No" and "Much" categories for senior males and both categories of freshmen.

The "Little Evidence" and "Some Evidence" categories yield some interesting findings. One would expect the degree of self-confidence to increase as the respondent grows older, and this expectation is realized in the freshman cells in the "Some Evidence" category as compared to the senior females. However, one sees a sharp decline in this category in the case of the senior males both in relation to the freshmen and the senior females. This is consistent with the findings involving the senior males previously discussed. In those cases there has been a rather sharp deviation from whatever pattern may exist in the distribution (See especially tables 12 and 13). As yet we are not in a position to offer a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon. It is enough for now to indicate the existence of such deviation.

The finding just presented is further verified in the "Little Evidence" category. Here the expectation was that the proportion would decline among the seniors. This is indeed the case among the senior females (15.1 per cent as compared to 31.9 per cent for the freshman females), but is again contradicted in the case of the senior males who are roughly equal to the freshman females in giving little evidence of self-confidence (31.8 per cent and 31.9 per cent), and are more inclined to give little evidence of self-confidence than the freshman males (31.8 per cent and 24.2 per cent respectively).

In summary, the initial analysis of the data yielded the following results.

The majority of the sample (74.3 per cent) fell into Class IV on the Hollingshead Two-Factor Index of Social Position. According to Hollingshead's own description, Class IV persons are aware of their inferior position in the society and are particularly hostile to the III's and the V's. Therefore, any final conclusions about the aspirational level of the respondents or their self-concept will have to take into consideration their social class position.

There are representatives in the sample in numbers 10 and over both the "old" and the "new" immigration. The Mexicans, probably the "newest of the new" to come to the region, are under-represented probably because of the education factor among the parents. As has been indicated, the item of tuition would be sufficient to keep sizeable numbers of new arrivals out of the school, also.

When asked to express parent-peer choices as referents, the respondents on the whole divided their choices fairly evenly among parents and peers (26.8 per cent chose parents always; 29.2 per cent chose their closest friend where such a choice was possible). Significant among these findings

was the fact that the senior males tended to choose their parents as referents at least 20 per cent more often than any other group (24.2 per cent of the freshman males chose their parents always; 20.3 per cent of the freshman females, 45.4 per cent of the senior males; 24.5 per cent of the senior females).

When asked to express their agreement or disagreement with statements involving certain indices of foreignness, close to half the respondents fell into the "Noncommittal" category (49.8 per cent; N=128). The male respondents tended to be more noncommittal than the females. Also the male respondents tended to be generally more negative than the females, and conversely the females do tend to fall into the positive category more often than the males.

The same tendency to be noncommittal was characteristic of the responses connected with expressions of self-confidence and an expression of acceptance in school based on ethnicity.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE BY ADDING THE VARIABLES OF SOCIAL CLASS, REFERENCE GROUP, GENERATION OF FOREIGN-BORN, ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INDICES OF FOREIGNNESS, THE PRACTICE OF FOREIGN CUSTOMS IN THE HOME AND THE NATIONALITY DESCENT OF THE RESPONDENT TO THE VARIABLES OF GRADE IN SCHOOL AND SEX

In order to test the hypotheses, it was necessary to consider the effect which other variables present in the survey had on the initial findings concerning aspirations and self-confidence as these were analyzed by grade in school and sex.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce those variables one by one, keeping grade in school and sex constant, to determine what fluctuations, if any, are introduced in comparison with the original data on aspirations and self-confidence analyzed by grade in school and sex only. The factors now introduced as additional independent variables are social class, reference group, generation of foreign-born, attitude toward the indices of foreignness, the practice of foreign customs in the home, and the nationality descent of the respondent. At the end there will be an attempt to draw the more salient factors together in terms of the hypotheses.

Aspirations as related to social class: When social class is introduced as an additional independent variable as it is in Table 15, in general there is a tendency for the respondents to fall into the "All High" category and the "High Academic/Social Only" category more than into the others. Specifically, there seems to be a tendency for Class IV respondents among the seniors to have higher aspirations than the seniors in Class III.

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ASPIRATIONS BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS

Educational, Occupational, Social Aspirations	Freshmen								Seniors								TotaTotal
	Male				Female				Male Male				FemaFemale				
	II	III	IV	V	II	III	IV	V	II	III	IV	V	II	III	IV	V	
All High		25	25.6	40		45.5	40.4			28.6	37.1	100		33.3	51.4	100	36.2 (N=93)
High Academic Occupational Only			6.5				5.2			14.3	17.2			20	2.7		7 (N=18)
High Academic Social Only		45.8	41.9	40			22.8			28.6	22.8			13.3	29.7		29.2 (N=75)
High Occupational Social Only		8.3	8.1				3.5	100		14.3	2.9			6.7	8.1		6.2 (N=16)
High Academic Only		8.3	6.5	20		27.2	8.8				5.7			6.7	2.7		7.4 (N=19)
High Social Only		12.5	9.7		100	27.2	12.2				2.9			20			9.3 (N=24)
All Low							3.5			14.3	8.6				2.7		2.7 (N= 7)
None Discernible			1.6				3.5				2.9				2.7		1.9 (N=5)
Total		99.9 (24)	99.9 (62)	100 (5)	100 (1)	99.9 (11)	99.9 (57)		100 (1)	100.1 (7)	100.1 (35)	100 (1)		100 (15)	100 (37)	100 (1)	99.9 (257)

Self-confidence as related to social class: When one considers the level of self-confidence measured by grade in school and class plus sex, clearly evident in each social class is the tendency to be noncommittal which is a reflection of a condition prevalent throughout the entire sample. Table 16 contains these results. In each grade in school males are more noncommittal than females, Class IV respondents more than Class III, the smallest differences observable between senior females of Class III and Class IV.

As has been indicated before, the sample leans slightly in the direction of lack of self-confidence (28per cent on the negative side; 22.6 per cent on the positive side). In general, respondents from Class IV tend to be both less negative and less positive than their Class III counterparts. A slight exception to this occurs on the part of the Class IV senior females who tend to give somewhat more evidence of self-confidence than their Class III companions.

In general, then, it can be said that social class does not seem to introduce major new groupings into the analysis. It might also be said that the farther one is from the top, the greater one's aspirations, but such an individual is also more likely to be noncommittal about his own self-confidence in social situations.

