Ethnicity and Level of Occupational Aspiration Among High School Seniors

Jeannine Michele Hucklebroich-Riotto
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ETHNICITY AND LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

by

Jeannine M. Hucklenbroich-Riotto

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Education of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education

January

1980
The purpose of this study was to determine whether the level of occupational aspiration among selected high school seniors is influenced by the students' ethnicity when such factors as social class and academic achievement are controlled.

The investigation was conducted in two boys' and two girls' parochial high schools in the Chicago metropolitan area. A Student Survey, compiled by the investigator incorporating the research of Greeley, Coleman, Hollingshead, Haller and Miller,1 was administered to all seniors (ages 17-18) in each of the four high schools, yielding data on ethnicity, social class, and level of career aspirations (LOA). The cumulative grade-point average from consenting students' Junior Year was sought from school officials. A preliminary analysis of the data defined the five Euro-American ethnic groups included in the final sample of 735 respondents,

namely, Italian, Irish, German, Polish, and Mixed Ethnic males and females.

The specific research task centered on verifying or rejecting eight hypotheses. A 5 X 2 factorial design utilizing two-way analyses of variance procedures, and the analysis of covariance were employed in the investigation. Further analysis involved the use of Pearson-product moment correlations, Fisher z-transformations, and a test for inequality of correlation coefficients for independent samples. Additional post-hoc analyses included Duncan's New Multiple Range Test of Contrasts and Geometric Profiles to determine the source and direction of significant trends.

The results indicate a significant ethnicity effect, with the Irish and Italian groups showing higher LOA scores than any of the other ethnics in the sample. Females had higher LOA scores than male respondents, and there was a significant interaction between sex and ethnicity. This interaction was most pronounced among the Poles, where male subjects outscored females on the measure of LOA. GPA was positively related to LOA, and this relationship was similar for all ethnic groups. The Polish group showed significantly higher grade-point averages than all other subgroups, except the Germans; no other differences in GPA were found. SES was also related to LOA in that higher SES seemed to be associated with higher LOA, and vice-versa. The relationship between SES and LOA was similar across all ethnic groups. German males demonstrated the lowest level of occupational aspiration, regardless of their high GPA and/or socioeconomic classification.
The findings underscore the importance of the assemblance of ethnic-related data for the purpose of understanding the environmental factors of a student's cultural background. Sensitivity to the reciprocal nature of the assimilation process seems essential to program planning, since a residue of the immigrant's background appears to remain as an unconscious factor influencing the LOA of even third or later generation ethnics.

Suggestions were made for further research, including recommendations for an in-depth probe into the dynamics of ethnic affiliation as it relates to social mobility, and a longitudinal investigation tracing ethnic students' career choices to attained occupational status.
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The encouragement of friends and relatives was, of course, deeply appreciated. The author wishes to give special thanks to her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore A. Hucklenbroich, without whom the entire project would have been impossible. Thank you to her husband, Joseph James Riotto, for his patience and understanding, and to little Raffaella Giovanna, whose birth renewed the author's energy for the completion of this dissertation.
The road which led to the completion of this project was an arduous, but a fruitful one, filled with memories of Christmas at Nonna's house, and listening to my Dad talk about his father's pride in his Polish heritage. It would be difficult to pinpoint exactly which memory or experience spawned my interest in this topic. Perhaps it was observing the diverse occupational choices of relatives and friends or experiencing at times the overwhelming sense of family that led this author to research ethnicity.

I remember long conversations with my Grandmother, Filomena Colangelo, who immigrated here from the province of Salerno, Italy at the age of seventeen. She had little formal education, but she raised twelve children in her adopted country, most of whom entered the professions and whose children later attended college and graduate school.

During this study, I experienced a sense of self-realization, that is a deeper appreciation of the meaning of being an "ethnic." This dissertation is then, in a sense, Filomena Colangelo's story and the story of others like her—a chronicle of an immigrant's experiences and the effect this ethnic history had on her family.

Jeannine M. Huckenbroich-Riotto
January 1980

1Italian word meaning "Grandmother."
VITA

The author, Jeannine Michele Hucklenbroich-Riotto, is the daughter of Theodore Anthony and Rose (Colangelo) Hucklenbroich. She was born November 6, 1946 in Chicago, Illinois.

Her elementary education was obtained at St. Angela School. She later attended Notre Dame High School for Girls where she graduated in June 1964. In September 1964, she entered Loyola University, and received the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education in February 1968. In September 1968, Mrs. Riotto went to Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana, where she obtained a master's degree in early childhood education in August 1969. She also studied at the Instituto Cultural in Guadalajara, Mexico during the summer of 1972, and at the University of Lublin in Poland (1975).

The author is a teacher in the Chicago public schools, and has worked in kindergarten, primary, and bilingual programs. She taught a course in Children's Literature at Loyola University during the 1975 summer session, and worked for one year as an intern at the North Suburban Area Service Center for Gifted Programs in Arlington Heights, Illinois.

Mrs. Riotto was a presentor at the 1976 Multilingual-Multicultural Midwest Conference held in Chicago, and a 1977 recipient of a Loyola Alumnae Association scholarship. She published an article on ethnic studies, titled "Key Questions in Ethnic Studies" in the February 1976 issue of the Curriculum Advisory.
Service Review. The author is also a member of several professional organizations, including the American Educational Research Association, Kappa Delta Pi, the International Association for Early Childhood Education, and Phi Delta Kappa.

Active in ethnic affairs, Mrs. Riotto is a member of the Advisory Board of the Italian Cultural Center in Stone Park, Illinois, and the Treasurer of the Women's Division of the Joint Civic Committee of Italian-Americans. She is listed in the 1976 Italian-American Registry.

The author has traveled extensively throughout Europe, Latin America, the Orient, and the United States, and speaks Italian and Spanish. She was a volunteer interpreter for the Altrusa Language Bank, and has worked as a volunteer for West Suburban Hospital in Oak Park, Illinois. Personal hobbies include the study of piano and ballet.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the more obvious and persistent social phenomenon of the 1970's is what Glazer and Moynihan call the resurgence of ethnicity.\(^1\) Traditionally defensive and protective, white ethnics have become more assertive in their struggle for positive self-definition. Manifestations of the white ethnic movement occur both in the institutional reactions of established organizations and in the "grass roots" activities of ethnic communities. For example,

1. In 1971, the Ford Foundation announced grants totaling nearly one million dollars for action programs and research geared towards understanding the continuing role of ethnicity in American life.

2. The Education Amendments of 1972 (Title V) authorized grants for the creation of ethnic heritage studies programs, and established a National Advisory Council on Ethnic Heritage Studies. Title IX of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was also expanded in 1971 to include the funding of ethnic heritage studies centers. The resulting appropriations totaled thirty million dollars during 1971-1973. Money for bilingual education (Title VII)

increased from $7.5 million in 1969 to $115 million in 1977, and the 1974 revisions of the Bilingual Education Act further opened participation in federally sponsored programs to nonpoverty, white ethnic students.¹

3. The persistence of ethnic politics, despite a relatively small influx of European immigrants over the last forty-five years, is manifested by voter preference for candidates of similar ethnic and/or religious background.² Of the fifty Congressmen incumbent in 1964 from legislative districts designated by the 1960 census as highest in foreign stock concentration, thirty-four had surnames associated with the major ethnic group in their district.³

4. In its 1973 report, the Federal Bureau of Census noted that Euro-Americans were more likely to list their ethnic background


²The census data on foreign-born in Chicago is representative of the trend nationally. In the 1930 census, there were 859,409 foreign-born. The number of immigrants dwindled to 672,705 in 1940, 526,058 in 1950 and 438,392 in 1960. The 1970 Census lists 373,919 foreign-born, a decline of 485,490 since 1930. The Chicago figures include Hispanic and other non-European groups in the totals. If these groups were deleted, the decline in European immigration would be even more noticeable. See Chicago Department of Development and Planning, The People of Chicago, Who We Are and Who We Have Been: Census Data on Foreign-Born, Foreign Stock and Race 1837-1970, Chicago, 1976, pp. 33-44.

than in previous surveys. A comparison of the 1971 Current Population Report with the 1973 report numerically illustrates this ethnic resurgence. German-Americans, for example, increased from 19.1 million to 25.5 million, and English-Americans from 20.0 to 29.5 million, that is, an accession of 6.4 million Germans, and 9.5 million English over a two year interval.¹

The trends suggested in the examples cited indicate in part the slow realization by the majority of ethnic Americans that they have not lost their ethnic identity in some fictitious melting process. Intensified group identification and the deliberate preservation of cultural links dispel the myth that ethnicity diminishes with acculturation. The present "ethnic renewal," however, does not imply a sequential, unified pattern for all hyphenated Americans, but rather stresses the dynamic, multidimensional nature of ethnicity.²

Ethnicity may sometimes be defined as a shared sense of peoplehood. While ethnic groups are often described by a variety of indicators, that is, religious, racial, national, linguistic and/or


geographical, Dashefsky and Shapiro state that the one common denominator among groups is their feeling of ethnicity (real or imaginary).\(^1\) For purposes of this study, however, the concept of ethnicity will imply the fusion of European cultural background, American acculturation experience, and similar sociopolitical and economic interests.\(^2\)

An ethnic group is essentially an involuntary collective, but individual identification with the group is optional. Used as a sorting device for oneself and others, ethnic identity is a label which can be attributed or withheld. Like other forms of social identity, ethnicity is essentially subjective.\(^3\) Allegiance to a

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\(^1\)Arnold Dashefsky and Howard M. Shapiro, "Ethnicity and Identity," in Dashefsky, pp. 3-11.

\(^2\)The author acknowledges the specificity of this definition. Other ethnics such as those representing Asian, Afro-American, Hispanic and Native-American groups were not mentioned, since the focus here is on white Euro-American ethnics. Andrew M. Greeley also limits his definition of ethnicity in the same manner. See Andrew M. Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us? Facts and Fallacies about Ethnic Differences and Group Conflicts in America, Institute of Human Relations Press Pamphlet Series, no. 12 (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1969), pp. 10-11.

particular ethnic group develops through time, and is usually characterized by a situational variability. ¹

Historically, ethnicity was not the focal point of emphasis in American ideology. Two major themes, Anglo-conformity and the "melting pot" theory developed simultaneously in the historiography of immigration and ethnic assimilation. The thrust toward Anglo-conformity was an organized effort to assure the dominance of the English language and cultural patterns. Benjamin Franklin expressed his fear of the Dutch immigrants to Pennsylvania in 1752, and Thomas Jefferson opposed the settlement of immigrants in compact groups to facilitate assimilation. Anglo-conformity developed into the nativist movement in the 1840's. In 1845, the French aristocrat Tocqueville criticized this "tyranny of the majority" in which the typical American became a mass-dominated conformist who had forgotten his ancestors. The Americanization campaign evolved into a formal arrangement for transmitting the national doctrine to the next generation via tax-supported public schools and adult education classes. Pro-Americanization sentiment intensified during the World War I era, resulting in national origins formulas used for

¹This term is used to describe an ensuing relationship between culture and role. The personality is regarded as a complex system of potential ranges of behavior that may be evoked by various physical, social, and cultural conditions that surround a person at any given time. See Gordon Allport, "Culture, Situation, and Role," Pattern and Growth in Personality (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961), pp. 165-95.
immigration quotas. Self-styled patriots demanded that immigrants cleanse themselves of all "foreignisms."

During the same time span the "melting pot" theory emerged, based on the formation of a composite nationality, that is, an ideal American through intermarriage and the fusion of the immigrants' national heritage and/or religion. In the 1770's for example, Crevecoeur discussed the melting of individuals into a new race of men. Herman Melville alluded to the idea of a "melting pot" in Redburn, His First Voyage in 1849, and in 1908, Israel Zangwill titled one of his dramatic works, "The Melting Pot." Settlement house workers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries like Jane Addams advocated a more humanitarian approach towards the newcomers. Although these social workers and prominent Americanizers, like Gino Speranza, expected eventual acceptance of prevailing American ideology, they demanded no immediate disavowal by the immigrant of his or her unique values. Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy illustrates this global approach towards assimilation in her discussion of the triple "melting-pot"-intermarriage thesis, that is, the interethnic marriages of persons of the same denomination, published in 1944.

Meanwhile, a third image of a model American was gradually developing, whereby theorists emphasized the positive aspects of a culturally pluralistic society. Roger Williams, dissenting Puritan minister and founder of Rhode Island, and John Woolman, a leading eighteenth century Quaker who urged white Americans to learn from the
Indians, set a precedent for the more complete expression of openness to diversity. Professor Horace Kallen developed his case for cultural pluralism in a 1915 publication titled "Democracy versus the Melting Pot." A decade later, Kallen used the term "cultural pluralism" in *Culture and Democracy in the United States.*

Precise time lines are difficult to establish, since these descriptive models, that is, Anglo-conformity, the "melting pot," and cultural pluralism, were often used simultaneously by social scientists, illustrating the general lack of close analytical attention given to the theory of immigrant adjustment in the United States. World War II developed a unity of purpose and loyalty among Americans of diverse background, and mass education resulted in the structural assimilation of most ethnic groups. The demand for homogeneity, the metaphor of the "melting pot," and pluralism still vie to dominate current American policy. The 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 led to a new

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attempt at the Americanization of non-Caucasians through government-sponsored compensatory education and vocational training programs, while organized efforts in the field of intergroup relations by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the American Jewish Committee, and the successful creation of ethnic action movements, notably, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, ASPIRA, and the Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee (EMPAC) helped to catalyze the popularization of cultural pluralism and social integration. Yet, the policy of cultural separatism continues to be favored among select populations, such as the Amish and Black Muslims, or used as a temporary means of building sociopolitical strength within minority groups as evidenced by the ethnocentric thrust of many Chicano and Puerto Rican organizations. Moreover, the increased influx of Southeast Asians during the past decade has rekindled nativism, and hostility toward cultural nonconformity. ¹

The rise of ethnic consciousness is, in reality, part of a more general cultural revolution in which the aforementioned theories, Anglo-conformity, "melting pot," and cultural pluralism, retain their juxtaposition. American ethnics in the twentieth century are reconsidering their position, not only as a nation of many nations, but as many nations within one nation. ²

¹Havinghurst and Levine, pp. 452-59.
Sociologically, the ethnic factor is an important dimension of American life as evidenced by the balanced urban election ticket, ethnic appointments to public office, ethnic caucuses among unionists, the ethnic parish, the "nationality suburb," and profits in ethnic foods, restaurants and entertainment.¹ Increased urbanization, with the resulting segmentation of public and private roles, allows for a wider expression of ethnicity. Occupational identities have declined along with other social statuses, such as that of homeowner, as a source of self-esteem.² Shaken by dissent over liturgical changes and social issues, even religion no longer serves as a means of establishing one's identity. Moreover, the success of organized protest movements by Blacks and other nonwhite minorities, and the ensuing struggle for power among various interest groups are prompting many latent ethnics to seek their primordial roots.³

¹Weed, White Ethnic Movement, p. 44.

²It should be noted that at present, class and occupational distinctions appear to be more succinct in Europe due to the conflicting political ideologies of capitalism vis a vis socialism and communism. However, the influx of large groups of unskilled workers imported from less developed societies into western European countries may result in a European version of renewed ethnic consciousness in the respective host nations. Conversations with Dr. Allan C. Ornstein, Loyola University of Chicago, 22 October 1979; Harry L. Miller, Social Foundations of Education: An Urban Focus (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1978), p. 129.

³Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, "A Resurgence of Ethnicity," in Yin, pp. 170-76. Andrew M. Greeley and others have used the term "primordial" when discussing ethnic groups. See Perry L. Weed's comments regarding Greeley's use of the term in White Ethnic Movement, p. 16. See also Miller, p. 148.
Ethnicity, however, involves more than merely substituting ethnic interests for class interests as vehicles for sociopolitical organization. Cultural characteristics influential in the learning process are as much a part of a child's endowment as socio-psychological traits, and educators are slowly realizing that ethnic students do not always share the same frames of reference, orientations and expectations which dominate school activities.\(^1\) Ethnic differentials may be expressed in motor, discriminative and perceptual responses, as well as in more complex patterns of cognitive processing.\(^2\) Hence, multicultural education for a culturally pluralistic society could feasibly become a major issue in future teacher training, evaluation, and curriculum design.\(^3\)

The current humanistic movement in education nurtures the increased legitimacy of ethnic awareness by its emphasis on assessment of student needs and its tolerance of a variety of learning and communication styles, as illustrated by the potpourri of available programs and materials. Yet, in spite of all this emphasis on pluralism, actual changes in the characteristics most functionally

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\(^1\) Miller, pp. 150-68.


related to pupil achievement are still slow in coming. The lag may be due to the fact that these particular correlates are deeply rooted in the socioeconomic and cultural life of each subgroup. The mere switching of textbooks, increased staffing, refunding of programs, or the expansion of available facilities may not assure equal educational opportunity. Educators need to go beyond the surface level of generic multicultural education and focus on the unique problems ethnic groups have experienced in American society. Specialized analyses of subgroup specific experiences and strategies for pedagogical pluralism are required.

Students' cultural heritages should be treated as an integral part of the learning process, rather than as an interesting bit of "exotica." Studies have shown that an effective means of boosting learner self-esteem is the enhancement of ethnic group pride and of the centrality or salience of ethnic group membership as part of the school curriculum. However, history seems to be repeating itself, in that contemporary educators appear to be following a policy of benign neglect regarding ethnicity. The ethnic phenomenon is not being given the attention it deserves. While some facets of

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2James A. Banks, "The Implications of Multicultural Education for Teacher Education," in Klassen and Gollnick, p. 3.


4Andrew M. Greeley discussed the need for intensive study of ethnic diversity in American society. See Miller, pp. 148-49.
ethnicity may be too subtle to document, the investigator contends that even in third or later generation ethnics, a residue of the immigrant's background remains an unconscious factor influencing the choice of a particular life style. Level of education and occupational status are important indicators of life style, and as such, are inadvertently linked to ethnicity. Ethnicity, however, may be merely a necessary condition, while one's level of educational and occupational status become the actual determinants of an individual's style of living. In other words, certain ethnic groups may aspire to specific educational and/or occupational levels because of tradition or group expectations. Hence, a logical point of entry into the study of the relationship existing between ethnicity and life style is an examination of the extent to which ethnic identification determines or influences level of aspiration.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the level of occupational aspiration among selected high school seniors is influenced by the students' ethnicity, when such factors as social class and academic achievement are controlled.

Previous studies on the subject of ethnicity and its relation to academic achievement or career aspirations have been conducted by
Bernard C. Rosen, Fred L. Strodtbeck, Andrew M. Greeley, and James S. Coleman. ¹

Rosen identified three components of the achievement syndrome: motivation, values, and educational-occupational aspirations. Data from six ethnic groups were analyzed regarding socialization and child rearing practices, traditions, and life-situations. Rosen concluded that the disparity between the vertical mobility rates of the groups studied could be partially explained as a function of their dissimilar psychological and cultural orientations toward achievement. Ethnicity accounted for more of the variance between groups than social class, and ethnic differences persisted even when social class was controlled. ²

In a similar study, Strodtbeck compared the value orientations of Italians and Jews regarding occupational achievement. While he was not primarily interested in these two subcultures per se, but


²The rank position of Rosen's six ethnic groups using three indices of vocational aspiration was: (1) Jews, (2) Greeks, (3) White Protestants, (4) Southern Italians, (5) French-Canadians, and (6) Blacks. The F-ratio for ethnicity was 12.41 (p < .001) as compared with a ratio of 9.92 for social class (p < .001). See Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," pp. 59-60.
rather in their differential adaptation to American life and the structural requirements and values associated with achievement, Strodtbeck's findings have important implications for talent identification programs. Based on the assumption that certain cultures predispose members towards later achievement, Strodtbeck compared the Italians and Jews on five value differences: sense of personal responsibility, "familism,"\(^1\) attitude regarding man's perfectability (self-improvement), consciousness of a larger community, and the dynamics of power relationships. Questionnaires were administered to 1151 boys and their parents. Strodtbeck noted during home visits that reactions to questionnaire items seemed to follow a pattern of established roles and mutual expectations within the family. Analysis of the data confirmed that the distribution of power among family members is an important determinant of personality, status mobility, and achievement.

Greeley's report on ethnicity, denomination and inequality is based on a composite sample of twelve National Opinion Research Center surveys conducted between 1963-1974. He studied both the present socioeconomic position of the group, which he defined as stratification, and the relative achievement of a particular denominational/ethnic group, given its background (mobility). Greeley's findings imply that ethnic groups utilize a strategy of

\(^{1}\)Term used by Strodtbeck to denote clannishness or cohesiveness of the extended family, and the orientation of its members to the family code. See Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values and Achievement," in McClelland et al., p. 187.
investing their educational resources, that is, status attributes of jobs attract British, Irish, and Polish ethnics, and the income attributes of jobs attract Italians and Jews. Income, therefore, seems to be more important than prestige (occupational status) to those who still have immigrant memory.¹

The Coleman survey used a series of regression analyses to investigate the relationship of pupil achievement to various aspects of pupil background. Eight groups were analyzed separately, based on the assumption that the pattern of relationships between pupil achievement and school characteristics would vary from one ethnic group to another (differential sensitivity).² Coleman concluded that the child's background exerted a greater influence on learning than the school did. In his own words, he stated: "The school appears unable to exert independent influences to make achievement

¹Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality, pp. 58-59.

²The eight groups analyzed in Coleman's study, listed in order from high to low sensitivity to school effects were: (1) Puerto Rican, (2) Indian/Native American, (3) Mexican American, (4) Southern Blacks, (5) Northern Blacks, (6) Oriental Americans, (7) Southern Whites, and (8) Northern Whites. The data indicate that those groups least sensitive to school effects are generally children whose achievement is highest at the beginning of school. Conversely, children with low initial levels of achievement display the most sensitivity to school effects. See Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity, pp. 197, 299. See also Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., On the Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972), especially chapter 4, "The Evaluation of Equality of Educational Opportunity," James S. Coleman, pp. 146-67.
level less dependent on the child's background—and this is true within each ethnic group, just as it is between groups.¹

The present study differs with previous ones in both direction and techniques. The investigation focused on the relationships among ethnicity, academic achievement, and career aspirations. The general assumption of the study was that ethnicity may be more important than academic achievement, social class, or sex in determining students' choice of a career.

**Hypotheses**

The specific research task centered on verifying or rejecting the following hypotheses:

1. There is no significant relationship between social class and level of occupational aspiration across ethnic groups.

2. There is no significant relationship between academic achievement and level of occupational aspiration across ethnic groups.

3. There are no significant differences in level of occupational aspiration among ethnic groups when controlling for social class and academic achievement.

4. There are no significant sex-related differences in level of occupational aspiration among ethnic groups when controlling for social class and academic achievement.¹

5. There are no significant differences in social class among ethnic groups.

6. There are no significant differences in academic achievement among ethnic groups.

7. The relationship between level of occupational aspiration and social class is not significantly different among ethnic groups.

8. The relationship between level of occupational aspiration and academic achievement is not significantly different among ethnic groups.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of the study, the following terms were used as indicated:

1. Academic Achievement: A measure of scholastic ability. For purposes of this study, academic achievement is synonymous with the student's cumulative grade-point average for his or her Junior Year.²

¹The interaction hypothesis is implied: There is no significant interaction between sex and ethnicity in level of occupational aspiration when controlling for social class and academic achievement.

²For a fuller discussion of this matter along with specific references, see the section on methodology in Chapter III, pages 79-80.
2. Grade-point average: An estimate of a student's academic achievement, based on the mean value of individual course grades.\(^1\) The cumulative grade-point average for the student's Junior Year was utilized in this study.

3. Career aspirations: Student expressions of tentative occupational choice as measured by the Occupational Aspiration Scale.\(^2\)

4. Ethnicity: One of a number of ways in which Americans may identify themselves and which they may use as part of their self-definition.\(^3\) As used in this study, ethnicity is synonymous with voluntary self-professed ethnic identity.

5. Ethnic group: A human collectivity based on the assumption of common origin, real or imaginary; any group with a shared feeling of peoplehood.\(^4\) In this investigation, the term "ethnic group" refers to those students who voluntarily identified

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themselves on the *Student Survey* as being members of a particular subgroup.¹

6. **First-generation ethnic**: A single stage in the succession of descent used in this investigation to describe the first branch of a family to commence residency in the United States; foreign-born.²

7. **Second-generation ethnic**: Native-born with foreign-born parents.

8. **Third and later generation ethnic**: Native-born with native-born parents.³

9. **Social Class**: Large groupings of population placed in rank order by status or prestige. For purposes of this study, social class is defined on the basis of Hollingshead's *Four Factor Index of Social Status.*⁴ The term refers to an estimate of the respondents' social position based on a range of computed scores, derived from factor weights assigned to the occupation and education of the respondent's parent(s), when considering their sex and marital status. The concept of social class as used here does not include

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¹Jeannine M. Hucklenbroich-Riotto, comp., "*Student Ethnic Identification Survey*" (Chicago: By the Author, 1978), mimeographed. See Appendix A.

²Term used to describe a segment of the sample population in Lesser, Fifer and Clark, pp. 21-22.


⁴August B. Hollingshead, *Four Factor Index of Social Status*, Working Paper (New Haven, Connecticut: By the Author, Department of Sociology, Yale University, n.d.). See Appendix B.
the criteria of income, dwelling unit, pattern of consumption, or life style.¹

Limitations of the Study

The investigation was planned and conducted within the limits set forth below:

1. This study was limited to 735 male and female students in their senior year from four Chicago metropolitan area parochial schools.² Students chosen represented one of four white ethnic groups: 175 Italians, 182 Irish, 141 Polish, 53 Germans,³ and a fifth category labeled "Mixed Ethnics," 184, that is, students


²Parochial schools were used in the sample because there seemed to be a higher concentration of white ethnics in these schools than in Chicago public high schools. Suburban public schools were not utilized because of the difficulty in finding four high schools in the same or in similar districts. Suburban areas also tended to "nationalize," that is, one or two ethnic groups being predominate in a particular area. Since the parochial schools recruited students from a wider attendance area, the chance of obtaining the desired ethnic composition (4 pure and 1 mixed group) was greater.

³The number of German participants (53) is small, and may therefore not represent a true sampling of German students in Chicago. A possible explanation of the limited German sampling may be that many Germans tend to belong to one of the various Protestant sects, or may be German Jews. Since the investigation was conducted in Catholic schools, the German students studied probably represent a particular segment of the German population, that is, those with ancestral roots in predominantly Catholic areas of Germany, such as Bavaria.
listing more than one primary ethnic identification on the Student Survey. Students were second, third or later generation ethnics, or if foreign-born, had attended schools in the United States at least ten years.

2. The study was concerned with the relationships, if any, of self-professed ethnic identification, sex, level of occupational aspiration, social class, and academic achievement. Reasons for differences, if any, among the selected variables may include a number of additional factors, such as cultural mores, parent rearing practices, group history, I.Q., and family or ethnic traditions, which in part result in a particular cognitive or attitudinal effect, but these factors were not considered in this investigation.

3. It is difficult to ascertain the accuracy of student records, especially those which are cumulative in nature. Such records are subject to the idiosyncracies of human error. Furthermore, the process of grading involves a high level of subjectivity and situational variability due to program variations, teacher expectations, school norms, and district policies.

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1See Appendix A for a copy of the Student Ethnic Identification Survey. See also Chapter III, pages 70-72 for a fuller discussion of the collection of ethnic data.

4. Due to the legal restrictions imposed by the courts, the information obtained was limited by each school's interpretation of confidentiality and the student's volition.

5. Aspirations refer to a future time period and consequently there is no opportunity, at present, to check upon the reliability of the subject's aspirations. The level of aspiration measure obtained in studies is no more than what an individual is willing to make public concerning his or her aims.¹

6. The instrument used in the study was compiled by the writer from a number of sources, notably, Andrew M. Greeley, James S. Coleman, August B. Hollingshead, Archibald O. Haller, and Irwin W. Miller.² Although a draft of the Student Survey was submitted to selected jury members, and judged to be valid for the research purpose intended, the full extent of its empirical validity remains unknown. Further, the definition of occupational terms and the weights assigned to the various job categories in Parts B and C of the survey were applied as used by the previous investigators, causing some instances where seemingly similar occupations were assigned different weights. The monetary values categorizing the


²Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality; Coleman, Equality of Educational Opportunity; Hollingshead, Four Factor Index; Haller and Miller. See Appendix B for the Index and Appendix C for a copy of the OAS.
various sized businesses are probably outdated, and occupational weights do not reflect horizontal mobility within career categories.¹

¹The coding device used in Part B of the Survey, and the questions comprising Part C are actually separate instruments, and as such, were validated by their respective authors, Hollingshead, and Haller and Miller. These instruments were used by the author as reasonable frames of reference within which to classify certain primary data. See Lawrence G. Thomas, The Occupational Structure and Education (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1950), pp. 165-96 for a fuller discussion of this common procedure. See also Hollingshead's occupational scale component of his Four Factor Index in Appendix 8 for specific examples of this disregard of existing intracareer strata. One obvious example is the category "entertainers and artists" (scale score 7). A well-known celebrity would, according to this Index, receive the same rating as a singer in a small neighborhood bar, even though their life styles and income drastically differ. Another discrepancy is the low scale position of skilled manual workers (scale score 4) over minor professionals (scale score 7), like elementary school teachers. Yet, some of these skilled laborers, such as plumbers, carpenters, or electricians, may have a higher income, and could feasibly occupy a higher socio-economic stratum than the lesser professionals listed, if income had been considered on the Index.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The purpose of Chapter II is to present a review of the literature and research relative to ethnicity and ethnic identification, culture and the effects of subgroup specific experiences, and level of occupational aspiration as related to reference group, age, sex, psychological and cultural factors.

Ethnicity and Ethnic Identification

Every society is comprised of a number of separate hierarchies: social, economic, educational, and ethnic. A theory of subculture presupposes a social division of a national culture, including ethnic group, social class, region, and residential patterns. Some researchers, like Obidinski, feel that shared status based on nationality gradually gives way to status associated with social class position. Others, like Glazer, cite the erosion process of American life on the maintenance of linguistic and cultural heritages, and characterize American ethnic groups by their

vague nostalgia and undefined ideologies.¹ Dahl bemoans the
decline of the specifically national aspect of ethnicity, and
predicts that religion and race will define the major groups into
which American society is evolving.² Gordon talks about an
"ethclass," or subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical
stratifications of ethnicity and the horizontal stratifications of
social class.³ While there may be some discrepancies in the
particular orientation of subgroup theories, the fact remains that
certain ethnic groups seem to be more successful than others in
enabling individuals to fill societal roles.⁴

All immigrants enter a society as minorities, and knowledge of
the preminority past of an ethnic group, conditions surrounding its
genesis and subsequent relations with the majority are crucial to
understanding the immigrant group's contemporary position. The "rule
of descent" affiliates succeeding generations to the ethnic group
even in the absence of readily apparent cultural or physical


³Gordon, p. 51. See also James A. Banks, Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975), p. 44.

traits. Group loyalty (ethnic identification) is intensified as an individual learns about out-group hostility (prejudice). An ethnic group identity is composed not merely of cultural characteristics, that is, common religion, language, shared behaviors or customs, but also of a social relationship between two or more groups (in-group/out-group). Ethnic social subsystems often persist or evolve new structures independent of the host society despite growing acculturation.