Aspirations as related to reference group: In Table 17 the measure of aspirations has been considered by reference groups. It was believed that parents and peers were the major groups involved and therefore only these two categories were considered in the analysis. In order again to be realistic about the data, it is necessary to call attention to the N's in each category

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE
BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND SOCIAL CLASS

Evidence of Self-Confidence	Freshmen								Seniors								Total
	Male				Female				Male				Female				
	II	III	IV	V	II	III	IV	V	II	III	IV	V	II	III	IV	V	
No Evidence			1.6				1.8				2.9			6.7	5.4		2.3 (N=6)
Little Evidence		25	25.8			36.4	31.6			42.9	31.4			20	10.8	100	25.7 (N=66)
Noncommittal		45.8	56.5	60	100	36.4	43.9		100	42.9	51.4	100		46.7	48.6		49.4 (N=127)
Some Evidence		29.2	16.2	40		27.2	21			14.3	11.4			26.7	29.7		21 (N=54)
Much Evidence							1.8				2.9				5.4		1.6 (N=4)
Total		100 (24)	100.1 (62)	100 (5)	100 (1)	100 (11)	100.1 (57)		100 (1)	100.1 (7)	100 (35)	100 (1)		100.1 (15)	99.9 (37)	100 (1)	100 (N=257)

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ASPIRATIONS BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX AND REFERENCE GROUP

Educational, Occupational, Social Aspirations	Freshmen				Senior				Total
	Male		Female		Male		Female		
	Parents	Friend	Parent	Friend	Parent	Friend	Parent	Friend	
All High	4.5	21	35.7	29.66	45	20	53.8	36.9	29.9 (N=43)
High Academic Occupational Only	4.5	5.3		11.1	15	20		15.8	9 (N=13)
High Academic Social Only	63.7	47.3	14.3	18.5	20	30	15.4	26.3	30.5 (N=44)
High Occupational Social Only	4.5	10.5	14.3		5		15.4	10.5	6.9 (N=10)
High Academic Only	9.1			18.5	5	10			6.2 (N=9)
High Social Only	13.6	15.8	14.3	18.5	5		15.4	5.2	11.8 (N=17)
All Low			14.3		5	10			2.8 (N=4)
None Discernible			7.1	3.7		10		5.2	2.8 (N=4)
Total	99.9 (22)	99.9 (19)	100. (14)	99.9 (27)	100. (20)	100. (10)	100. (13)	99.9 (19)	99.9 (144)

and to relate the meaning of the percentage in each case to the N in question.

Among the freshman males the category which drew the largest number was the "High Academic/Social." A glance at the table reveals that of the 22 freshman males who chose their parents as their reference group always, 63.7 per cent fell in this category as opposed to 47.3 per cent of those who chose their friend as a referent where possible. Although the 14 freshman females who chose their parents always fell into all aspirational categories but two, the greatest number (35.7 per cent; N=5) were "All High" in their aspirational choices. The same is true of the senior males. Of the 20 who chose their parents always, 45 per cent fell into the "All High" category where the largest number of senior males in general had fallen (36.4 per cent). The senior females further corroborate this tendency (47.1 per cent of all the senior girls were in the "All High" category; 53.8 per cent of those who chose their parents as referents were.

Two things seem to be implied here. One is that those who chose their parents as referents tended to resemble one another and the total sample with respect to their aspirational level. A second observation is that the emphasis among parent-oriented respondents is presently on high achievement in all areas of endeavor. Still a third might be that peer-group orientation does not seem to lead the respondents in any patterned aspirational direction.

Self-confidence as related to reference group: When the evidence of self-confidence is studied by reference group orientation, the greatest number tend to be noncommittal but there are some interesting differences within the groups. First of all, as Table 18 shows, among the freshmen, the

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND REFERENCE GROUP

Evidence of Self-Confidence	Freshmen				Seniors				Total
	Male		Female		Male		Female		
	Parent	Friend	Parent	Friend	Parent	Friend	Parent	Friend	
No Evidence		5.3		3.7		10	7.7	5.3	3.5 (N=5)
Little Evidence	31.8	21.1	21.4	51.8	25	20	15.4	10.5	27.1 (N=39)
Noncommittal	54.5	63.2	57.1	22.2	75	40	53.8	36.8	49.3 (N=71)
Some Evidence	13.6	10.5	14.3	22.2		20	7.7	47.4	17.4 (N=25)
Much Evidence			7.1			10	15.4		2.8 (N=4)
Total	99.9 (22)	100.1 (19)	99.9 (14)	99.9 (27)	100. (20)	100. (10)	100. (13)	100. (19)	100.1 (144)

males and females are in opposition on the salient points. The tendency to choose one's friend as one's referent tends to make the freshman males more noncommittal on the question of self-confidence that his counterpart who always chooses his parents as his reference group (63.2 per cent compared to 54.5 per cent). Just the opposite is true among the freshman females. 57.1 per cent of those who always choose their parents as their referents are noncommittal in their response as compared to 22.2 per cent of those who choose their friend. Among the seniors the trend in the noncommittal category is the same for both sexes; that is, those who choose their parents as referents tend to be more noncommittal than those who choose their friends but the differences are greater. Among the senior males 75 per cent of those who chhose their parents as referents are noncommittal in their responses as compared to 40 per cent who choose their friends. For the females 53.8 per cent who choose their parents are noncommittal as compared with 36.8 per cent who choose their friends.

On the other hand, those students who choose their friends as referents are less likely to show little evidence of self-confidence. The exceptions in this category are the freshman females who have a greater tendency to show little evidence of self-confidence when they choose their friends as their referents (51.8 per cent as compared to 21.4 per cent among those who choose their parents).

The male students are also less likely to show some evidence of self-confidence when they choose their friends as referents whereas the females are more likely to show some evidence of self-confidence when they choose their friends as referents. The most dramatic difference in this regard is

within the senior female group when 47.4 per cent of those who choose their friends as referents show some evidence of self-confidence as compared with 7.7 per cent of those who choose their parents. These findings tend to confirm the findings in Table 6 and connect degree of self-confidence with reference group orientation.

Aspirations as related to the generational factor: The generational factor was expected to be important in manifestations of aspirations but as indicated previously, the results were somewhat disappointing due to the small numbers which fell into either the first or second generation category. No particular pattern seemed discernible. No one generational level seemed to predominate in any one aspirational combination. For the most part the N's were so small in the first and second generation and among the "True Blues" that one finds it very difficult to generalize concerning what the categories mean in relation to one another. Therefore, it does not seem that the generational factor as it is related to aspirations means very much in the overall analysis.

Self-confidence as related to the generational factor: The data on self-confidence by generation of foreign-born tends to be more concentrated, and for that reason may prove more meaningful. The results appear in Table 19. In general, the tendency to be noncommittal remains constant from generation to generation. The "True Blue" freshman male, however, is far more inclined to be noncommittal than his first, second, and third generation counterparts (70.6 per cent as compared to 45.4 per cent and 51 per cent respectively). The same is true of the senior female. (72.7 per cent as opposed to 42.8 per cent and 32.1 per cent)

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE
BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND GENERATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN-BORN

Evidence of Self-Confidence	Freshmen						Seniors						Total
	Male			Female			Male			Female			
	Respondent and/or parents not born in U.S.	Both grandparents not born in U.S.	"True Blue"	Respondent and/or parents not born in U.S.	Both grandparents not born in U.S.	"True Blue"	Respondent and/or parents not born in U.S.	Both grandparents not born in U.S.	"True Blue"	Respondent and/or parents not born in U.S.	Both grandparents not born in U.S.	"True Blue"	
No Evidence		2.2		50			No						6)
Little Evidence	36.4	26.7	17.6		31.7	37.5	50	26.3					.2 =53)
Noncommittal	45.4	51.1	70.6	50	41.5	50	50	52.6	44.4	42.8	32.1	72.7	48.5 (N=98)
Some Evidence	18.2	20	11.8		26.8	12.5		15.8	11.1	42.8	35.7	9.1	21.2 (N=43)
Much Evidence										14.3		9.1	1 (N=2)
Total	100 (11)	100 (45)	100 (17)	100 (2)	100 (41)	100 (8)	100 (4)	100 (19)	99.9 (9)	99.9 (7)	99.9 (28)	100 (11)	99.9 (N=202)

Again, the general trend is to be somewhat lacking in self-confidence with higher scores among the males, but the difference is small (26.2 per cent of the total in the "Little Evidence" category; 21.2 per cent of the total in the "Some Evidence" category). This is the same for all three generational groups in each grade except the senior females, where among the grandchildren of immigrants the tendency to be positive in evidencing self-confidence predominates (35.7 per cent compared to 25 per cent). This was a reflection of the senior female position in this same regard when only the grade in school and sex were being considered.

Aspirations as related to the indices of foreignness: When responses to the indices of foreignness are related to aspirations as they are in Table 20, certain expectations are realized. Among the freshman males in the original analysis the largest proportion fell into the "High Academic/Social Only" category (42.9 per cent). This is repeated when the responses to the indices of foreignness are introduced as an independent variable with one exception. Those freshman males who are slightly positive in their responses to the indices of foreignness (that is, they give evidence of an orientation away from ethnic in-group sympathy), are more inclinedtoto have all high aspirations than is this same group when considered according to grade in school and sex only (42.9 per cent as compared to 26.3 per cent). Some measure of in-group orientation would need to be considered here, but this finding could be an indication of a relationship between high aspirations and ethnic in-group rejection on the part of the freshman males.

The freshman females reflected the original analysis also for the most part. When considered according to grade in school and sex, most of them fell

TABLE 20

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ASPIRATIONS BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND RESPONSES TO THE INDICES OF FOREIGNNESS

Freshmen

Educational, Occupational, Social Aspiration	Male							Female						
	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Committal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	Completely Positive	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Committal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	
AllHigh			16.7	21.4	42.9	100			50.		40.9	43.6	33.3	
High Academic / Occupational Only			8.3	5.3							9.1	2.6		
High Academic Social		100.	41.7	44.6	38.1					33.3	9.1	20.5	66.7	
Social Only			25.	5.3	4.8							5.1		
High Academic Only				8.9	9.5				50.		18.2	7.7		
High Social Only			8.3	12.8	4.8					33.3	18.2	15.4		
All Low												5.1		
None Discernible				1.8						33.3	4.5			
Total		100 (1)	100 (12)	100.1 (56)	100.1 (21)	100 (1)			100 (2)	99.9 (3)	100 (22)	100 (39)	100 (3)	

	Seniors													Total
	Male							Female						
Completely Positive	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Comittal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	Completely Positive	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Comittal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	Completely Positive	
			30.	37.5	66.7					33.3	48.	52.4	25		36.2 (N=93)
				29.2							8.	9.5			7. (N=18)
		25.	30	16.6	33.3					33.3	20.	19.	75		29.2 (N=75)
		50.		4.2						33.3	12				6.2 (N=16)
			20.									9.5			7.4 (N=19)
			10								8.	4.8			9.3 (N=24)
											4				2.7 (N=7)
		25	10	8.3								4.8			1.9 (N=5)
				4.2											
		100 (4)	100 (10)	100 (24)	100 (6)					99.9 (9)	100 (25)	100 (21)	100 (4)		99.9 (N=257)

into the "All High" category.

In the initial analysis the senior males were most evident in the "All High" category (36.4 per cent) but fell considerably into the "High Academic/ Occupational (15.9 per cent) and the "High Academic/Social (22.7 per cent) categories also. When responses to the indices of foreignness are added, the results are fairly similar. The interesting thing to noteiis that all seven senior males who have high academic and occupational aspirations are non-committal with respect to the indices of foreignnness.

47.1 per cent of the senior females were in the "All High" category when the data were analyzed according to grade in school and sex only. This tends to be maintained when the other variable is added especially in the two categories , "Noncommittal" and "Slightly Positive," where the N's are sufficiently large to warrant analysis.

Self-confidence as related to indices of foreignness: The expectation was that those respondents who were noncommittal in their responses to the indices of foreignness would also be noncommittal in giving evidence of self-confidence. Table 21 largely verifies this expectation. In the original analysis 53.8 per cent of the freshman males were noncommittal with regard to any evidence of self-confidence. When the responses to the indices of foreignness were introduced, those 56 respondents who were noncommittal in that area comprised 50 per cent of those who were noncommittal with respect to self-confidence. Of the 3 per cent difference, 2 per cent slid in the direction of "Little Evidence" and the remaining showed"Some Evidence" of self-confidence. Those who were slightly negative, however (those who tended to accept traditional ethnic in-group sympathies), were somewhat more inclined

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND RESPONSES TO THE INDICES OF FOREIGNNESS

Freshmen

Evidence of Self-Confidence	Male							Female					
	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-committal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	Completely Positive	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Committal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive
No Evidence				1.8								2.6	
Little Evidence		100.	16.7	26.8	19				50.	66.7	40.9	23.1	33.3
Non-committal			58.3	50.	61.9	100.			50.	33.3	50.0	41.0	33.3
Some Evidence			25.	21.4	19.0						9.1	30.8	33.3
Much Evidence												2.6	
Total		100. (1)	100. (12)	100. (56)	99.9 (21)	100. (1)			100 (2)	100 (3)	100 (22)	100.1 (39)	99.9 (3)

Seniors

Male							Female							Total
Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Committal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	Completely Positive	Completely Negative	Mostly Negative	Somewhat Negative	Non-Committal	Somewhat Positive	Mostly Positive	Completely Positive	
			4.0							4.0	4.8	25		2.3
		30.0	36/0	33.3					66.7	12.0	14.3			25.7
	100.0	50.0	44.0	66.7					33.3	44.0	52.4	50		49.4
		10.0	16.0							32.0	28.6	25		21.0
		10.0								8.0				1.5
	100.0 (3)	100.0 (10)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (6)					100.0 (3)	100.0 (25)	100.1 (21)	100 (4)		99.9 (257)

to evidence some self-confidence (25 per cent as compared to 16.7 per cent who gave evidence of little self-confidence).

The same observation about the noncommittal being the same in both areas tends to be verified also among the freshman females where 50 per cent are. However, there is a striking discrepancy between those who fall into either the "Little Evidence" or "Much Evidence" categories in the original analysis and the same when considered by their tendency to be noncommittal regarding the indices of foreignness. In the first instance 31.9 per cent of the freshman females fell into the "Little Evidence" category; 21.7 per cent into the "Some Evidence" category. However, among those who are noncommittal with respect to the indices of foreignness, 40.9 per cent fall into the "Little Evidence" category while 9.1 per cent fall into the "Some Evidence" category. Among the freshman females it seems there is some connection between the tendency to be noncommittal with regard to the indices of foreignness and the tendency to give little evidence of self-confidence.

Whereas 52.3 per cent of the senior males tended to be noncommittal with regard to giving evidence of self-confidence in the first analysis, there is a noticeable decrease in this number when the indices of foreignness variable is added (44 per cent). This difference, however, does not seem to be taken up in any one direction.

Among the senior females once again the tendency to be noncommittal in one area tends to be repeated in the other (44 per cent). Hpwever, there is a tendency here, as there was among the other groups, for those who tend to be slightly positive in accepting the indices of foreignness statements (which, once again, means rejecting an ethnic in-group orientation) to also be

noncommittal with respect to self-confidence.