Ethnic identities are not of equal value in society, rather they are ranked and shaped by the nature of social stratification. National origin is associated with self-esteem, and each person's psychosocial identity contains a hierarchy of positive and negative elements. The dynamics of ethnic identification were outlined by


5William M. Newman, "Multiple Realities: The Effects of Social Pluralism on Identity" and Morris Rosenberg, "Society and the
Glaser in a four-point ethnic identification continuum, illustrating the interrelations between identification pattern components, such as ethnic ideology, association preferences, and feeling aroused by ethnic contacts.\(^1\) The meaning of one's ethnicity is frequently determined by the interaction of situational and cultural factors in the social environment of the ethnic.\(^2\)

External acculturation is, therefore, not a reliable index of personality change. There is an unconscious dimension to the observable behavior patterns of any ethnic group, which is often reflected in their status situation and in certain ethnic personality factors. Submission to parental authority, socialization for group dependence, post-peasant expectations, religious background, valuation of education, and class orientation were among the

\(^{1}\text{Daniel Glaser, "Dynamics of Ethnic Identification," American Sociological Review 23:1 (February 1958): 31-40. Points on the continuum describing sequences of ethnic identification change are: (1) segregating, (2) marginal, (3) desegregating, and (4) assimilated.}\)

ethnic-related factors considered by Hill in his study of the relationship of students' "Polishness" to the school program.¹

Ethnicity may play an intermittent, rather than a constant role in self-identity for groups enjoying some measure of in-group acceptance. A person experiences cumulative and usually complementary identifications, and intergroup contacts can serve to activate a new appreciation of one's personal ethnic identity. While many ethnics become distinct from their origins, others use their increased wealth and competence to embellish the ethnic group. The folk aspects of subcultures may have been weakened by the Americanization or mainstreaming of immigrants, but associational and organizational forms of ethnicity have, in many instances, been strengthened by the affluence and assimilation of later generations.²

Culture and Effects of Subgroup Specific Experiences

Persons forming a social aggregate, such as an ethnic group, share some innate characteristics, which being socially defined, may


alter their life chances. The socialization process nurtures the internalization of roles, norms, and values appropriate to one's culture or subgroup. As a result, cultural definitions become personal definitions. Inkeles and Levinson studied the phenomenon of national character, and found that the endurance of certain personality traits may influence an individual's adaptiveness to the demands of particular occupational roles. Kroeber theorized that the tendency of cultures towards specialization limited the ethnic's future. In terms of psychological orientations, the ethnic group is likely to be the group of historical identification, whereas the subculture, used generically by Gordon to refer to the combination of national origin, race, religion, social class, region, and place of residence (rural or urban), is generally the group of participational identification. Cultural characteristics are persistent and continuous. Some traits melt selectively, while others elaborate over time.

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1Mack and Young, p. 35.
4Alfred Kroeber as cited in Brembeck and Hill, p. 7.
6Brembeck and Hill, p. 4.
The course of ethnic assimilation in America is not linear. The immigrant may pass through a period of rejection of the old accompanied by a passionate acceptance of the new culture. Disenchanted with their nondescript, nonethnic status, many Americans eventually renew interest in the parent culture. The culture the ethnic returns to, however, is usually not the culture he or she left behind. No specific cultural system can be transplanted from one environment to another without some degree of change. Yet, even with its Americanized ways, the ethnic or folk group constitutes a community. Each member of the group has a special place and function as an individual, while at the same time, each person shares in the subculture's interests and concerns.

Social organization or folk consensus begins with the family and works outward. Cultures differ in the way power is apportioned among parents and children. Early ingroup experiences, family name, and filial attachments result in the persistence of ethnic cultural valuations and attitudes, such as differential orientations towards formal schooling and occupational

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categories. 1 Greeley and McCready tested the attitudes of three ethnic groups on a number of issues involving familial and personal values, and noted that ethnic diversity prevailed in 70 percent of the selected comparisons. 2 Ethnic identification, therefore, may determine a set of responses which permeates most of a person's behavior.

Subgroup specific experiences involved in socialization and/or discrimination also directly affect the individual's educational achievement. 3 Cohen, for example, developed a rank order of median I.Q. levels among immigrant groups based on historical perspectives, and roughly corresponding to the group's rank order on an index of urbanization. 4 Lesser, Fifer and Clark further suggest that

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ethnicity has a primary effect upon the organization of mental capacities. Bloom and Anastasi concur that membership in a particular socio-ethnic group tends to provide an environment which is either conductive or detrimental to the maximum development of various intellectual capabilities. The subsequent differential reinforcement of cognitive skills among subgroups leads to the emergence of ethnic group specific patterns of mental abilities. Cultural attitudes towards causation, for example, affect the learning process. Further evidence of cultural effects upon cognition include customary classification schemes, and adeptness in second language acquisition. Authoritarian personality trends may impede the mastery of a second language, as do the social attitudes held towards one's own or another's ethnic group.

The history of the learner, therefore, is at the core of school learning. Cognitive entry behaviors and affective entry characteristics, such as the student's perception of success and his or her academic self-concept, account for approximately two-thirds of

1Lesser, Fifer and Clark, pp. 82-83.


the variance on achievement measures.\textsuperscript{1} Researchers, like Mayeske, who suggest that social class background may be more important than ethnicity in determining school achievement, ignore the possibility that social conditions, such as the family's economic well-being, the presence or absence of key family members, parents' aspirations or support for further schooling, and peer motivational levels can be ethnic-related.\textsuperscript{2}

Jordon also compared nationality and school progress on three levels: retardation, acceleration, and grades, and concluded that there were no apparent national differences in nonverbal abilities, that is, school tasks not requiring knowledge or familiarity with the English language. Third generation American students understandably performed better in all tests requiring language abilities. Jordon's definition of nationality as "a group of people who speak the same language" is too simplistic, in the opinion of this writer, for the conscientious student of ethnicity to take seriously.\textsuperscript{3} Maintenance of a separate language, religion, or customs has largely succumbed to


the eroding process of American life.\textsuperscript{1} Cultural diversity, however, implies diversity of values; a subnational identification or "consciousness of kind." A subculture is a learned behavior system, that is, a preferred performance mode of a specialized functional role within a broader culture. Subcultures are composed of two dimensions: vertical substructures which are ethnic or geographic in nature, and horizontal substructures, such as chronological, technological, or occupational behavior systems.\textsuperscript{2}

\textbf{Level of Occupational Aspiration as Related to Reference Group}

The reference groups used by individuals seem to affect the relationship between class and aspirations. Orientations other than success and mobility can be dominant for some individuals, and can vary among ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{3} After variation due to the handicaps and benefits of social origins has been removed statistically, education is the most important variable explaining the differential

\textsuperscript{1}Nathan Glazer, "Ethnic Groups in America: From National Culture to Ideology," in Berger, Abel and Page, pp. 158-73.


socioeconomic achievement of religio-ethnic subgroups, but use of an occupational referent still represents one of the best single measures of aspiration.¹ A person's aspirational level is closely associated with his or her position in the social structure.² The intensity of an individual's aspirations reflects the condition of his or her self-esteem and confidence in anticipating success.³ Haller and Portes reiterate the importance of an individual's reference group in the status attainment process: "Aspirations are formed as the consequence of two related sets of influences: those brought to bear on the individual by his significant others and those brought to bear by the person himself as he assesses his potentialities on the basis of past performance."⁴

Another important factor in the development of aspirations is the school milieu (peers as reference group). Wilson and Boyle classified selected high schools according to the average socioeconomic status of the student body. Both investigators found


that the aspirations of individual students were influenced in the direction of the value orientations of the majority. Working-class students attending predominately middle class high schools tended to express higher occupational and educational goals more frequently than those students attending predominately working class schools.¹

Sewell and Armer studied the influence of neighborhood status on college plans, and like Wilson and Boyle, concluded that differences in aspirations were probably due more to differences in sex, socioeconomic status, and the ability composition of the high schools sampled, than to normative differences in the broader community contexts.² Alexander and Campbell examined the influence of peers on aspirations using a sociometric approach, and discovered


a close relationship between reciprocation of friendship choice and the educational aspirations of high school seniors.¹

Educational aspirations are probably contaminated with the student's acceptance or rejection of academic values, indicating a need to index other variables in the family environment. The offspring of parents who raise their socioeconomic environment above their given occupational level, for example, tend to select better paying careers than children whose parents adhere to perceived social class distinctions.² Adolescents distinguish between values relevant to their current peer relationships and values relevant to future adult roles.³ The educational or vocational behavior of a student immediately following high school graduation is a combination of specific attitudes and observable acts occurring within a definable situation, that is, the higher the level of expectation perceived from significant others, the higher the level of aspiration.⁴


³Kandel and Lesser, p. 166.

The concept of reference group, in other words, assumes that people make fundamental judgments and self-assessments based on psychological identification, rather than on factual formal membership in a group. ¹ People mediate goals for one another, and this drive for self-evaluation acts as a force towards group affiliation. ² The potential conflict between the need to achieve and the need to affiliate was studied by Schneider and Green. Students who possessed strong needs both to affiliate and to achieve were apt to experience greater difficulty accomplishing their achievement-related goals, while students with strong achievement, but weak affiliation needs performed better academically. ³


Level of Occupational Aspiration as Related to Age

The effect of reference groups on students' aspirations offers a partial explanation of variations in expressed goals, but there are other dimensions of occupational aspirations, such as age, sex, psychological and cultural factors, which merit consideration. Studies, like those by Flores and Olsen, indicate that level of aspiration is possibly one of the first stable and realistic occupational considerations formed in young people.\(^1\) Prior to eleven years of age, occupational preferences are largely fantasy choices. Gradually, the youth's likes and dislikes, and his or her actual capacities begin to influence vocational aspirations (ages eleven to fourteen). The fifteen or sixteen year old has begun to consider the social possibilities and rewards of entering an occupation, that is, prestige and remuneration, while ages seventeen and eighteen mark the onset of a realistic exploration of specific vocational possibilities. For those not attending college, this period is often a time of forced decision regarding the choice of a career.\(^2\)

The occupation one enters upon completion of his or her education is not likely to be the individual's career for life.

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Reissman cites age as an important factor in the relationship between achievement and aspirational levels, in his comparative analysis of old-young, and high-low achievers.\(^1\) Blau and Duncan found age-related variances in occupational status, and advocate adjustment procedures for the age-specific patterns of certain occupations. Entry and re-entry level occupations (jobs secured by retired persons) are not fully comparable with career occupations on socioeconomic indices. Moreover, while income generally increases with age, education and age tend to be inversely correlated, thus limiting the accessibility of certain occupations to the mature worker. Age may also be used in formulas estimating work experience. Stolzenberg, for example, utilized the subject's present age minus his or her years of schooling less five (entry age into school) in his calculations.\(^2\)

Others have studied age as it relates to the reliability of retrospective and proxy reports of status (memory of occupation). Results of a 1973 study by Featherman and Hauser dealing with the measurement of occupational prestige on social surveys were devoid of significant variance due to the respondent's age.\(^3\) Reiss, on the

\(^1\)Reissman, pp. 233-42.


other hand, detected a small amount of age variation in occupational prestige ratings. Such variation implies that age may influence differential perceptions of the desirability of occupational goals and opportunities. Age-related variations, however, do not seem to influence perception of the relative prestige status of occupations in American society.¹

**Level of Occupational Aspiration as Related to Sex**

Conflicting data exist regarding male-female differences in occupational aspirations. Some research suggests that adolescent males aspire to higher status occupations, while other data indicate that male-female aspirations are becoming more similar. Tully, Stephan and Chance propose an alternate technique to measuring career aspirations based on income and prestige scores as indicators of the sexual-composition and status dimension of occupations. Their findings demonstrate that sex is related to both the status and

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sex-typed dimensions of occupational aspirations. Males tend to aspire to high prestige, and particularly to high income occupations, while females tend to aspire to female-dominated, medium and low prestige occupations. Sewell, Haller, and Ohlendorf further suggest that it may be necessary to incorporate marital and familial structural components within occupational status attainment models to account more fully for the occupational status attainment of women. Married women must often accommodate their careers to family commitments. Sex differences in societal and marriage roles, and new timing patterns in motherhood affect worker productivity, promotions, salaries, and tenure. Women's lives are becoming more fluid in that more women marry, divorce, remarry, change jobs, re-enter school, or adopt nontraditional, quasi-familial life styles than in earlier decades.


Girls seem to be more preoccupied with marriage and family life, while male respondents tend to emphasize career and personal advancement. The adolescent girl's conception of her future often remains somewhat vague and tentative, whereas boys frequently relate specifically to certain jobs. In his study of graduate school aspiration, Wallace found that for the male student, level of educational aspiration largely conformed to parental and peer expectations, while female aspirations seemed to be more nonconformist. Featherman and Hauser traced the crystallization of statuses for women from 1962 to 1973 and concluded that female achievements are less associated with circumstances of family origin and adolescent peer group influence than are adult male statuses. Men are more likely to demonstrate the phenomenon of occupational inheritance. Conversely, other data suggest that the socioeconomic status characteristic of an occupational role is relatively unaffected by the gender of the incumbent.


2 Walter L. Wallace, Student Culture, NORC Monograph no. 9 (Chicago: Aldine, 1966).

The existence of a prestige hierarchy of traditionally female versus male occupations could affect career aspirations. One out of ten census occupational titles are explicitly masculine in gender, and girls often perceive fewer opportunities at the top of the job scale. Men place a somewhat higher evaluation on managerial, proprietary and official occupations, whereas women place a higher evaluation on higher status female occupations, such as teaching and nursing, the arts, and religious roles.¹ Some disagreement exists regarding the relative prestige of the occupation "homemaker," which is rated high by males and low by females.² Changing role differentiation of occupational functions and existing cultural stereotypes regarding conformity to sex-related norms illustrate the psychodynamics of social mobility and aspirations.³


²Thomas, p. 178. Many widely used occupational indices do not even mention "homemaker" as a viable career choice. Hollingshead's Four Factor Index, for example, does not include "homemaker." The estimate of the housewife's social status is therefore based on her husband's education and occupation, thus disregarding her skills or background. See Hollingshead's Index in Appendix B.