Aspirations as related to the practice of foreign customs in the home: Another variable used in this study to measure ethnicity was the practice of foreign customs in the home. In the following analysis the fact of receiving a foreign language newspaper in the home and/or of speaking a language other than English at home are taken to be indications that the respondent comes from a home environment where circumstances are conducive to ethnic in-group sympathies. This is as compared to a home environment where none of the usual foreign customs are practiced. The dependent variables involved are still aspirations and evidence of self-confidence. Because of the few N's involved, the "All" category will not appear in the present analysis.

Table 22 contains the results when aspirations are key elements. The categorization of the aspirational variable is such that it is difficult to draw conclusions from it. While it is true that many of the respondents fall into the "All High" category, too few fall into the "All Low." Therefore, it is relatively impossible to draw comparisons here. The categories reveal something about the direction in which the aspirations tend, but they do not tell us anything about either the presence or absence of aspirations.

When the practice of foreign customs variable is introduced, however, some directional variations are observable. For example, 42.8 per cent of the freshman males fall into the "High Academic/Social Only" category in the original analysis by grade in school and sex. This proportion is reduced 10 per cent (32 per cent) among those respondents who live in a home environment conducive to ethnic in-group orientation and increased 6 per cent (48.8 per cent) among those who practice no foreign customs in the home. The differences

TABLE 22

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ASPIRATIONS BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND PRACTICE OF FOREIGN CUSTOMS IN THE HOME

Educational, Occupational, Social Aspirations	Freshmen						Seniors						Total
	Male			Female			Male			Female			
	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	Total
All High		3.6	15.5		35.3	38.2	50	14.3	50	50	55.5	49.6	34.4 (N=64)
High Academic Occupational Only	100	4	4.4		11.8	2.9			15			14.3	7 (N=13)
High Academic Social Only		32	48.9	100	11.8	17.6	50	42.9	10	25	22.2	28.6	29 (N=54)
High Occupational Social Only		12	8.9		5.9	2.9		14.3			22.2	4.8	7 (N=13)
High Academic Only		12	6.6		17.6	11.8			10	25			8.6 (N=16)
High Social Only		4	15.6		17.6	17.7			5				9.6 (N=18)
All Low						2.9		14.3	10			4.8	2.7 (N=5)
None Discernible						5.9		14.3					1.6 (N=3)
Total	100 (1)	100 (25)	100 (45)	100 (1)	100 (17)	99.9 (34)	100 (2)	100.1 (7)	100 (20)	100 (4)	99.9 (9)	100 (21)	99.9 (N=186)

fall in the "All High" category where 36 per cent of those who receive a foreign language newspaper and/or speak a foreign language as compared to 26.3 per cent of the respondents in the analysis by grade in school and sex only. This figure declines to 15.5 per cent in the "All High" category among those who practice no foreign customs at home.

On the other hand, 12 per cent of the respondents living in homes where a foreign language newspaper is received and/or a foreign language is spoken fall into the "High Academic Only" category as compared to 9.9 per cent in the original analysis by class in school and sex only. Among the freshman females those in the "All High" category considered according to the practice of foreign customs tend to depart only slightly from the proportion in the initial analysis.

There are some substantial differences among the senior boys. The fact that N is only 7 among those who do receive a foreign language newspaper and/or do speak a foreign language colors this, it seems. Nevertheless, in the original analysis by grade in school and sex, 36.4 per cent (N=1) of those who practice the selected foreign customs as compared with 50 per cent of those who do not are in this category.

The senior females reflect the initial analysis sufficiently to require no further comment.

Self-confidence as related to the practice of foreign customs: When evidence of self-confidence is the issue and the practice of foreign customs is still the additional independent variable as it is in Table 23, some more striking differences are observable between the two groups as the respondents grow older. Once again the N's in the "No Evidence" category are too small

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND PRACTICE OF FOREIGN CUSTOMS IN THE HOME

Evidence of Self-Confidence	Freshmen						Seniors						Total
	Male			Female			Male			Female			
	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	All	Newspaper and/or Language	None	
No Evidence		4			5.9			5	25		4.8		2.7 (N=5)
Little Evidence	100	20	24.4		47.1	29.4		57.2	20		11.1	9.5	24.7 (N=46)
Noncommittal		52	53.3	100	29.4	38.2	100	28.6	65	50	66.6	52.4	49.5 (N=92)
Some Evidence		24	22.2		11.8	32.3		14.3	5	25	22.2	28.6	21.5 (N=40)
Much Evidence					5.9				5			4.8	1.6 (N=3)
Total	100 (1)	100 (25)	99.9 (45)	100 (1)	100 (17)	99.9 (34)	100 (2)	100.1 (7)	100 (20)	100 (4)	99.9 (9)	100 (21)	100 (N=186)

to be significant.

In the "Little Evidence" category there are consistent enough parallels between the initial analysis and this present one among the freshman males. For example, 24.2 per cent of the sample of freshman males, when divided by grade in school and sex, gave little evidence of self-confidence. The proportions for freshman males in the analysis according to the practice of foreign customs is 20 per cent among those who do practice the selected customs and 24.4 per cent among those who do not. Among the freshman females the variation is slightly greater: initial analysis -- 31.9 per cent; those who practice selected customs -- 47.1 per cent; those who do not -- 29.4 per cent. As was indicated, the differences are greater still among the senior males: initial analysis -- 31.8 per cent; those who do -- 57.2 per cent (N=4); those who do not -- 20 per cent (N=4). The senior females are closer again to the initial analysis: initial analsis -- 15.1 per cent; those who do -- 11.1 per cent; those who do not -- 9.5 per cent.

Basically, the same pattern repeats itself in the "Noncommittal" category and in the "Some Evidence" category.

Aspirations as related to nationality descent: The last factor to be introduced as an independent variable is the nationality descent of the respondent. Table 24 explains the aspirational relationship to this variable. Only two points are to be noted since there are obvious unpatterned variations in other aspects of the table. In general, one can say that there is an observable relationship between nationality and aspirations, either between the "old" and the "new" or nationality by nationality. What does seem important, however, are the findings in the "All High" category. When one looks at this

TABLE

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ASPIRATIONS BY GRADE IN

Educational, Occupational, Social Aspirations	Freshmen									
	Male					Female				
	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish
All High	33.3	30.7		50.	29.4	25.	41.7	25.	50.	38.
High Academic Occupational Only	9.5		9.1		2.8				25.	4.8
High Academic Social Only	38.2	38.5	63.7	25.	41.2	31.2	8.3		25.	23.7
High Occupat. Social Only					14.7			25		
High Academic Only	9.5		27.2		5.9	18.8	16.7	25.		4.8
High Social Only	9.5	23.1		25.	5.9	25.	16.7	25.		19.0
All Low							8.3			4.8
None Discernible		7.7					8.3			4.8
Total	100. (21)	100. (13)	100. (11)	100. (4)	99.9 (34)	100. (16)	100. (12)	100. (4)	100. (4)	99.9 (21)

24

SCHOOL, SEX, AND NATIONALITY DESCENT

Seniors										Total
Male					Female					
Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	
50.	50.		33.3	28.6	57.1	54.5	60.		43.8	35.5 (N=81)
14.3	16.7			14.3		18.2			6.2	6.2 (N=14)
14.3			66.7	28.5	28.5	9.1	20.	40.	37.5	29.8 (N=68)
7.1	33.3				14.3			40.		5.2 (N=12)
7.1		50.							12.5	7.9 (N=18)
				7.1		9.1	10.	20.		10.1 (N=23)
7.1		50		14.3			10.			3.1 (N=7)
				7.1		9.1				2.2 (N=5)
99.9 (14)	100. (6)	100. (2)	100. (3)	99.9 (14)	100. (7)	100. (11)	100. (10)	100. (5)	100. (16)	100. (N=228)

category by nationality and compares the findings with the original analysis in Table 13, one sees that the Slovaks are higher than the original proportion among every group except the freshman females. The Germans are higher than the original proportion in every group in the "All High" category. The Irish are higher only among the senior females. The interesting observation is that the Polish are lower than the original proportion in the "All High" group except among the freshman males.

Self-confidence as related to nationality descent: Table 25 presents the results of considering the evidence of self-confidence as it is related to nationality descent. The first point of interest is that of the five students giving no evidence of any self-confidence, three were Polish. In the "Little Evidence" category the Slovak respondents were above the original proportion in this category when the sample was analyzed by grade in school and sex only. In the groups where the Irish appear, they are all below the original proportion. The Polish are below the original proportions in the two male groups but above them among the females.

When the "Noncommittal" category is compared to the original proportion, the Slovaks are more evident except among the freshman males. The Germans tend to be below the original except among the freshman males. The only nationality above the original proportion in all groups is the Italian.

For the most part, the "Some Evidence" category is the opposite of the "Little Evidence" category. Only among the Polish senior females in this category is the result much below the original proportion (21.7 per cent as compared to 48 per cent).

From the foregoing analysis, it seems reasonable to conclude that there

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EVIDENCE OF SELF-CONFIDENCE BY GRADE IN SCHOOL, SEX, AND NATIONALITY DESCENT

Evidence of Self-Confidence	Freshmen										Seniors										Total
	Male					Female					Male					Female					Total
	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	Slovak	German	Irish	Italian	Polish	
No Evidence					2.8										7.1		9.1	10		6.2	2.1 (N=5)
Little Evidence	33.3	23	9.1		23.5	25	33.3	25	25	47.6	35.7	50		33.3	21.4	28.6		10	20	18.8	25.7 (N=58)
Non-committal	42.9	69	72.7	75	52.8	50	33.3	25	50	47.6	57.1	50	50	66.7	57.1	57.2	36.3	60	60	43.8	51.7 (N=118)
Some Evidence	23.8	8	18.2	25	20.9	25	33.3	25	25	4.8	7.1				14.3		45.5	20	20	31.2	18.8 (N=43)
Much Evidence								25					50			14.2	9.1				1.7 (N=4)
Total	100 (21)	100 (13)	100 (11)	100 (4)	100 (34)	100 (16)	99.9 (12)	100 (4)	100 (4)	100 (21)	99.9 (14)	100 (6)	100 (2)	100 (3)	99.9 (14)	100 (7)	100 (11)	100 (10)	100 (5)	100 (16)	100 (N=228)

does not seem to be any marked relationship between nationality descent and self-confidence except in isolated situations.

In summary, the purpose of the chapter was to determine if the introduction of other variables along with grade in school and sex would affect the findings already determined with regard to the aspirations of the respondents and the evidence they gave of self-confidence. The findings as they relate to aspirations will be summarized first.

When social class was introduced into the analysis, Class IV respondents among the seniors had a greater tendency to fall into the "All High" category than Class III respondents. Among the freshmen, the proportions falling into the "All High" category were fairly consistent for both Class III and Class IV respondents.

When aspirations were considered by reference group, on all grade levels those who chose their parents as referents tended to resemble one another and the total sample. Parent-oriented respondents tended to aspire high in all areas. The aspirations of the peer-oriented were, in general, much more scattered.

No particularly meaningful relationship was observable between aspirations and the foreign-born factor in the background of the respondent.

In considering aspirations in relation to the indices of foreignness, it was noted that the freshman males who gave evidence of an orientation away from ethnic in-group sympathies were more inclined to have high aspirations than this same group when they were considered by grade in school and sex only.

When aspirations were considered by the practice of foreign customs in the home, there was a tendency for those who lived in a home environment more

conducive to ethnic in-group orientations to have higher aspirations than those who did not.

The nationality descent of the respondent did not noticeably affect his aspirational level.

When the factor of self-confidence was analyzed interms of the same variables, more differences were noted. For example, when self-confidence was measured by social class, there was a general tendency, no matter which class was involved, to be noncommittal, but specifically, this was more noticeable among males than among females and among Class IV respondents than among Class III.

The analysis of the relationship between self-confidence and reference groups yielded some interesting results. As far as grade in school differences were concerned, the freshman boys tended to be more noncommittal in the area of self-confidence when they chose their friend as their referent (63.2 per cent as compared to 54.5 per cent). The freshman females were just the opposite. Those who chose their parents as their referent tended to be more noncommittal with regard to self-confidence (57.1 per cent as compared with 22.2 per cent). Among the seniors both sexes were more noncommittal if their parents were their referents (Males: 75 per cent as compared with 40 per cent; Females: 53.8 per cent as compared with 36.8 per cent).

The male-female difference was most evident in the "Some Evidence" category. The males in general were most likely not to give some evidence of self-confidence when they chose their friends as their referents. The females were more likely to show some evidence of self-confidence when they chose their friends as referents. For example, 47.4 per cent of the senior girls

who choose their friends as their referents are more likely to show some evidence of self-confidence while 7.7 per cent of those who choose their parents are.

When the generational factor was related to self-confidence, no particular patterns were discernible.

There is a tendency for those who tend to be slightly positive in accepting the indices of foreignness to be more noncommittal with respect to self-confidence.

The practice of foreign customs in the home does not seem to alter the self-confidence findings. There is a tendency, however, for those who do not practice any foreign customs in their homes to reflect the findings on the self-confidence variable when it was measured by grade in school and sex only more often than those who do practice the specified foreign customs. The practice of foreign customs in the home, then, does alter the findings with regard to self-confidence.

When self-confidence is considered by nationality descent, there does not seem to be any marked relationship between the two as a general rule. The results vary from category to category and from nationality to nationality but no overall pattern emerges.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Early in the course of this research the purpose of the study was established. It was to determine to what degree, if any, the students of foreign descent in this school identified with their own ethnic group and what effect, if any, this identification or lack of it had on their image of themselves and their personal, social, and occupational aspirations.

In order to accomplish this purpose a survey-type questionnaire was constructed and administered to all of the students of Bishop Noll Institute in the spring of 1966. From the senior and freshman classes 257 were chosen to constitute the sample. The criterion for choice was that both parents of each respondent had completed a high school education only. Freshmen and seniors were chosen because it was believed that, over time, the school did have some effect on its students beyond the natural changes wrought by an advance in age and the characteristic differences between the sexes peculiar to adolescence.

The study was designed to test two hypotheses:

First, Students who exhibit positive ethnic identification consistently will tend to have high aspirations and a satisfactory self-image.