Level of Occupational Aspiration as Related to Psychological and Cultural Factors

Class identification correlates with the socioeconomic status of friends, neighbors, and relatives, independently of one's own education, occupation, and income, thus alluding to the existence of psychological and cultural factors in the process of status attainment. The psychology of a generalized attitude towards occupations was investigated by Osgood and Stagner, who report the existence of a prestige stereotype or frame of reference which appears to unconsciously control a person's particular judgments about occupational traits.¹ Duncan and Featherman developed an eight-equation model based on the hypothesis that cultural differences among ethnic-religious groups result in differential psychological dispositions, which though not directly observable, influence occupational achievement either overtly or via educational attainment.² Veroff, Feld, and Gurin examined the relationship of achievement motivation and religious background, and concluded that the concentration or dispersion of ethnic culture from which first, second, or third generation Catholics are often derived may be a


critical factor in discrepancies in achievement scores. ¹ Others, like Treiman reject the hypothesis that prestige evaluations reflect idiosyncratic cultural values and norms. He further contends that there is no basis for expecting biased occupational evaluations due to the ethnic group membership of the raters. ² However, one might ask how Treiman would account for the ethnic dominance of certain industries, or the educational lag prevalent among eastern and southern European groups.³

The diverse avenues taken by ethnic groups to achieve a higher socioeconomic status reflect the cultural and historical differences among groups. The role schools played in promoting occupational mobility, for example, varies among subgroups.⁴ Work known or esteemed in the parent country, judicious changes in occupation, and willingness to participate in continuing education programs are cited as important factors in the immigrants' success. In her comparison of the careers of second generation Polish and Italian immigrants, Carlin noted a dissimilar distribution of job titles in contrast to a


similar mean socioeconomic status. Italians were more likely to gain positions involving horizontal mobility, while Poles tended to remain in the same job, suggesting the possibility of ethnic career types.¹

Mere membership in an ethnic group, regardless of the degree of attachment, can influence the individual's level of aspiration.² It is not so much the form of a culture, but the content which seems to make a difference. For example, comparisons of Japanese-American and Mexican-American children in school achievement suggest that even though both ethnic groups place a primary emphasis on family solidarity, their particular interpretation of other values, such as the instrumental value of education, produces culturally-based differences in academic achievement, and subsequent occupational mobility.³

The process of acculturation is therefore complicated by the extent of the family's adherence to the folk culture. Alternative goals of extended family living and leisure for family life often are

¹Carlin, pp. 7-18.

²David J. Greenstone, "Ethnicity, Class and Discontent: The Case of Polish Peasant Immigrants," Ethnicity 2:1 (March 1975): 2; Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States, p. 91; idem, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality; idem, Why Can't They Be Like Us; Reissman, pp. 233-42.

³Harry L. Miller discusses the ethnic research of Audrey Schwartz and Norma Hernandez in Social Foundations, pp. 132-34. See also Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969). It should be noted that generalization of these findings to this particular investigation would require the replication of the aforementioned studies with a sample population of white ethnics.
substitutes for the upward mobility aspirations of a dominant society. Lowered slopes of levels of aspiration may thus be viewed as manifestations of value-directed choices among ethnics.\(^1\) Poles and Italians, for example, are usually strongly attached to their homes and old family neighborhoods, and may therefore be more accepting of lower status occupations, while placing a higher value on the preservation of extended family ties.\(^2\) On the other hand, the familial respect for individual achievement present in the Jewish culture permitted members of this group to adapt more readily to the geographic mobility frequently accompanying occupational advancement. Traditional Jewish culture thus did not produce the conflict of interests between family needs and individual achievement often experienced by other white ethnics.\(^3\)

Differences in group mobility are related to: (1) the extent to which an immigrant group possesses certain work skills valuable in the economy, (2) the degree to which the dominant group is willing to permit newcomers equal access to jobs, housing and education, and (3) the differences between immigrant groups in their psychological


\(^3\)Miller, p. 133.
and cultural orientations toward achievement. In a cross-national study of the aspirations of American and Argentinean adolescents, Havinghurst and his associates found that nationality seemed to have a greater causal influence on adolescent aspirations than either sex or social class.\(^2\) Pearl in and Kahn examined the influence of nationality on parental values in Italy and the United States. Results of their investigation suggest that American parents are more child-centered, and thus, more likely to value happiness and popularity, while Italian parents are more adult-centered, and value manners, obedience, and seriousness.\(^3\) Diverse parental values as well as early independence training, heightened childhood opportunities for interaction with adults, an ability to postpone present gratifications, the degree of mother–dominance in the family, and the individual's capacity to deal with others instrumentally rather than emotionally distinguish the upwardly mobile from the nonmobile and downwardly mobile.\(^4\)


\(^2\)Havinghurst, Dubois, Csikszentmihalyi and Doll, pp. 62, 68.


The development of ambition is a matter of cultural learning. Brim, for example, documented the existence of ethnic differences in the number of years youth plan ahead. Level of occupational aspiration is an aspect of anticipatory socialization, and is related to self-conceptions concerning success and achievement. Ethnicity can even influence an individual's perception of actual versus ascribed achievement.

Subgroup cultures nurture certain personality traits, which in turn influence the individual's mobility aspirations and adaptiveness to the demands of particular educational and occupational roles. Students coming from ethnic cultures that put high values on learning, for example, are more likely to score well on tests of


2See Archibald O. Haller, Basic Data for the Lenawee County Project in Social Structure and Personality (Detroit: Michigan State University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1957), pp. 2, 9.


giftedness. Older immigrant groups, such as the Irish and the Germans, tend to reach higher levels of education. A youth's personal resources and skills are therefore dependent on his or her educational background, and ethnicity strongly affects achievement motivation and educational aspirations, making some ethnic groups more educationally, and subsequently, more occupationally mobile than others.

Obviously, there are no easy answers to the question of the precise nature of the relationship of ethnicity to career aspirations, especially since the influence of a culture is always mediated by "specifiable individuals." The aforementioned studies were not concerned with the explicit awareness of ethnic heritage,

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1 Sexton, Education and Income, p. 66. See also Adelin White Scott, A Comparative Study of Responses of Children of Different Nationalities and Environments on Intelligence and Achievement Tests, Contributions to Education Series no. 367 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929).


3 Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality; idem, Why Can't They Be Like Us; idem, Ethnicity in the United States; Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," pp. 47-60; Duncan and Featherman, pp. 121-45; Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction," in McClelland et al., pp. 135-91. See also J. McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press, 1961); Sarane S. Boocock, An Introduction to the Sociology of Learning (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972).

4 Clyde Kluckholn, "Culture and Behavior," in Lindzey, pp. 921-68. Kluckholn uses the phrase "specifiable individuals" to refer to the influence of specific circumstances, such as time, place, generation, sex, and age on culture.
but rather with the documentation of selected affects of ethnicity on an individual's status or aspirations. This investigation follows suit by focusing on ethnic group membership as demonstrated by self-professed ethnic identification and its relation to level of occupational aspiration, rather than concentrating on degree of ethnic affiliation. The measurement of ethnic attachment is beyond the scope of the present study.

Comments Regarding State of Existing Literature

In reviewing the literature for this investigation, the writer noted the following trends:

1. There is a general lack of current accurate ethnic census material, especially for third and later generation Euro-Americans.

2. A variety of survey questions has been used to elicit ethnic identity, but there seems to be no single instrument available for such purposes. Reliability and validity of ethnic identification procedures also need to be established.

3. The multidimensional nature of ethnicity often leads to confusion in the literature, that is, the terms "ethnic," "ethnicity," or "ethnic group" being used to denote racial, religious, linguistic or regional distinctions, rather than cultural differences. Thoughtful delimitation by researchers, and definition of the facet(s) of ethnicity being studied in a particular investigation are needed.
4. The research reviewed tended to fall into one of the following categories: (a) outdated, or if current, done principally with nonwhite subgroups, (b) limited to a particular segment of the subgroup, that is, adults or males, and (c) short-range versus longitudinal in their approach.

5. While self-professed ethnic identity may be an acceptable criterion of ethnicity, the question remains as to whether one saying he or she is an ethnic is sufficient for research purposes. An attempt should be made to assess degree of ethnic affiliation as it affects educational and occupational aspirations and mobility.
The purpose of Chapter III is to explain the methodology used in this investigation, regarding the sample definition and the compilation of the Student Survey. The chapter also contains a description of the different instruments, which were used either as sections of the Student Survey or as coding devices, namely the Student Ethnic Identification Survey, the Four Factor Index of Social Status, and the Occupational Aspiration Scale. Details are given regarding the collection of the various data on ethnicity, social class, career aspirations, academic achievement, and extraneous variables.

Sample Definition

The sample consisted of 735 white, ethnic, high school seniors from four Chicago metropolitan area parochial high schools. Senior students were chosen for the study since research indicates that students of this age group (17-18) are beginning to realistically

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1Hucklenbroich-Riotto, comp., Student Ethnic Identification Survey; Hollingshead, Four Factor Index; Haller and Miller, OAS. A copy of each of these instruments can be found in the appendices.
contemplate career choice. Designation of the ethnic groups to be included in the actual study involved the administration of a Student Survey. Prospective participants were asked to respond to a series of ethnic identification questions. Survey responses were then sorted so as to determine primary ethnic identification. The four ethnic groups appearing most frequently were selected for study. Seniors who listed one ethnic background were classified as to their primary ethnic identification (Groups 1-4), while a fifth group consisted of "mixed" ethnics or those students who identified with more than one ethnic group.

The five resulting groups were further screened, and students objecting to the examination of their cumulative records to secure a grade-point average were eliminated from the sample. Participation in the study was limited to second, third or later generation ethnics, and to foreign-born students who had attended school in the United States for at least ten years.

1Thomas, pp. 231-53. It should be noted that except for a few eighteen year olds, most participating seniors were seventeen years old. Since there were no apparent differences in the chronological ages of the subjects, statistical analysis of the data did not include age as a variable. College students were not used as their enrollment in an institution of higher learning theoretically indicates a commitment to a higher level career choice, and as such, the author felt that their inclusion would bias the sample. Adults were not utilized because this study focused on aspirations, rather than on actual job status.

2This instrument is discussed more fully in the section, "Description of Instruments," pp. 57-58. See also Appendix A.
In short, the actual sample was drawn from senior students of both sexes:

1. who voluntarily selected an ethnic identification contained in one of the five designated groupings (four "primary" and one "mixed");
2. who indicated a willingness to permit examination of their cumulative records, and
3. who were second, third or later generation ethnics or, if foreign-born, who had been educated in American schools for a minimum of ten years.

The final sample consisted of 735 participants, which can be broken down into five ethnic categories as follows: 175 Italians, 141 Polish, 182 Irish, 53 Germans, and 184 Mixed Ethnics.¹

¹Eight hundred seventy-four survey forms were completed at the various schools, but data from 139 of these surveys were not utilized. These respondents either did not meet the aforementioned criteria for sample definition, or belonged to other white ethnic, or nonwhite minority groups not included in this particular investigation. In some cases, crucial data was missing on one or several of the principal variables, thus rendering the survey form inutile to the researcher. See Appendix E for ethnic classifications of the students surveyed and for school percentages of nonresponse. At the time of administering the survey, the author had no preconceived notion as to which white ethnic groups would emerge as the final sample for analysis. In other words, administration of the Student Survey at other research sites could feasibly produce a sample composed of four other white ethnic groups, such as Greek, Ukrainian, French, etc.
Description of the Instruments

Student Survey

The Student Survey is a multiple-choice instrument, compiled by the author, consisting of twenty-five items and a confidentiality option form.Questions are designed to elicit information on ethnic identification, social class, level of occupational aspiration and extraneous variables, such as level of educational aspiration, family size, and sibling order.

Survey items are based on a number of sources, notably from the research of Andrew M. Greeley, James S. Coleman, August B. Hollingshead, Archibald O. Haller, and Irwin W. Miller. The survey is divided into four sections:

Part A: Questions Related to Ethnicity (Items 1-7);
Part B: Questions Related to Social Class and Extraneous Variables, such as Family Size, Sibling Order, and Level of Educational Aspiration (Items 8-17);
Part C: Questions Related to Level of Occupational Aspiration (Items 18-25).  

1See Appendix A for a copy of the Student Survey.

2Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality; Coleman; Hollingshead, Four Factor Index; Haller and Miller. See Appendix B for the Index, and Appendix C for a copy of the OAS.

3Part C of the Student Survey is actually a second instrument, the Occupational Aspiration Scale, and is discussed separately on pages 61-65 of Chapter III. See also Appendix C.
Part D: Confidentiality Option (unnumbered).

The instrument may be given to a group of students in class, and can be completed in approximately forty-five minutes. Three measures were derived from this survey: the first, an ethnic group designation; the second, an estimate of the student's social class position, based on Hollingshead's Four Factor Index of Social Status (FFISS); and the third, a level of occupational aspiration (LOA) score based on Haller and Miller's Occupational Aspiration Scale (OAS).

Total administration in group situations includes time for distributing the forms, explaining how to fill them out, answering students' questions, and completing the survey form. The time estimates given are probably an overestimation. To facilitate administration, survey forms were color-coded. Each of the participating schools was assigned a color: red for Weber High School, green for St. Patrick High School, blue for Mother Guerin High School, and purple for Notre Dame High School. The number of forms distributed per school was also recorded: 165 for Weber, 308 for St. Patrick's, 216 for Mother Guerin, and 185 for Notre Dame. Detachable labels can be utilized, if requested by a school. The respondent's name can then be removed from the survey form by a member of the school's staff, and the student's I.D. number inserted in its place. None of the participating schools requested use of these labels.

Four of these groups designate a "primary" ethnic identification with a single ethnic group, that is Italian, Polish, Irish, and German. The last group designates "mixed" ethnics or those students identifying with more than one ethnic group. Hollingshead's Four Factor Index can be found in Appendix B, and Haller and Miller's OAS can be found in Appendix C.
Parts A and B of the Student Survey: Ethnic Identification and Estimation of Social Class

Part A and Part B of the survey form used in the study were the products of a multistaged refinement process: ¹

1. The first draft of the Student Survey was presented to a jury consisting of practitioners chosen for their expertise in multicultural education. An attempt was made to diversify the selection of these members, so that judges were not all from the same institution or area of related specialization. Jury members included a director of Counselor Education and Psychological Foundations from Indiana University, a director of the Italians in Chicago project at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, a director of the Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education at the University of Missouri, the executive director of the National Italian-American Foundation in Washington, D.C., an official of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and a professor from the History Department of Loyola University. ²

2. A second draft was written utilizing the suggestions made by jury members. Revisions required a two-thirds' consensus of

¹Reliability and validity data for Part C of the survey (OAS) were already available, and are discussed separately on pages 62-64. Although the Student Survey was administered in its entirety (Parts A-D), the reliability and validity data collected from the jury members, and during the pilot test pertain largely to the first two sections of the survey.

²See Appendix D for a copy of the letter sent to prospective jury members, and for a list of these members and their responses.
opinion among the jury. Jury input followed by revision is based on
the belief that content validation consists essentially in
judgment.¹

3. The preliminary set of refined questions was pilot-tested
on a sample similar to the population used in the full-scale
study.² Equivalent forms of the survey were administered during
the pilot study, yielding a reliability coefficient of stability
measuring the correlation between test and retest scores over a two
week interval.³ A contingency coefficient of .904 and a Cramer's V
of .947 were computed for Part A of the Student Survey, the ethnic
identification component.⁴ Pearson-product correlation

¹Fred Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, 1st ed
p. 458.

²Forty-five white ethnic seniors from a suburban public high
school near Chicago participated in the pilot test. Participants of
both sexes represented one of the following five ethnic categories:
Irish, German, Italian, Polish, and Mixed. See Edward W. Minium,
Statistical Reasoning in Psychology and Education (New York: John
Wiley and Sons, 1970); William J. Coode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in

³William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social
"Technical Recommendations for Psychological Tests and Diagnostic
Techniques (1954)," Supplement to the Psychological Bulletin 51:2
(n.d.), Part 2 as cited in Haller and Miller, p. 72.

⁴See Norman H. Nie; C. Hadlai Hull; Jean G. Jenkins; Karin
Steinbrenner, and Dale H. Bent, Statistical Package for the Social
explanation of Cramer's V, and the use of contingency coefficients as
related to reliability. Part D of the survey was the student consent
form. No reliability coefficients were calculated for this
subsection.
coefficients for the remaining survey sections were as follows: Part
B: Data on Socioeconomic Status .195, and Part C: Data on Level of
Occupational Aspiration .838. Since the principal focus of the pilot
test was to ascertain the relative stability of students' self-
profession of ethnic identity (Part A), and not to establish the
reliability of the other two instruments comprising Parts B and C of
the survey, the Student Survey was deemed sufficiently reliable for
the research purpose intended.1

Part C of the Student Survey:
The Occupational Aspiration Scale (OAS)

The Occupational Aspiration Scale (OAS) consists of eight
stimulus questions, each of which is accompanied by ten rank-ordered
response alternatives. The questions consider four variables or
possible combinations of individual goal levels and career points:
the realistic short-range (Q18,20), realistic long-range (Q22,24),
idealistic short-range (Q19,21), and the idealistic long-range (Q23,
25).2 Occupational response alternatives to each question are
based on eighty of the ninety occupational titles included in the

1The reliability of the Four Factor Index of Social Status,
applied to Part B of the Survey, and of the Occupational Aspiration
Scale (Part C) had already been established by their respective
authors. See Hollingshead, Four Factor Index, p. 24; Haller and
Miller, p. 104.

2Haller and Miller, pp. 110-12. Corresponding item numbers
on the original instrument are: realistic short range (Q1, 3),
realistic long range (Q5, 7), idealistic short range (Q2, 4), and
Idealistic long range (Q6, 8). See Appendix C.
NORC studies of occupational prestige. The eighty selected titles are used only once, and options are scrambled on the form to reduce the halo effect. Students were asked to select one response alternative per question. The total score, representing the individual's level of occupational aspiration, is based on the sum of the eight item scores. Individual item scores vary from zero (lowest prestige occupation) to nine (highest prestige occupation), resulting in a possible total score ranging from zero to seventy-two.

The OAS may be administered in a group testing situation, and was originally designed for use among male high school students. However, subsequent studies by Westbrook and Haller, Otto, Meier, and Ohlendorf have demonstrated that response patterns are essentially the same for both sexes. The only sex differences in response patterns concern reliability coefficients, which were slightly lower for females (.681) than for males (.756). However, empirical evaluations of the scale have confirmed that reliability and validity of the OAS are sufficient for the research purposes intended.


2Mean is thirty-seven points; standard deviation is 11.5 to 13.0 points. See Haller and Miller, p. 103.

3Haller.

Several additional variables were found to be correlated with OAS scores, such as number of years of college planned (.69), high school grade-point average (.57), scholastic ability-SCAT (.45), parental desire for respondent's educational achievement (.48), and the socioeconomic level of the respondent's family (.43).\(^1\) Zero-order correlations for the OAS total score and thirty-three personal, social-situational and performance variables were calculated and ranked by Haller and Miller.\(^2\) Additional factor analyses have shown that the OAS is essentially unifactorial, and that the scale is not significantly contaminated by other factors. Mean OAS differences due to sex and grade level are small, and subsample differences in mean vary by SES in the usual way, that is lower for youth from low socioeconomic status families. No important differences by age, sex or socioeconomic status were found in the standard deviations of test scores, thereby establishing the instrument's construct validity.\(^3\) A comparative analysis using data from the Lenawee County study was also conducted to assess the relational fertility of the OAS and the North-Hatt free response instrument.\(^4\) Hypotheses based on general attitude and general

\(^1\)Ibid.

\(^2\)Haller and Miller, pp. 99, 115-17. See also Haller.

\(^3\)Otto et al., pp. 1-11. See also Haller, Otto, Meier and Ohlendorf, pp. 113-21.

\(^4\)Haller defines "relational fertility" as assessing the correlation of instruments designed to measure construct with variables logically related to it in "Relational Fertility of LOA," Unpublished working paper, 10 February 1960 contained in Haller.
level of aspiration theories were constructed, and the two instruments displayed a similar degree of indirect validity as measured by their ability to detect relationships with non-level of aspiration variables.  

1Haller and Miller, pp. 93-101, 115-17.

Occupational Aspiration Scale characteristics may be summarized as follows:

1. Total administration time is approximately thirty minutes.
2. Scoring time is one to two minutes per form by a paraprofessional.
3. Rate of non-responses is less than 1 percent.
4. Mean score is thirty-seven points.
5. Standard deviation of scores is 11.5 to 13.0 points.
6. Shape of distribution of raw scores is approximately normal.
7. Split-half reliability coefficient (corrected for attenuation) is .80.
8. Test-retest reliability coefficient based on the use of equivalent forms administered ten weeks apart is .77.
9. Concurrent validity based on correlation scores is .62.
10. Profile structure is as predicted by theory.
11. Internal-factor analytic structure is essentially unifactorial.
12. Relational fertility agrees with all other measures of level of occupational aspiration.
In short, the OAS has adequate utility, reliability, and validity.¹

The Four Factor Index of Social Status

Hollingshead's Four Factor Index of Social Status was used to estimate the respondent's position in the status structure of society.² The Index is based on three assumptions:

1. the existence of a differentiated social and economic status structure in our society,

2. the determination of stratification positions by commonly accepted symbolic characteristics, namely education, occupation, sex, and marital status, and

3. the use of statistical procedures to scale and combine characteristics of symbolic status.

The Four Factor Index combines information on sex, marital status, education, and occupation to estimate the status score of an individual or a nuclear family unit. Marital status encompasses two major categories: married and living with spouse, with one or both spouses gainfully employed; and family without spouse, including

¹Haller and Miller, p. 104. The OAS data summarized here is for the instrument when administered as a separate entity. In this study, the OAS was administered as Part C of the Student Survey. Therefore, total administration and scoring time will differ from the approximations cited. Rationale for the author's choice of the OAS was the fact that Strong's OL Scale and the Lee-Thorpe LI Scale are only vaguely related to the LOA theory, and the North-Hatt technique is not practical because of its high non-response rate and complex scoring.

²Hollingshead, Four Factor Index. See Appendix B.
unmarried heads of households; separated, divorced, or widowed persons. The education factor is divided into seven scale positions, based on the amount of formal schooling completed and ranging from graduate professional training (scale score 7) to non-completion of seventh grade (scale score 1). The nine-point ranking of occupational functions ranges from higher executives, proprietors of large businesses, and major professionals (scale score 9) to farm laborers and menial service workers (scale score 1). The sex of a respondent is observable directly and is assumed to be what appearances indicate, that is male or female. The Index views social status as a multidimensional concept and was designed to correct deficiencies in Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position, which were caused by recent sociocultural changes.  

Weights for the occupational and educational factors were determined by multiple correlation techniques. The scale value for occupation (1-9) is multiplied by a weight of five, and the scale value for education (1-7) is multiplied by a weight of three. No factor weight is assigned to either marital status or sex. To calculate an individual score, occupational and educational scale values are merely multiplied by their respective factor weights. To calculate the status score for a nuclear family, it is necessary to

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1Hollingshead, Two Factor Index. The range of occupations used in the Two Factor Index was narrow and outmoded, basing the family's position primarily on data regarding the male head of the household, thus ignoring the increased entrance of females into the labor force, and alternate styles of family structure. See also Hollingshead's Four Factor Index, p. 2.
determine the marital status of its head(s). When both parents are living together and are gainfully employed, their combined education and occupation scores are divided by two. The resulting total score is then used to estimate the family's social status position.¹

Scores are arranged on a continuum, with a high of sixty-six and a low of eight, or divided into social class groupings as follows,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Strata</th>
<th>Range of Computed Scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Upper Class</td>
<td>66-55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Upper Middle Class</td>
<td>54-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Middle Class</td>
<td>39-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Working Class</td>
<td>29-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lower Class</td>
<td>19-8.²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The range of computed scores remains constant whether the score is based on the occupation and education of one or two members of a nuclear family or household. The occupational role of housewife is not scaled on this index; therefore, the computed score and

¹It should be noted that the procedure of dividing combined education and occupation scores by two may, in some cases, suppress social class placement in that the resulting mean score may be lowered. A spot check by the author of selected survey forms revealed that this technicality did not produce an appreciable difference in the status placement of respondents.

²Hollingshead also uses occupational descriptors as social strata categories: (1) major business and professional; (2) medium business, minor professional, technical; (3) skilled craftsmen, clerical, sales workers; (4) machine operators, semiskilled workers; and (5) unskilled and farm laborers; menial service workers. Researchers should note that on Hollingshead's Index a low score reflects a high social strata number. A score of 15, for example, is categorized as lower class, or scale score 5. This reversal (low score; high SES number) produces a negative correlation.
resulting estimation of status reflects the male spouse's education and occupation in this particular instance. Scores within each range are treated as a unit, ignoring individual differences.

To validate the scales used for education and occupation, Hollingshead analyzed data gathered in the 1970 United States Census. The correlation between median years of school completed by sex and occupational score groups is essentially the same for both males ($r = .835$; standard error of estimate = 1.35) and females ($r = .849$; standard error of estimate = 1.13). The correlation of median incomes earned by occupational score and sex, however, reflects the differential values or prestige scores assigned to occupational tasks performed by males ($r = .781$; standard error of estimate 2137.64) versus those job functions usually performed by females ($r = .672$; standard error of estimate = 1549.58). Furthermore, the occupational titles used for the 1970 United States Census of Population, and scored by the Four Factor Index, are correlated with the National Opinion Research Center general social

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2All figures reported are at the .00001 level of significance. See the Appendix of Hollingshead's FFISS for complete tables.
survey prestige scores \( r = .927 \). The coefficient of
determination is \( r^2 = .860 \).

**Collection of Data**

The data was collected in the fall of 1978 in the following
four Chicago metropolitan area parochial schools: Weber, St.
Patrick, Notre Dame, and Mother Guerin. These institutions are not
coaducational. Weber and St. Patrick are all boys' schools, while
Notre Dame and Mother Guerin are girls' schools. Respondents can be
categorized by sex and ethnic group as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian (175)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish (182)</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German (53)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish (141)</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1National Opinion Research Center of the University of
Chicago, *National Data Program for the Social Sciences Code Book for*
the Spring 1974 General Social Survey, June 1974, distributed by
Roper Public Opinion Research Center of Williams College, pp. 117-34
as cited in Hollingshead's *Four Factor Index*, p. 26. See also United
Index of Industries and Occupations* (Washington, D.C.: United States
Government Printing Office, 1972); ibid., *Classified Index of*
Industries and Occupations* (Washington, D.C.: United States

2The Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficient is
probably the most common procedure used in reporting validity. The
coefficient of determination \( r_{xy}^2 \) indicates the proportion of
variance accounted for by an instrument when comparing it to some
Several types of information were collected, notably, data on ethnicity, social class, career aspirations, academic achievement, and selected extraneous variables. A separate discussion for each type of data collected follows.

Procedures: Student Survey

Part A: Data on Ethnicity

A pivotal issue in this study is ethnic identification. Even though the investigator relied heavily on each respondent's choice of a primary ethnic identification, an attempt was made to support his or her initial claim by cross-check questions, that is, the repetition of the basic ethnic background question in a different format. For example, respondents were asked which countries their parents' ancestors came from (Q1-2) and then to which ethnic group they and their parents feel the closest (Q3-4-5). Greeley used this technique of rewording in his 1972 National Opinion Research Center...
NORC surveys indicate that most Americans have little trouble in stating a primary ethnic identification. Therefore, self-definition does not seem to be an unreasonable criterion for ethnic identification.

A student was designated as being a member of a particular ethnic group based on the consistency of three out of five responses to questions one through five with the decisive factor being the student's response to item five, "Select the group you identify with most closely." Selection of diverse response options, resulting in less than the required number of compatible responses placed the student in the "Mixed Ethnic" category. Responses to Part A of the Student Survey were sorted as to primary ethnic identification, and the four ethnic groups appearing most frequently in the survey responses were selected for study. Mixed ethnics were analyzed as a separate category, but no attempt was made to further divide this category into sub-groups of prevalent ethnic combinations.

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1Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality, pp. 14-15.

2Subjects therefore had to respond to item 5, and two more corresponding stimuli in items 1 through 4 with the same ethnic category in order to be classified as belonging to a particular ethnic group. This criterion is consistent with the concept of ethnicity as defined in this study, that is voluntary self-professed ethnic identity. See the definition of terms in Chapter I on page 18.

3Other investigators have used this procedure. See George Psathas, "Ethnicity, Social Class, and Adolescent Independence from Parental Control," in Mack, pp. 186-99. Two coding procedures were initially compared by the author: (1) a method based on self-professed ethnic identity (consistency of three out of five responses in Part A of the survey), and (2) a method based on the "rule of descent" or parents' ethnic background (consistency of three out of
Students were second, third, or later generation ethnics, or if foreign-born, had attended school in the United States at least ten years (Q6-7). This qualification is based on the assumption that English will have, in most cases, displaced the "mother tongue" from all but the most private or restricted conversations. Although language is often an important factor affecting educational outcomes, it is beyond the scope of this study to examine consequences of language maintenance and/or language deficiencies upon the academic achievement and career aspirations of ethnics.¹

Part B: Data on Social Class

Questions eight through twelve of the Student Survey deal with the parents' occupational and educational levels. Although the concept of social class per se varies in the social science literature, the amount of education one has attained is a good indicator of social class.² Social scientists also consider the first four questions). See Appendix A for a copy of the Student Survey. No significant differences in ethnic identification were discovered, therefore, the choice of an appropriate coding procedure for ethnicity depends largely on the examiner's bias. This author decided upon voluntary self-identification (method one) as the ethnic criterion.


²Havinghurst and Neugarten, pp. 32, 62; Havinghurst and Levine, p. 93.
occupation to be an important indicator of social class, since occupation tends to confer a specific level of income and prestige, resulting in class assignations.¹

Hollingshead's *Four Factor Index of Social Status* was used to estimate the respondent's position in the status structure.²

Following Hollingshead's format, class status estimates were based on the education, occupation, sex, and marital status of the respondent's parent(s). The use of each of the four factors in the estimation of status can be described as follows:

A. Marital Status

1. Married and living with spouse: If one parent, male or female, is gainfully employed, the respondent's estimated social position is calculated on the basis of the employed parent's education and occupation. If both parents are working, their education and occupation scores are summed and divided by two. The respondent's status assignation is based on this combined score.

2. Family without spouse, that is, unmarried, separated, divorced, or widowed persons: The occupation and education of the present head of the household is used to calculate the status score. If the separated, divorced, or widowed parent is not gainfully employed, and is receiving support payments or income from the


²Hollingshead, *Four Factor Index*. See Appendix B.
deceased spouse's estate, the status score should be computed on the 
education and occupation of the supporting or deceased spouse. 
Questions thirteen through fifteen of the Student Survey were 
designed to elicit this information regarding the family's source of 
income, and present home situation. However, since respondents were 
free to omit questions they considered to be too "personal," it was 
not always possible to obtain this data.¹

B. Retired Persons: Students were instructed to respond to 
survey questions eight through twelve based on the education and 
occupation of their parent(s) before retirement (Q13). The status 
score was then calculated utilizing these responses and marital 
status data (Q14-15).