Second, Students who are negative or at least ambivalent with regard to their ethnic identification will tend to have low aspirations and a less than satisfactory self-image.

The concepts of "positive" and "negative" ethnic identification were operationalized as follows:

> Within the limits of this research, one may be said to have a completely positive identification with his ethnic (nationality) group when he can identify his ethnic origin, when he practices foreign customs at home, including the speaking of a foreign language and/or the reception in the home of a foreign language magazine or newspaper, reacts negatively on the 'indices of foreignness' scale incorporated into the study, reacts positively on the 'indices of acceptance in school' scale incorporated into the study, and chooses his parents as his reference group.
>
> On the other hand, one may be said to have a completely negative identification when he can identify his national origin, practices foreign customs at home, including the speaking of a foreign language and/or the the reception in the home of a foreign language newspaper or magazine, reacts positively on the 'indices of foreignness'scale, reacts negatively on the 'indices of acceptance in school' scale, and chooses groups other than his parents for his reference group.

The first general conclusion is that the hypotheses, as stated, were not confirmed by the research. In operationalizing the concepts of "positive" and "negative" ethnic identification, polar types were envisioned and the extent to which a respondent might deviate from a "completely positive identification" or a "completely negative identification" was not provided for. Therefore, since there were no polar types among the respondents, it was difficult to assess the degree of identification which was present and therefore to relate the same to the measures of aspirations and self-confidence.

The second general conclusion is that the freshman-senior differences and the male-female differences are more striking than the nationality differences, although ethnic overtones seem to be present in some of the

findings. The fact that the female respondents, on the whole, tended to be younger than the males is particularly interesting to keep in mind as the freshman-senior differences and male-female differences are discussed specifically.

The third general conclusion is that there was a relationship established between the educational attainment of the respondent's father and that respondent's social class position. If one recalls that the criterion for placement in the sample was the fact of a high school education only for both parents, the finding that three-fourths of the respondents fell into Class IV on the Hollingshead Index is especially striking. Among these respondents there seems, then, to be a strong relationship between social class position and the father's educational attainment.

Specific conclsions follow. The first freshman-senior, male-female differences which are noteworthy appear in the respondent's choice of reference groups. 45.4 per cent of the senior males chose their parents as referents as compared with 24.2 per cent of the freshman males. This is further contrasted with 24.5 per cent of the senior females who chose their parents and 20.3 per cent of the freshman females. In the light of these figures, there seems to be more of a tendency for the older male to choose his parents as referents than there is for the older female. When the findings concerned with choice of friend as a referent are presented, there is a general tendency for females to choose their friends more often than the males do, but this tendency varies little as the females advance in age. 39.1 per cent of the freshman females chose their friends where possible; 35.8 per cent of the senior females did.

The third area in which freshman-senior, male-female differences tended to predominate was with regard to responses on the indices of foreignness scale. The tendency for a "Makes No Difference" answer to predominate was interpreted as a noncommittal stance on the part of the respondent. The question of whether he was deliberately noncommittal because he did not want to answer the question or whether he sincerely did not care one way or the other was impossible to determine. What did emerge was that close to 50 per cent of the sample (49.8) fell into this noncommittal category. Further, males were more likely to respond negatively than females were, the highest negative response coming from the senior males. It is to be noted that a placement in the negative category was taken as an indication of the respondent's rejection of ethnic in-group sympathies.

When self-confidence was measured, the expectation was that the degree of self-confidence would increase as the respondent grew older. This tended to be realized except in the case of the senior males who tended to give much less evidence of an increase in comparison with the figures for the freshman respondents. 11.3 per cent of the senior males gave some evidence of self-confidence as compared with 20.9 per cent of the freshman males and 21.7 per cent of the freshman females.

When the variables of social class, reference group, generation of foreign-born, attitude toward the indices of foreignness, the practice of foreign customs in the home and the nationality descent of the respondent were introduced as independent variables and grade in school and sex were held constant, additional freshman-senior, male-female differences were

observable. For example, when aspirations were related to the indices of foreignness and grade in school and sex were held constant, those freshman males who gave evidence of an orientation away from ethnic in-group sympathies were more inclined to have high aspirations than they were when they were considered by grade in school and sex only. Also, when self-confidence was measured by social class, male respondents were more noncommittal than females. The analysis by reference group was rewarding in this sense also. The freshman males were more noncommittal concerning self-confidence when they chose their friend as their referent, as compared with the freshman females who were more noncommittal when they chose their parents. Among the seniors, both sexes were more noncommittal if they chose their parents.

One further conclusion remains to be noted. When it was a question of chhosing a faculty referent, differences by grade in school and sex were again evident. First of all, there was a decline evident between freshman and seniors in choosing members of the administration as referents. This is perhaps due to the fact that these do not teach and are therefore not in direct contact with the students. Secondly, there was more of a tendency for seniors to choose the religion faculty than freshmen, while the freshmen tended to choose the "secular" faculty maore often. This is perhaps an example of the intangible effect of a school, measured over time, which was alluded to at the beginning of this chapter as a justification for choosing the respondents from freshmen and seniors. Third, the males tended to choose guidance and counselling referents than did the females.

The conclusions warranted by the findings in this study can now be summarized.

1. As adolescent males get older, there is a greater tendency for them to choose their parents as referents.
2. Females are more inclined to choose their peers as referents, but the inclination remains fairly consistent regardless of age.
3. Freshmen choose members of the administration as referents more often than do seniors.
4. Seniors tend to choose the religion faculty as referents more often than the freshmen who tend to choose teachers of "secular" subjects.
5. On the indices of foreignness scale males are more likely to be negative than females.
6. The degree to which one tends to be noncommittal on certain attitude questions tends to be a function of sex and choice of reference groups.
7. In areas where a "positive" or "negative" response was possible as well as a "Makes No Difference" response, the respondents tend to fall in the "Makes No Difference" category.

Given the obvious weaknesses of the present study, the implications for further research are numerous. There seems to be a need to investigate the noncommittal responses of the students. These cannot be considered indices of marginality until more of what prompted them is known. The author still suspects that there is a great deal of the ethnic factor affecting aspirations and self-confidence. It would be interesting to refine this instrument or construct another which might better bring this to the surface. This same

type of study could well be extended to public high schools in the area to better assess the impact of the school on the responses. One last projection, the scores on the indices of foreignness were considered as a composite score in the analysis. There is evidence in the results that an item by item analysis might prove rewarding in terms of further conclusions.

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APPENDIX I

SURVEY OF AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL YOUTH - 1966

This questionnaire is part of a series of studies of high schools across the country. In this study we are interested in the attitudes you might have about your own identification and the identification of others around you. The results of this study will help us to understand more about the important attitudes high school youths have.

Your school is cooperating anonymously in this study, so do not put your name or address anywhere on the following sheets. This is a completely anonymous study.

There are no right or wrong answers to the following questions. Just give frank and honest answers to the best of your ability. We realize that some of the statements deal with complex issues, and the alternatives presented will not always fully express your opinion. However, you are asked to select the given answer which is closest to your own view.

Thank you for being part of this study.

N.B. THE BLANK SPACES IN THE FAR RIGHT-HAND COLUMN THROUGHOUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE ARE FOR THE PURPOSES OF IBM CODING AND ARE NOT TO BE USED FOR THE RECORDING OF ANSWERS. ALL OF THE ANSWER BLANKS ARE CLOSE TO THE QUESTIONS TO WHICH THEY REFER.