C. Educational Factor: The amount of formal education a person 
has completed (Q9-11) is scored as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of School Completed</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>less than seventh grade</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>junior high school (ninth grade)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partial high school (tenth or eleventh grade)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹In most instances, the present head of the family was 
working, thus omission of data on support or estate payments was not 
crucial. However, if the student chose to omit the questions in Part 
B of the survey, thus making it impossible to estimate his or her 
social status position, his or her survey form was eliminated from 
the study. Calculation of a family's socioeconomic status based on 
support payments or income from a deceased spouse's estate may be 
deceiving as SES may have, in actuality, decreased due to such 
extraneous circumstances as the specifications in the deceased 
partner's will, or laxity of the estranged spouse regarding prompt 
payment of support allotments.
Level of School Completed                          Score
high school graduate                               4
partial college (at least one year) or
    specialized training                           5
college graduate                                   6
professional training; graduate degree\(^1\)       7

D. Occupational Factor: The occupation a person ordinarily
pursues or formerly held during gainful employment is graded on a
nine-step scale:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Category</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>farm laborers; menial service workers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unskilled workers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machine operators and semiskilled workers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smaller business owners, skilled manual workers, craftsmen,</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and tenant farmers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| clerical and sales workers; small farm and
    business owners                                            | 5     |
| technicians, semipроfessional, small
    business owners                                            | 6     |
| smaller business owners, farm owners, managers, minor
    professionals                                               | 7     |
| administrators, lesser professionals, proprietors
    of medium-sized businesses                                  | 8     |

\(^{1}\)Hollingshead, *Four Factor Index*, p. 7. See Appendix B.
### Occupational Category

| higher executives, proprietors of large businesses and major professionals. | 9 |

Response options to questions eight and ten requesting information on parents' occupation were chosen from Hollingshead's occupational groups. Ten examples were given in each response option. Job titles were used in lieu of occupational classifications, since the investigator felt that the categories might influence the respondent's choice, that is, some titles being inherently more appealing or prestigious than others (higher executive versus menial service worker). Options are scrambled on the form, so as not to reflect the occupational hierarchy, or produce a halo effect.

An estimate of the respondent's social class position was therefore obtained using selected questions from the Student Survey (Q8-15), and Hollingshead's Four Factor Index of Social Status. (A

---

1Ibid., pp. 8-20.

2Response options do not follow the numerical sequence of Hollingshead's occupational scale. Response option A has a scale score of five, B equals nine, C two, D eight, E one, F four, G seven, H three, and I six. Response option J is a general category, which necessitates additional information before assigning a scale score. Question twelve is designed to provide this data concerning the size of the parents' business. Response options to question twelve are based on Hollingshead's categories of owners, scale scores nine to four, and response options A to F. Examples were added by the investigator on the premise that mere numerical values would be meaningless to the average high school student. The business examples cited were based on the RMA Annual Statement Studies (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Robert Morris Associates, 1977). See Appendix B for specific examples of SES scoring procedures.
copy of both instruments can be found in the Appendices.) Two points should be noted regarding these class status estimates:

1. Student responses were not verified with parents, and may, therefore, contain some incorrect information.\(^1\)

2. The index utilized may not adequately reflect the biases of each of the ethnic groups studied, since the core of status is a "culturally defined, group-shared style of life."\(^2\) If the members of the selected ethnic groups were asked to rate the occupations used in Hollingshead's *Index*, they might assign a different scale score, based on the tendency of ethnic group X to prefer occupation Y. Furthermore, such preferences may reflect differences in cultural mores and ethnic heritage, particularly in the history of the varied experiences of each immigrant group, all of which are beyond the scope of this study.

Part C: Data on Career Aspirations

The *Occupational Aspiration Scale* was used to measure the student's level of occupational aspiration.\(^3\) The instrument was

---

\(^1\)Other investigators have used this approach however. See Havinghurst and Neugarten; Coleman; Allan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," in Passow, Goldbert and Tannenbaum, pp. 268-83.

\(^2\)Kahl and Davis, p. 322.

\(^3\)Haller and Miller. See also Appendix C, and the Description of Instruments section of this chapter, pages 61-64. It should again be noted that not all the LOA data obtained was analyzed. See Sample Definition on pages 54-56.
administered in a group testing situation to male and female students in their senior year of high school as Part C of the Student Survey (Q18-25). The meaning of occupational titles in the response options was not explained in an effort to reduce errors due to differences among administrators, to avoid channeling respondents into a particular response set, and to stimulate a real situation of occupational choice, that is, students usually select an occupation from among known alternatives.

Level of occupational aspiration (LOA) is closely related to the concept of a goal. Therefore, the choice of one response option as relatively desirable implies that the other occupational titles are relatively undesirable. The student's LOA score represents the limited range of points (as measured by this particular instrument) which has the highest valence for him or her. ¹

¹Haller and Miller, pp. 7-12, 64-65. Haller and Miller contend that LOA has a general object, that is, the entire occupational prestige range, and a specific object, or the particular person's own point or limited range of orientation. Only the particular occupational range to which the person is oriented may be considered to be a goal for him or her. LOA is related to the concept of personal value orientation, which in turn has wider or societally-defined implications. Insofar as high occupational prestige levels are cultural values, then a person's LOA may be considered to be his or her value orientation with respect to these higher levels.
Data on Academic Achievement

Performance in school appears to have a direct effect in the development of educational and occupational aspirations. In order to determine level of academic achievement (school performance), the student's cumulative grade-point average as a predictor of later success has been documented by Holland and Astin, and has been helpful in charting the profiles of career applicants in the American College Testing Program. Scholastic achievement, as measured by reported grade average, is also directly related to social class.

Grade-point average was used in this study as a basis for making interpretations regarding the relationship of career aspirations and ethnicity, and not as a predictor of later accomplishments. The investigator acknowledges that there are more variables involved in academic achievement than the sole criterion of grade-point average. However, time and resource limitations increased the desirability of an accessible data source.

Senior guidance counselors were asked to supply the subjects' cumulative grade-point average from the previous academic year.

---

1Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, pp. 1014-27.


3Elder, p. 59.
Grade-point averages for the current semester were not utilized as these figures were not complete at the time of the scheduled school visits.¹

The confidentiality of students' records was respected. Space was provided on the Student Survey notifying respondents of their option to withdraw if they did not wish to have their cumulative records examined. The signed student consent forms were then kept on file by the senior guidance counselors at each participating school.² (See Part D: Confidentiality Option after survey item 25.)

Data on Extraneous Variables

Questions sixteen and seventeen of the Student Survey were included in anticipation of possible further analysis. Question seventeen attempts to estimate the student's level of educational aspiration. The subject's response should coincide with his or her occupational aspirations, as general educational development and specific vocational preparation are important components of worker

¹Three of the participating schools were on a five-point system of grading, while the fourth school based its grade-point averages on a six-point scale. It was therefore necessary to use z-transformations, thus converting all grade-point averages into standard scores prior to analyzing the data.

²The investigator recommended to on-site personnel that they keep a master list containing the student's name, I.D. number, survey form number, grade-point average, and possibly the ethnic group category. Several of the counselors involved in this investigation adopted this procedure.
trait requirements. A youth's personal resources and skills are largely dependent on his or her educational background.¹

Question sixteen deals with family size and sibling order. Studies have shown that both factors are related to level of occupational aspiration.² None of these variables (level of educational aspiration, family size, and sibling order) were treated in the main statistical analysis.³ The aforementioned factors may be utilized by the investigator in future research projects or publications.

**Analysis of the Data**

**Hypothesis 1:** There is no significant relationship between social class and level of occupational aspiration across ethnic groups.

**Hypothesis 2:** There is no significant relationship between academic achievement and level of occupational aspiration across ethnic groups.

Simple Pearson-Product-Moment correlations (r) of level of occupational aspiration with social class and academic achievement


³An IBM card was prepared for each subject utilizing the data collected on ethnicity, sex, SES, LOA, and GPA.
were calculated for the total sample and for each group separately, and were tested for significance.¹

Hypothesis 3: There are no significant differences in level of occupational aspiration among ethnic groups when controlling for social class and academic achievement.

Hypothesis 4: There are no significant sex-related differences in level of occupational aspiration among ethnic groups when controlling for social class and academic achievement.

Hypotheses three and four were then tested by means of a 5 X 2 factorial analysis of covariance, in which the independent variables were ethnicity and sex, and the dependent variable was level of occupational aspiration. Social class and academic achievement, treated as continuous variables, were used as covariates. Covariance analysis allows greater flexibility in the time and manner of obtaining covariate measures, and is effective for tests on between-subject effects.² This procedure is based on the following assumptions: homogeneity of regression and linearity.³ The analysis of covariance was chosen because of the desirability of separating ethnic differences in level of occupational aspiration from those of social class and academic achievement.

Hypothesis 5: There are no significant differences in social class among ethnic groups.

¹Kerlinger, pp. 69, 145-46, 149.


Hypothesis 6: There are no significant differences in academic achievement among ethnic groups.

Two 5 X 2 two-way analyses of variance were conducted to test hypotheses five and six, based on the assumption that the populations involved were approximately normally distributed with equal variances. The independent variables for both analyses were ethnicity and sex, and the dependent variables were social class and academic achievement.¹

Hypothesis 7: The relationship between level of occupational aspiration and social class is not significantly different among ethnic groups.

Hypothesis 8: The relationship between level of occupational aspiration and academic achievement is not significantly different among ethnic groups.

Finally, Fisher z-transformations were calculated, and a test for inequality of correlation coefficients for independent samples yielding a $X^2$ distribution was subsequently performed to compare the homogeneity of correlation coefficients.² Further analysis employed the Duncan's New Multiple Range Test of Contrasts to determine the source and direction of significant trends.³ Graphs


were utilized to illustrate significant interaction effects. A decision was made to reject the aforementioned hypotheses at either the alpha level of .05 ($\alpha = .05$), or at a probability level less than, or equal to .05 ($p \leq .05$).
CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to determine whether the level of occupational aspiration among selected high school seniors is influenced by the student's ethnicity, when such factors as social class and academic achievement are controlled. Specifically, the investigation was conducted in order to test eight hypotheses. They were:

(1) There is no significant relationship between social class and level of occupational aspiration across ethnic groups.

(2) There is no significant relationship between academic achievement and level of occupational aspiration across ethnic groups.

(3) There are no significant differences in level of occupational aspiration among ethnic groups when controlling for social class and academic achievement.

(4) There are no significant sex-related differences in level of occupational aspiration among ethnic groups when controlling for social class and academic achievement.¹

¹The interaction hypothesis is implied: There is no significant interaction between sex and ethnicity in level of occupational aspiration when controlling for social class and academic achievement.
(5) There are no significant differences in social class among ethnic groups.

(6) There are no significant differences in academic achievement among ethnic groups.

(7) The relationship between level of occupational aspiration and social class is not significantly different among ethnic groups.

(8) The relationship between level of occupational aspiration and academic achievement is not significantly different among ethnic groups.

A three-part questionnaire was administered to 874 senior students in four parochial high schools in the Chicago metropolitan area. Administration of the student survey generated a sample of 735 subjects consisting of Italian, Polish, German, Irish and Mixed Ethnics. The breakdown of the final sample is presented in Table I-A. According to the table, the largest group was that of Mixed Ethnics with 184 members, while the smallest group was German ethnics, containing 53 subjects. A division along sex lines shows the sample was composed of slightly more males than females. Among the subgroups, German females comprised the smallest category within the sample, while Irish males formed the largest subgroup. The proportion of any given ethnic group varied from school to school, but male and female students were already grouped by sex, since none of the participating schools were co-educational. Two schools had
only male students, while the other two had an all female student body.

Each of the 735 subjects was assigned to one of ten cells based on ethnicity and sex as shown in Table I-A. In order to investigate if the proportion of each particular group corresponded to their representation in Chicago, a goodness of fit test was conducted comparing the sample population and the city's population of these selected white ethnic groups. The results shown in Table I-B indicated that there was not a proportional representation ($X^2_{\text{obtained}} = 251.87, df = 3, p < .001$) and that Italians and Irish were overrepresented, while the Germans and Poles were underrepresented in the sample.

As previously mentioned, each participant was given a questionnaire soliciting information in three areas: (1) ethnicity, (2) social economic status, and (3) level of occupational aspiration. Other information requested pertained to the student's sex category. Additional data was obtained from school authorities regarding each participant's academic standing in terms of grade-point average. These were later converted into standard scores by means of $Z$-transformations in order to make meaningful comparisons of students from different schools.

Ethnicity information (Student Survey: Part A) was utilized in identifying the various ethnic groups. For each participant, a social economic status indicator (Part B) was determined on a scale of one to five (upper to lower), where one represented the highest
# TABLE I-A

A 2 x 5 FACTORIAL ARRANGEMENT
ILLUSTRATING CELL-SIZE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Identification</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>391</strong></td>
<td><strong>344</strong></td>
<td><strong>735</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE I-B

GOODNESS OF FIT TEST ON SAMPLE GROUPS AS COMPARED WITH POPULATION PROPORTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Irish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population Proportion&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Proportion</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2(3\text{df}) = 251.87, \ p < .001 \]

<sup>a</sup>Chicago Department of Development and Planning, *The People of Chicago*, p. 44. Since the census category "foreign stock" included "foreign-born," it was necessary to subtract the latter number from the former to arrive at the number of native-born white ethnics in each of the following groups: Polish, Italian, German, and Irish. Mixed ethnics were not included in this comparison as there is no census category for this subgroup.
level on that scale. The occupational aspiration data (Part C) representing student choices in each of eight categories was used to determine an overall LOA (level of occupational aspiration) score for each respondent. The LOA scores were calculated by summing-up weights assigned to each occupational choice in survey questions 18 through 25.

Level of occupational aspiration represented the dependent variable in hypotheses 1-4 where ethnicity and sex were regarded as independent factors. Social class and academic achievement were treated as covariates. In subsequent analyses of the data, social class and academic achievement were treated as dependent variables to determine their relationship to ethnicity and sex. Finally, the analyses were concerned with the extent to which correlation coefficients between LOA and social class or between LOA and academic achievement were homogeneous among the five samples. A variety of statistical tests were employed to analyze the relationships existing among the variables. Results of the analyses are reported in the following section.

Statistical Analysis and Discussion

Level of Occupational Aspiration

A two way analysis of covariance was used to study the effects of ethnicity and sex on the criterion variable (LOA) after controlling for concomitant variables, socio-economic status (SES) and academic achievement (GPA). A summary of the analysis is
presented in Table II. The results indicate that socio-economic status, as a covariate, did not contribute significantly to the variance of level of occupational aspiration ($F = 1.95$). Thus the hypothesis of no significant relationship between social class and level of aspiration (hypothesis 1) was not rejected.

A significant effect, however, was found for the second covariate of GPA ($F = 57.78; p < .001$). Likewise, the Pearson Product-Moment coefficient of correlation ($r = .25$) between the GPA and career aspiration indicated a strong relationship ($p \approx .001$) between the covariate and the dependent variable. In view of this, hypothesis 2 was rejected.

The main effects, ethnicity and sex, were both found to be related to the criterion variable. Ethnicity as a factor was significant at $p < .05$ ($F = 3.21$). The mean aspiration scores for groups differing in ethnicity were 45.37 for the Irish students, 44.04 for Italian respondents, 43.71 for Polish participants, 43.46 for Mixed Ethnics students, and 40.47 for the German group. Contrasts performed among the means utilizing Duncan's Multiple Range Test indicated the mean associated with the German group was significantly less at $p < .05$ than the mean aspiration score obtained by Irish students, and significantly less ($p < .05$) than that with which the Italian group was associated. Although the other comparisons were not significant, hypothesis 3 was nevertheless rejected.
### Table II

**ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE OF LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Covariates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SES</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>180.21</td>
<td>180.21</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5331.41</td>
<td>5331.41</td>
<td>57.78*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main Effects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1184.61</td>
<td>296.15</td>
<td>3.21**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEX</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>529.47</td>
<td>529.47</td>
<td>5.73**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ET x SEX</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1171.70</td>
<td>292.92</td>
<td>3.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>66711.43</td>
<td>92.27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>75392.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .001

**p < .05

SES = social economic status

GPA = grade-point average

ET = ethnicity
The main effect of sex was significant, $F = 5.73$. $p < .05$, and an inspection of the data indicated that the interaction of ethnicity and sex was also significant ($F = 3.17$, $p < .05$). In view of the significant interaction, simple main effects were studied further. Analysis of simple main effects utilizing analysis of variance (Tables III and IV) revealed that ethnicity as a factor affected males differently than female subjects. Table III shows that differences among male ethnic groups were statistically significant ($F = 4.17$, $p < .05$). Occupational aspiration scores were highest among Irish male students, and lowest among German male students. The mean scores for the five male groups were: 44.71 for the Irish, 44.67 for Polish, 43.97 for the Italian, 41.41 for Mixed Ethnics, and 37.69 for the German group. Contrasts performed indicated that among the means, the mean obtained by the German group was significantly less at $p < .05$ than the mean associated with the Irish participants, and significantly less at $p < .05$ than the mean obtained by the Italian group. Other comparisons showed no significant differences.

Table IV shows that differences in mean occupational aspiration scores among female subjects were non-significant regardless of ethnicity ($F = 1.76$). Mean scores obtained by female groups differing in ethnicity were: 46.38 for the Irish group, 45.69 for Mixed Ethnics, 45.05 for the subjects with German ancestors, 44.09 for the Italian-American students and 42.34 for students of Polish descent. In view of a non-significant $F$-ratio, a multiple comparison test was deemed unnecessary for the female groups.
### TABLE III

**ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR MALE ETHNIC GROUPS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1779.46</td>
<td>444.86</td>
<td>4.17*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>41114.30</td>
<td>106.51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>42893.76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
### TABLE IV

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE ON LEVEL OF OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION FOR FEMALE GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between Groups</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>654.66</td>
<td>163.66</td>
<td>1.76a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within Groups</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>31396.67</td>
<td>92.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>32051.33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a)not significant
Results of the analysis of interaction of ethnicity and sex are geometrically portrayed in Figure I. Results of the analysis of the effects of sex as a factor and of the interaction of ethnicity and sex led to the rejection of hypothesis 4.

Social Class

The relationship of such variables as ethnicity and sex to social class was studied by means of a 2 x 5 factorial design utilizing a two-way analysis of variance procedure. Table V presents results of the analysis. There was a significant effect for ethnicity (F = 4.39, p < .01). Social class indicator scores were highest among Italian-Americans and lowest among Mixed Ethnics. The means for the five ethnic groups were: 2.96 (Italian), 2.85 (Polish), 2.62 (German), 2.62 (Irish) and 2.55 (Mixed Ethnics). Contrasts performed among the means using Duncan's Multiple Range Test indicated there were four significant differences among the group means. The mean social class indicator score associated with Mixed Ethnics was significantly different at p < .05 than the mean associated with Polish-Americans, and significantly different at p < .05 than the mean associated with Italian-Americans; also, the mean social class indicator score associated with Irish-Americans was significantly different at p < .05 than the mean associated with Italian-Americans. In addition, the group mean associated with German-Americans was significantly less at p < .05 than the mean associated with Italian-Americans.
Figure I
Profiles Illustrating Effects of Ethnicity and Sex on Level of Occupational Aspiration
### Table V

A Summary of the Analysis of Variance on Social Class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main Effects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.17</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>4.39*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interactions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity by Sex</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Error</strong></td>
<td>725</td>
<td>750.04</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>734</td>
<td>778.14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .01
Sex-related differences did not appear to contribute to the variance in social class levels. Likewise, the interaction of the two factors, ethnicity and sex, was non-significant. Therefore, ethnicity was the only factor significantly related to differences among groups in the level of socio-economic status. In view of the significant effects of ethnicity, hypothesis 5 was thus rejected.

Academic Achievement

A $2 \times 5$ factorial design utilizing an analysis of variance procedure was used to analyze academic achievement. Results of the analysis for the achievement dependent variable are reported in Table VI. The primary purpose for the analysis was to confirm that differences in (1) ethnicity and (2) sex were reflected in the grade-point averages. The results indicate that variations among groups differing in sex were negligible. Ethnicity and sex did not interact to influence academic achievement. As with social class results, ethnicity alone emerged as the primary factor significantly related to the dependent variable ($F = 4.39, p < .01$). Inspection of the data indicated that achievement grades were highest among Polish-American students and lowest among the Italian-Americans.

The Duncan Test showed that the mean academic achievement grade associated with Italian-American students was significantly less at $p < .05$ than the mean obtained by Polish-American subjects; the mean associated with Mixed Ethnics students was significantly less at $p < .05$ than that of the Polish-American subjects; and the
TABLE VI
A SUMMARY OF THE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
ON ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Variation</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Effects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.06</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>3.74*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interactions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity by Sex</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>728.98</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>746.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .01
mean grade-point average obtained by the Irish group was
significantly less at \( p < .05 \) than that of the Polish subjects.
These results led to the rejection of hypothesis 6.

Homogeneity of the Relationship of LOA
to SES and GPA among Ethnic Groups

Fisher Z-transformations were used to investigate the extent
to which the five ethnic groups were homogeneous with respect to
correlation coefficients between level of occupational aspiration and
(1) socio-economic status, and (2) academic achievement. Correla-
tions between social class and level of occupational aspiration
ranged from \(-.16\) to \(+.01\). The results indicate that with respect to
social class there were no significant differences at \( p < .05 \) among
the five correlation coefficients between this variable and measures
of LOA \( (\chi^2_{\text{obtained}} = 4.37, \text{df} = 4; \chi^2_{\text{critical}} = 9.5) \). Thus
hypothesis 7 was not rejected.

Correlations between academic achievement and level of
occupational aspiration ranged from \(.18\) to \(.34\) for the five ethnic
groups. There were no significant differences at \( p < .05 \) among the
samples with respect to correlation coefficients between grade-point
averages and level of occupational aspiration \( (\chi^2_{\text{obtained}} = 2.53;
\text{df} = 4; \chi^2_{\text{critical}} = 9.5) \). In view of this hypothesis 8 was also
not rejected.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Conclusions

Although a number of limitations were inherent in the design and procedures utilized in the study, concerning the nature and size of the sample, the survey instrument, and decoding and analytical techniques, nevertheless, the analysis of the data suggests the following observations. ¹ Most educators, however, seem to agree on one point, that is, the importance of considering factors in the family milieu in the assessment of scholastic achievement. ² The findings in this investigation merely suggest a closer scrutinization of familial variables to include the dimension of ethnicity.

Conclusion One: The level of occupational aspiration does not seem to be related to social class.

Sufficient evidence was not found to support the existence of a relationship between socioeconomic status and level of occupational

¹See Limitations of the Study in Chapter I, pp. 20-23. See also Appendix E for ethnic classifications of respondents, and Appendix F for a summary of data on LOA, SES, and GPA by ethnic group. It should be noted that the investigator's conclusions apply only to the sample population. Further generalization of these findings to other Italian, Irish, Polish, German, or Mixed Ethnic-Americans would require additional research.

²Miller, pp. 171-206.
aspiration in this investigation. Although in this study the correlation between LOA and SES was significant statistically, its actual magnitude (–.07) has virtually no practical importance. The unreliability (r = .195) of the SES measurement used in this study, namely Hollingshead's Four Factor Index, makes the low correlation between SES and LOA suspect.¹ It appears that knowing a student's SES score would be no help in the prediction of LOA or vice-versa. However, because previous findings have shown that a relationship does exist between social class and level of aspiration, and because results here are based on the use of a weak instrument,² the relationship between these two factors must still be considered when constructing a theoretical model of variables related to LOA.

Conclusion Two: The level of occupational aspiration is significantly related to academic achievement.

The evidence presented in this study suggests that the relationship of academic achievement and level of occupational aspiration was of significant magnitude. It seems to be generally recognized that for many professional occupations there may be no alternatives to educational qualifications. Therefore, many individuals tend to assess their academic abilities before considering possible future careers.

¹Hollingshead, Four Factor Index. See Appendix B. See also Chapter III, pp. 60-61 for a discussion of the pilot test, and resulting reliability coefficients.

²Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," pp. 47-60; Ornstein, p. 70.
The relationship of academic achievement to level of occupational aspiration has been suggested in other studies. For example, Schwarzweller and Lyson, in a cross-cultural study of determinants of career specifications among youth in Norway, Germany, and the United States concluded that high academic achievers are most likely to aspire to professional or prestigious careers. In the same study, the authors claimed that lower achieving American high school boys were more likely to consider teaching as a career option than their talented classmates.\(^1\) Gambino likewise argued that after variation due to the handicaps and benefits of social origins has been removed statistically, education is the most important variable explaining differential socio-economic achievement of religioethnic subgroups.\(^2\)

Thus, the studies cited, as well as the evidence considered in the present investigation, support the conclusion regarding the effect of academic achievement on the level of occupational aspiration.

**Conclusion Three:** The level of occupational aspiration is related to ethnicity when social class and academic achievement are controlled.

Previous investigators examining the effects of social class and academic achievement conclude that both variables are strongly


\(^2\)Gambino, p. 245. See also Havinghurst and Neugarten, p. 53.
related to an individual's level of occupational aspiration. The present study considered the findings of early and current research concerning social class and school success, and used them as a basis for an in-depth investigation.\textsuperscript{1} Treating both social class and academic achievement as covariates, the effect of ethnicity was monitored in an analysis of covariance design. Conclusion three is based upon the results of the analysis of covariance test. The investigator believes that both social class and academic achievement are important, but not the sole conditions for determining occupational aspiration. The evidence seems to point to ethnicity as another deciding factor in the formulation of an individual's LOA.

Even though most of the students' life styles appear to emulate that of the so-called middle-class American, it seems that certain ethnic values and attitudes may have persisted as expressed by their differential orientations towards various occupational options, substantiating Haller and Portes' hypothesis of the importance of the individual's reference group in the status attainment process.\textsuperscript{2} The contention that mere membership in an ethnic group, regardless of the degree of attachment, will influence the subject's level of aspiration appears then to have some validity.\textsuperscript{3} The rank order of the ethnic groups on level of occupational aspiration by

\textsuperscript{1}See Ornstein, pp. 86-98 for an overview of early and current research dealing with the theme of social class and school success.

\textsuperscript{2}Haller and Portes, pp. 51-91.

\textsuperscript{3}Greenstone, pp. 1-9.
group means and standard deviations is similar to that discovered by Greeley in his study of white ethnic adults' occupational status. In this investigation, however, the Irish scored the highest on LOA, followed by the Italians, Polish, Mixed Ethnics, and Germans. Since aspirations are affected by sociopsychological dimensions, much in the same way as is an ethnic group identity, Greeley further suggested that the rank order of ethnic groups on occupational status may be a function of out-group hostility towards the group, that is, prejudice as expressed through subtle discrimination. While it is plausible that the group loyalties of the various student ethnics in this study were in some way intensified by the expression of cultural slurs, media stereotypes, the fall 1978 election of a Polish Pope, the Italian surname of the investigator, or the recent telecast of the "Holocaust," such a conclusion would be mere conjecture rather than based on any of the existing data.

It may be of interest to note that literature focusing on the history of immigrant groups seems to have traditionally favored the older immigrants (Irish and German) over the newer arrivals (Italians and Poles). Polish and Italian respondents, however, tended to consistently aspire to higher level occupations in this

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1Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality. In Greeley's study, German adults faired considerably better than the German subjects of this investigation, and were ranked second on his occupational scale, followed by the Italians and Poles. The Irish were ranked first in both Greeley's study and in the present investigation.

investigation, while the Germans, specifically the German males, were associated with the lowest level of occupational aspiration. Perhaps, as Greeley observed, the newer immigrants (Italians and Poles) are more preoccupied with "getting ahead" than older immigrant groups, such as the Germans and Irish, who possibly no longer feel such a pressing need to close the economic and/or prestige gap existing between their group and the mainstream. Low LOA scores among German subjects may therefore be a function of their ethnic history or subgroup specific experiences in this country, resulting in a relaxation of the urgency to achieve. It should be remembered, however, that in this case, the relative "oldness" or "newness" of an ethnic group was not used as an independent variable, nor was any attempt made to measure via sociogram the amount of intergroup contact. If this study were replicated in Europe or with a stratified American sample, the rank order may have been somewhat different.

Another factor to consider in the interpretation of ethnic differences in LOA is the small size of the German sample (53) in this investigation as compared to the number of respondents in the

1Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality, pp. 58-59, 76.

2Religious affiliation would probably not explain the low ranking of the Germans here since NORC surveys have shown that German Catholics have a slight advantage over German Protestants in median years of education, occupational prestige, and family income. See Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States pp. 42-43; idem, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality.
other four ethnic categories. It may be that the type of schools from which the samples were drawn also influenced the rank order of the subgroups on LOA. Germans for whom ethnicity is more important, for example, may tend to send their children to parochial schools. The level of occupational aspiration scores of these "unmeltables" may thus be lower than the aspiration levels of those Germans who sought to assimilate and who subsequently became part of the larger WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant) conglomerate.

One final point should also be made in reference to hypothesis three, that is, all of the ethnic groups scored above the mean occupational aspiration levels as reported by Haller and Miller, thereby seemingly contradicting the findings of Schneider and Green who reported that a strong need to affiliate interfered with achievement-related goals. Schneider and Green, however, were referring to a global affiliation need, rather than to affiliation with a specific subculture. Further application of their findings would require replication of their study with the addition of ethnicity as an independent variable.

In summation, it seems that ethnic identification does affect response patterns concerning occupational options. The specification

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1There were 175 Italians, 141 Polish, 182 Irish and 184 Mixed Ethnics in the sample population.

2Conversations with Dr. Pedro J. Saavedra, Loyola University of Chicago 12 November 1979. See also Appendices E and F.

3Haller and Miller, p. 113; Schneider and Green, pp. 169-77.
of the extent to which these diverse ethnic-related response patterns are the expression of a cultural diversity in value orientations, or of variations in the degree of ethnic affiliation would require in-depth interviews with respondents and follow-up studies.

**Conclusion Four:** When social class and academic achievement are controlled, the level of occupational aspiration is related to sex differences.

The effect of sex as a factor influencing an individual's choice of a career has been the focus of previous research. However, the manner or the direction in which sex influences career choice appears uncertain, at least according to prevailing viewpoints in contemporary society. Thus, conflicting information exists in the literature, regarding the male-female difference in occupational aspirations. Some social scientists state that males seek higher level positions, while others perceive females as pursuers of higher status occupations.\(^1\) The evidence in the present study seems to support the latter viewpoint. Among the subjects in the investigation, women of all ethnic groups, except one (Polish), attained higher level of occupational aspiration scores than their male counterparts. Increases in adolescent female occupational aspiration levels may be indicative of the growing ramifications of the current women's rights movement or may be a function of the type of schools sampled, that is, non-coeducational private institutions.

\(^1\)See Bernice L. Neugarten and Betty Goldiamond, "Women and Education," in Havighurst and Levine, pp. 481–507.
Adolescent girls in sexually segregated settings are not subjected to the same social pressures experienced by female students in coeducational high schools. Girls in the latter type of institution may adopt low-key profiles in their relationships with male classmates, while girls in the former setting, freed from the pressures of heterosexual competition and social dating, generally have more opportunity to concentrate on the realization of their potential.  