SURVEY OF AMERICAN YOUTH
1966

PLEASE DO NOT MARK ANYTHING IN THIS RIGHT-HAND COLUMN.

1. To what parish do you belong? _____ 5. _____

2. Sex: Male _____ 6. _____
Female _____

3. Classification in high school: Freshman _____ 7. _____
Sophomore _____
Junior _____
Senior _____ 8. _____

4. Age: Younger than 14 _____
14 _____
15 _____
16 _____
17 _____
18 or over 18 _____ 9. _____

5. Are you living with your parents at this time? (LIVING WITH ONE PARENT IS SUFFICIENT FOR A "YES" ANSWER)
YES _____
NO _____ 10. _____

ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS (6 THROUGH 12) BY PLACING THE LETTER OF YOUR CHOICE (FROM THE LIST BELOW) IN THE BLANK PROVIDED.

A. Belgium
B. Canada
C. Cuba
D. Czechoslovakia
E. England
F. Finland
G. France
H. Germany
I. Greece
J. Holland
K. Ireland
L. Italy
M. Japan
N. Lithuania
O. Mexico
P. Norway
Q. Poland
R. Puerto Rico
S. Russia
T. Scotland
U. Spain
V. Sweden
W. United States
X. Other (Indicate Name)_____
Y. Don't Know

6. In what country was your father's father born? 6._____ 11. _____

7. In what country was your father's mother born? 7._____ 12. _____

8. In what country was your mother's father born? 8._____ 13. _____

9. In what country was your mother's mother born? 9._____ 14. _____

10. In what country was your father born? 10.____

11. In what country was your mother born? 11.____

12. In what country were you born? 12.____

13. Even if you were born in the United States, what is your nationality descent? (IF YOU ARE A COMBINATION OF NATIONALITIES, JUST INDICATE THE MAJOR ONE.)

_____

14. Are there any services, sermons, or announcements given in a language other than English in your parish?

YES ____
NO ____

15. If the above answer is YES, which language?_____

FOR THE ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS 16 THROUGH 20 CHECK YOUR CHOICES IN THE APPROPRIATE BOXES TO THE RIGHT.

	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
16. Does your father or mother belong to any club or organization concerned with foreign customs or interests?	☐	☐	☐
17. Do you practice any customs in your home which are common in a particular foreign country?	☐	☐	☐
18. Does your family regularly eat foods associated with a particular foreign country?	☐	☐	☐
19. Does your family regularly receive a particular foreign language newspaper or magazine at home?	☐	☐	☐
20. Do your parents regularly speak a particular foreign language at home?	☐	☐	☐

21. If the answer to questions 19 and 20 is YES, what language? _____

FOR ITEMS 22 THROUGH 31 CIRCLE THE LETTER(S) TO THE RIGHT OF EACH STATEMENT WHICH MOST ACCURATELY INDICATES YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STATEMENT. THE KEY TO THE LETTERS IS THIS: AS - Agree Strongly, A - Agree, MND - Makes No Difference, D - Disagree, DS - Disagree Strongly.

15. 152. _____
16. _____
17. _____
----------c
18. _____
19. _____
20. _____
21. _____
22. _____
23. _____
24. _____
25. _____
----------c
26. _____

22.	People who come to America from other countries should become "Americanized" as soon as possible.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	27. _____
23.	Parents should not insist that their children speak a language other than English at home.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	28. _____
24.	I would avoid going to Mass if the sermon and/or the non-Latin parts were not in English.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	29. _____
25.	The more parents insist on holding to a foreign background, the harder it is for them to understand their children.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	30. _____
26.	It is embarrassing for students to bring their high school friends home when their parents are not "Americanized".	AS	A	MND	D	DS	31. _____
27.	Parishes based on nationality differences are a waste of time in America today.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	32. _____
28.	The nationality descent of a possible marriage partner is of no importance as far as the anticipated happiness or unhappiness of the marriage is concerned.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	33. _____
29.	I am not interested in any country except the U. S.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	34. _____
30.	The worst danger to real Americanism during the last fifty years has come from foreign ideas and foreign agitators.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	35. _____
31.	People who are not "Americanized" should not be allowed to become United States' citizens.	AS	A	MND	D	DS	36. _____

C

ANSWER QUESTIONS 32 THROUGH 36 IN THE BOXES TO THE RIGHT.

		Same As Mine	Different From Mine	
32.	Nationality descent of most of the priests on the faculty here?	☐	☐	37. _____
33.	Nationality descent of most of the sisters on the faculty here?	☐	☐	38. _____
34.	Nationality descent of most of the brothers on the faculty here?	☐	☐	39. _____
35.	Nationality descent of most of the lay teachers on the faculty here?	☐	☐	40. _____
36.	Nationality descent of most of the students here?	☐	☐	41. _____

IF YOUR ANSWER TO ANY OF THE ABOVE IS "DIFFERENT FROM MINE", PLEASE INDICATE WHAT YOU THINK THEIR NATIONALITY DESCENT IS.

37. Priests 37. _____ 42. _____
38. Sisters 38. _____ 43. _____
39. Brothers 39. _____ 44. _____
40. Lay Teachers 40. _____ 45. _____
41. Students 41. _____ 46. _____

----------C

CIRCLE THE LETTER(S) TO THE RIGHT OF EACH STATEMENT WHICH MOST ACCURATELY INDICATES YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STATEMENT. THE KEY IS THIS: AS - Agree Strongly, A - Agree, MND - Makes No Difference, D - Disagree, DS - Disagree Strongly.

42. I feel most confortable in a class where the teacher has the same nationality descent as mine. AS A MND D DS 47. _____
43. It is easier to explain things to a teacher who has the same nationality as mine. AS A MND D DS 48. _____
44. My experience shows that teachers are likely to favor those students whose nationality descent is the same as theirs. AS A MND D DS 49. _____
45. There is little chance in this school for students who practice foreign customs at home to share these with teachers and other students. AS A MND D DS 50. _____
46. Teachers in this school look down on parents who do not speak English well. AS A MND D DS 51. _____

----------C

47. If you had a problem that you had to talk to someone here in school about, to whom would you go?
(NAME THE PERSON) _____ 52. _____
53. _____
54. _____
55. _____

48. Do you belong to a particular social group here in school? YES ___ NO ___ 56. ___

49. If the above answer is YES, do you belong to this group
because you want to ___
because you have no other choice ___ 57. ___

50. Are most of your friends the same nationality as you? YES ___ NO ___ 58. ___

51. Most of the students I know ... (CHECK ONE)
1. Look up to my group of friends ___
2. Look down on my group of friends ___
3. Neither look up nor down on my friends. ___ 59. ___

52. I don't like people who run around all the time with those who have the same nationality descent as they do. AGREE ___ DISAGREE ___ 60. ___

53. If the above answer is AGREE, please name the nationality group(s) you have in mind. ___ 61. ___

___ 62. ___

****
****

CIRCLE THE LETTER(S) TO THE RIGHT OF EACH STATEMENT WHICH MOST ACCURATELY INDICATES YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STATEMENT. THE KEY IS THIS: AS - Agree Strongly, A - Agree, MND - Makes No Difference, D - Disagree, DS - Disagree Strongly.

___

54. After being caught in a mistake, it is hard to do good work for awhile. AS A MND D DS 10. ___

55. Meeting new people is usually embarrassing. AS A MND D DS 11. ___

56. It is hard to bring oneself to confide in others. AS A MND D DS 12. ___

57. It is hard to keep cool in important situations. AS A MND D DS 13. ___

58. It is not easy to express one's ideas. AS A MND D DS 14. ___

59. Most people just pretend they like you. AS A MND D DS 15. ___

----------C

60. Let's say you had always wanted to belong to a particular club in school, and you were finally asked to join. But then you found out that your parents didn't approve of the group. Do you think you would ...

1. definitely join anyway _____
2. probably join _____
3. probably not join _____
4. definitely not join _____ 16. _____

61. For each of the kinds of people at the left below, pick from the list on the right the first word that occurs to you when you think of the person on the left. Each number from the list on the right may be used more than once.

Teacher	_____	1. dull
Father	_____	2. inspiring
Scientist	_____	3. odd 17. _____
Congressman	_____	4. challenging
Musician	_____	5. you can have it 18. _____
Mother	_____	6. good example
		7. frightening 19. _____
		8. interesting

62. What if your parents approved of a group you wanted to join, but by joining the group, you would break with your closest friend who was not asked to join, would you ...

1. definitely join anyway _____
2. probably join _____
3. probably not join _____
4. definitely not join _____ 20. _____

63. If you could be remembered here at school for <u>one</u> of the things below, which would you want it to be?

1. Most popular _____
2. Leader in activities _____
3. Brilliant student _____
4. Leading athlete _____ 21. _____

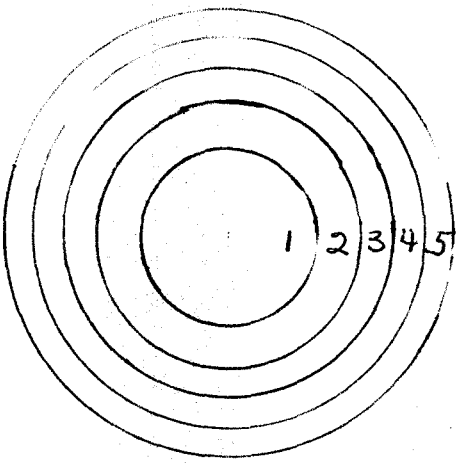
64. Which of these things would be the hardest for you to take - your parents' disapproval, your teachers' disapproval, or your best friend's disapproval?

1. Parents' Disapproval _____
2. Teachers' Disapproval _____
3. Best Friend's Disapproval _____ 22. _____

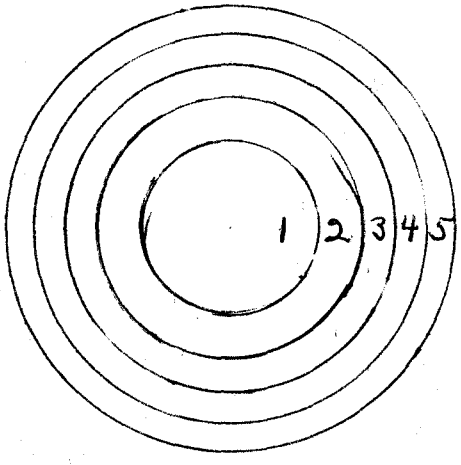
----------C

65. Suppose the circles below represented the activities which go on here at school. How far out from the center of things are you? (PLACE A CHECK WHERE YOU THINK YOU ARE NOW IN THE CIRCLE TO THE LEFT. IN THE CIRCLE TO THE RIGHT, PLACE A CHECK WHERE YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE.)

CIRCLE 1: WHERE YOU ARE



CIRCLE 2: WHERE YOU WOULD LIKE TO BE



23. _____

24. _____

66. What level of education do you want to attain? _____ 25. _____

67. In what occupation do you wish to earn your living after you finish your education? _____ 26. _____

68. What is your father's occupation? (BE VERY SPECIFIC. AVOID WORDS LIKE "SALESMAN", "CLERK", "LABORER", "OFFICE WORKER." INSTEAD, USE IDENTIFICATIONS AS COMPLETE AS "A FILE CLERK IN A PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICE" OR "A RUG SALESMAN IN A DOWNTOWN DEPARTMENT STORE", ETC.)

Father's occupation: _____ 27. _____

69. Does your mother work? YES _____ NO _____ 28. _____

70. If the above answer is YES, what is your mother's occupation? (AGAIN, BE SPECIFIC.) _____ 29. _____

71. If the answer to Question 69 is YES, approximately how many hours a week does your mother work?

1. 10 or less _____
2. 11 - 20 _____
3. 21 - 30 _____
4. 31 - 40 _____ 30. _____

72. How much formal education has your father had? (CHECK ONE)

1. Graduate professional training _____
2. Standard college or university graduation _____

3. Partial college training
4. High school graduate
5. Partial high school
6. Junior high school
7. Less than seven years of school

31. _____

73. How much formal education has your mother had? (CHECK ONE)

1. Graduate professional training
2. Standard college or university graduation
3. Partial college training
4. High school graduate
5. Partial high school
6. Junior high school
7. Less than seven years of school

32. _____

_____

_____c

_____

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE BELOW THIS LINE

****

I. (Col. 11 thr. 17) 63. _____c

II. (Col. 21 thr. 25) 65. _____c

III. (Col. 27 thr. 36) 67. _____c

IV. (Col. 37 thr. 46) 69. _____c

V. (Col. 47 thr 51) 71. _____c

VI. (Col. 10 thr. 15) 73. _____c

VII. (Col. 16 thr. 20; Col. 22) 75. _____c

VIII. (Col. 21; Col. 23 thr. 26) 77. _____c

IX. (Col. 27 thr. 32) 79. _____c

N.B. Summary Items VI, VII, VIII, and IX concern the data recorded on Card 2.

APPENDIX II

March 29, 1966

To: Homeroom Teachers
Re: Loyola University Questionnaire

DIRECTIONS

Perhaps it is necessary to impress your students with the importance of research of this nature. We remind you, as the person responsible for administering this questionnaire, that any unusable questionnaires, for any reason whatsoever, can seriously affect the validity of the study.

Thank you for your cooperation.

1. Distribute one questionnaire to each student.

2. Read the cover sheet with the students. You could read it aloud as they follow you silently. Stress the anonymity of the study and the fact that the students are not to make any marks in the far right-hand column on any page of the questionnaire.

3. Most questions are answered by making a check mark (✓) in the appropriate blank. Directions requiring different types of answers are given where necessary.

4. Please avoid any questions the students may ask regarding an interpretation of the content. Any comment on your part may introduce a bias.

5. Near the end of the first period send the completed questionnaires and any blank ones you may have to the office in the folder in which you received them. Use a reliable student for this, please.

6. On this sheet, please fill in the following information.

Name of Homeroom Sponsor: _____

Homeroom Number: _____

The Number of Students Who Answered This Questionnaire: _____

The Number of Students Who Were Absent: _____

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister Christopher Marie Fails, C.S.C. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Jan. 24, 1967
Date

Paul Kennedy
Signature of Adviser