The girls in this investigation did not seem to be bothered by the fact that the occupational titles in the response options were, for the most part, explicitly masculine in nature. Their responses seem to contradict Maizels' contention that the adolescent girl's conception of her future tends to be vague and tentative. The females in this study seemed to be making a definite statement about their confidence with regard to their ability to procure a high status occupation. The girls' responses also seem to substantiate the findings of Wallace, Featherman and Hauser, who concluded that female aspirations and achievements are more likely to be non-conformist, that is less associated with circumstances of family origin which in this case was an ethnic identity, than are male expressions of aspiration.


2Maizels, p. 287.

3Wallace; Featherman and Hauser, "Sexual Inequalities."
Furthermore, youths' aspirations are often defined in terms of the educational achievements of their parents. Sewell and Shah discovered that the educational background of the parents seemed to have more influence on daughters than on sons.¹ The question as to whether the higher LOA scores of female respondents in this study were a function of their parents' education was not specifically treated in the analysis of data. A complementary study to this investigation might, therefore, be the analysis of the students' LOA responses as they relate to their parents' occupation and education.

Studies concerned with variations in level of occupational aspiration either concentrate on the existence of sex-related differences, or focus on ethnicity as a factor in the development of high or low aspirations based on the response patterns of ethnic males.² This investigation is unique in that the interaction of ethnicity and sex was considered when analyzing student expressions of occupational aspirations. The results of this study seem to suggest the desirability of considering ethnicity when analyzing marital and familial structural components of status attainment models.


²Tully, Stephan, and Chance, pp. 638-49; Greeley, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality; Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," pp. 47-60; Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in McClelland et al., pp. 135-91.
Conclusion Five: Social economic status varies among ethnic groups.

The data indicates that while sex, or the interaction of sex and ethnicity does not seem to have any substantial effect on SES, ethnicity significantly influences the socioeconomic status of the respondents. This finding may not be surprising, since definition of social class is strongly dependent upon wealth, and wealth has historically never been equally distributed among ethnic groups. Thus, it seems natural that the disparity in wealth existing among various ethnic groups should be reflected in a disparity of their social class status.

The Italians appeared to have a higher socioeconomic status than either the German, Irish or mixed ethnics. The higher status of the Italians did not significantly differ from the mean scores associated with the Polish, but the status of the latter group was significantly different from the mean SES indicators of mixed ethnics. These results (Italian, Polish, German, Irish, and Mixed) seem to upset Greeley's proposed economic ranking: Irish, German, Italian, and Polish. Greeley, however, noted the increased mobility rate of Italians and Poles. In fact, he stated that Italians were the only group to have improved their social class position in all four age cohorts studied between 1950-1970.¹ Therefore, these

¹Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States pp. 66, 86; idem, Ethnicity, Denomination and Inequality, p. 53.
findings may be symptomatic of the increased social mobility of the descendants of eastern and southern European immigrants.

Evidence of significant differences in SES among the five ethnic groups included in this investigation seems to lend some credence to Gordon's theory of "ethclass," that is, the existence of a subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity, and the horizontal stratifications of social class. In other words, separate "ethclasses" may exist for each ethnic group when SES is considered. Each of these "ethclasses" would represent relatively independent groupings defined by both cultural and socioeconomic factors. Moreover, the rejection of hypothesis three appears to be a nullification of the Blau-Duncan theory that "foreign-born Americans and their children do not differ in occupational attainments (SES) from native whites of native parentage."¹

The unreliability of the SES index should not affect this conclusion, since it is likely to produce type II errors, but not type I errors.²

Conclusion Six: Academic achievement is related to ethnicity.


The statistical test of the analysis of variance indicated significant differences existing among the five ethnic samples used in the study with respect to grade-point average. This does not, however, imply that some of the groups were more intelligent than others, nor does it imply that the ethnics represented would differ on intelligence scale scores. The study of level of intelligence among various ethnic groups was beyond the scope of the present investigation. Therefore, the differences observed in the academic achievement data may simply be a reflection of the attitudes towards education, or the priorities placed upon the value of schooling by various ethnic groups. It may be that ethnic groups who place a premium on education tend to encourage their children to achieve scholastically more than other groups who do not similarly perceive the inherent worth of education. Dissimilar viewpoints towards the value of education may, therefore, cause differences in the academic achievement of pupils from various ethnic backgrounds.

Researchers like Cohen have been able to trace the historic impact of ethnicity on immigrants' educational attainment. Cohen's rank order of intelligence among immigrant groups, based on an index of urbanization showed that, in general, central and southern European immigrants experienced a disadvantage in school. He suggested that, in response to their low educational status, some of these immigrant groups, notably, the Irish and Italians, created the educational alternative of the Catholic parochial school. Polish-Americans have also supported a high number of parochial schools
through the history of their settlement. Since the majority of the ethnic groups included in this investigation, with the possible exception of the Mixed Ethnics, have a tradition of private education, and since the investigation was conducted in parochial schools, the author cautions the reader regarding the generalization of these results to the public system of education. A comparative study should probably be conducted in order to estimate the effect of ethnicity versus school type (public or parochial) on academic achievement.

The results of pairwise comparisons among the selected ethnic groups in this study appear to indicate that Polish students were associated with the highest grade-point average. Greeley likewise noted the intellectual abilities of the Poles in his observations of the religioethnic composition of the American scientific and engineering professions. Polish Catholics also compared favorably with Anglo-Saxon Protestants in number of Ph.D.'s, academic employment, and reading habits. The Italians, on the other hand, appear to have the lowest grade-point average among the ethnic groups studied. Strodtbeck, Covello and Cordasco observed a similar phenomenon. A 1969 survey of the educational achievements of major European ethnic groups showed that Italo-Americans were practically the lowest in terms of college completion. Gambino states that the progress of the younger generation of Italian-Americans appears to stop at high

1Cohen, pp. 13-27; Obdinski, p. 57.
school graduation, and varies by region, and degree of ethnic concentration. It should be noted, however, that such findings may simply be due to the methodologies or sampling procedures used in these various studies, including the present investigation.

Cultural variations in early mastery learning may also account for some of the discrepancies observed in academic achievement in this investigation. Bloom states that the interaction of children and adults in the home is a major determinant of individual differences in learners and learning. These findings seem to substantiate those of the Lesser-Fifer-Clark investigation. In their comparison of the mental abilities of Chinese, Jewish, Black, and Puerto Rican children, these authors concluded that ethnicity does, in fact, have a primary effect upon the organization of mental abilities, irrespective of social class origins. Mayeske, on the other hand, suggested that ethnic background may have little influence on school learning, while social class primarily determines a student's academic success.  

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2Bloom, p. 2; Lesser, Fifer, and Clark, pp. 75-76; George W. Mayeske, "On the Explanation of Racial-Ethnic Group Differences in Achievement Test Scores," in Gall and Ward, pp. 117-24. See also Boocock, p. 50.
The precise manner in which social class influences an individual's career aspirations was spotlighted in studies by Lavin; Wilson; Otto and Haller, and Elder.\(^1\) Lavin views socioeconomic status as a summarizing variable in that SES symbolizes a variety of values, attitudes, and motivations related to the achievement syndrome. According to Wilson, and Otto and Haller, an individual's significant others bring the value orientation of the family's socioeconomic position to bear upon the formation and adjustment of youth's aspirations. Elder concurs that adolescent aspirations are positively related to social class, and to the parents' educational background.

In some ways, the findings of the present study, along with the views expressed by the social scientists cited, point to the possibility that, adolescents' aspirations are generally related to their parent's educational and occupational background.

Selection of the four parochial high schools as research sites may account for the lack of apparent differences in LOA scores as related to socioeconomic status here. In other words, the aspirations of individual students may have been influenced in the

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direction of the average socioeconomic status and value orientations of the majority of the student body at each particular institution.¹

**Conclusion Seven:** The degree of influence of social class on level of occupational aspiration does not vary among ethnic groups.

The results of the data analysis in this investigation indicated that the hypothesis of no difference in the relationship between level of occupational aspiration and social class among ethnic groups could not be rejected. This finding was interesting, but not unexpected, in that it seems to support an earlier argument that social class was merely one variable to consider, and not the only determiner of career aspirations. Variations occurring here among ethnic groups in level of occupational aspiration must be due to some other factors besides social class. However, this conclusion does not dismiss the relative importance of socioeconomic status as related to level of occupational aspiration.

**Conclusion Eight:** The degree of influence of academic achievement on the level of occupational aspiration does not vary among ethnic groups.

This conclusion is inferred from the finding that the relationship between level of occupational aspiration and academic achievement is not significantly different among ethnic groups. It appears then that school is not an independent variable that exerts

¹See Allan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," in Passow, Goldberg and Tannenbaum, pp. 268-83, and Boyle, pp. 628-39 for similar findings and a discussion of the importance of the school milieu.
much influence by itself on future income or occupational status, but instead education seems to act as a mechanism through which group and individual characteristics are transmuted into social status.¹

Conclusion Nine: In general, the level of occupational aspiration appears to be a function of many factors, some known and others unknown or as yet unidentified.

The present study focused primarily on ethnicity and three related variables: (1) sex, (2) academic achievement, and (3) social class. Other researchers have investigated the effects of such factors as the subject's age, family environment, reference groups, socioeconomic status, psychological and cultural factors, the type of school attended by an individual, and academic achievement or grades received in school. All of these factors, as indicated in Chapter II, have been said to be related to an individual's level of occupational aspiration. No precise cause-effect relationship, however, has yet been established for any of these variables.

According to the evidence of the present study, both ethnicity and sex appear to be important factors to consider in determining an individual's occupational aspiration level, provided that the individual's social class status, and academic achievement are also taken into account. Beyond that, the most interesting and probably unique finding of the present study is the role played by the interaction of ethnicity and sex.

¹Miller, p. 43.
For all of the selected ethnic groups, save one (Polish), the girls scored higher than their male counterparts. Polish boys, however, outscored Polish girls. One might conjecture that cultural factors relating to the role of women within the Polish group might account for this phenomenon.¹

Other variables that have been observed to be of interest are social class and academic achievement. Although both of these variables have previously been mentioned by other researchers, the present study sheds additional light on the dilemma of occupational aspirations by suggesting the manner in which the two factors, social class and academic achievement, operate. First, the study establishes that both social class and academic achievement are directly related to occupational aspirations. Individuals from homes with high social class status, and those who have attained a high level of academic achievement are likely to select more prestigious occupations than other individuals. Second, the benefits or handicaps derived from social class status or academic attainment appear to have an equal or similar effect for all groups irrespective of ethnicity.

However, both social class and academic achievement should not be regarded as actual determiners of an individual's occupational

¹Polish families are generally characterized by their authoritarian, patriarchal control. A larger percentage of Irish immigrant households, on the other hand, were female-headed. European immigrant women in general often adopted work patterns least disruptive to their roles of wife and mother. See Obdinski, p. 102 and Alice Kessler-Harris and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, "European Immigrant Groups," in Sowell, pp. 125-29.
aspiration. These variables (SES; GPA) appear simply to set the tone of the socioenvironment from which individuals may operate. In short, aspirations seem to be related in some way to the individual's self-estimation of his or her own social class position and academic performance, and to the reference group with which he or she seems to identify. The development of ambition then appears to be a matter of cultural learning which is facilitated by selected factors in the sociopsychological environment of the aspirer. SES and GPA are therefore the necessary, but not the sufficient conditions for determining an individual's career options.

In spite of the rigorous analyses the data were subjected to, there were instances where LOA scores of some subjects, most notably, of the German males, varied contrary to expectations. The deviations remain unaccounted for even following a reexamination of the sampling procedures. For this reason, the investigator feels that perhaps some other factor or factors, as yet unidentified, may explain some of the differences in levels of occupational aspiration between ethnic groups.

Implications for Schools and Curriculum

Much of the evidence presented in this study has shown that an individual's level of occupational aspiration is affected by ethnicity and sex. Further, the individual's social economic status and academic achievement provide a basis for making the final selection in terms of career. Academic achievement appears to be influenced by
one's ethnicity, in general, and by social class, in particular. In this respect, it seems that parents who understand or appreciate the benefits of education are more likely to encourage, or to render home support for their children to do well in school. To the extent that schools have a responsibility to provide experiences for learners to develop their potential to the fullest, the findings and conclusions of the study have important implications for the schools and curriculum. Specifically, schools have the responsibility to:

1. Provide a variety of learning environments in which the specific attributes and skills of cultural subgroups are recognized and developed. Care should be taken, however, to avoid ethnocentrism or learner stereotyping. Various models could be examined, and later implemented in order to provide for the introduction of the ethnic student's culture into the curriculum. Cognitive as well as affective components should be included in the program design.

2. Equalize educational opportunities for all children since differences in ethnicity and social class may result in unequal home support towards learning or a lack of early independence training. Perhaps one way to accomplish this objective might be through greater individualization of the learning process. Another solution may be to encourage parental involvement and participation in school functions, and in the formulation of school policy. Programs can also be developed to train parents as home tutors, capable of assisting their children in the various curricula areas; specifically in reading and math. To accomplish this end, ethnic organizations can be utilized as a link between the school and the community.
3. Strengthen guidance programs for the purpose of making students aware that career opportunities are largely based on one's educational attainment, rather than on any other factor. Guidance-counselors sensitized to the needs of male and female ethnics of various socioeconomic strata can develop values clarification, and similar small group sessions, in addition to the provision of individualized service.

4. Incorporate into the curriculum career education or career awareness programs where special emphasis is given to the prerequisites for entry into particular occupations. Students should be exposed to a variety of career options, other than the ones conventionally listed on most aspiration scales. Ethnic businessmen and professionals can provide needed role models, illustrating how they utilized their own ethnicity, or lack of it, to their occupational advantage.

5. Include a study of minority problems, the specific study of the social background of ethnic Americans and their heritage, on-site visits to ethnic neighborhoods, and an analysis of resulting cultural conflicts into teacher training programs. The ethnic teacher can provide a stimulus for cultural-mindedness. He, used generically, can be a cultural contributor to the ethos of the school, while serving as an instrument of assimilation.

6. Assemble data on the basis of ethnic differentiation. Collection of ethnic data should include such facts as the language spoken by the parents or child at home, level of literacy in the native and/or English language, the educational and occupational
background of the parents, and the attitude of the child to family mores and customs. Assemblance of ethnic-related data should be undertaken for the purpose of understanding the environmental factors of a student's background, and may require the presence of some bilingual personnel who can make home visits, and serve as liaisons between the ethnic community and the school.

7. Examine the curricula, especially textbooks and audio-visual materials, in terms of their unbiased treatment of male and female ethnic role models, and presentation of subgroup specific experiences. Does the ethnic image officially projected by the school serve to suppress the self-esteem and lower the career aspirations of selected ethnic groups, or of specific subpopulations within groups?

Recommendations for Further Research

As a result of the study, the following areas are suggested for further research:

1. A comparison should be made of high school seniors' level of occupational aspiration with the career aspirations of various age groups, such as college seniors, or eighth grade pupils, and with European students of similar ethnic extraction.

2. An investigation should be undertaken to define the cultural factors, attitudes, or customs which seem to contribute to the lower career aspirations of some ethnic groups. Analyses of this nature could focus on the impact of family solidarity and degree of
ethnic affiliation with regard to occupational and educational aspirations.

3. An effort should be made to analyze the effect self-professed ethnic identity, or assigned ethnic affiliation, that is being perceived as an ethnic by significant others, has on the individual's learning style and aspirations. What effect, if any, does the knowledge that one belongs to a particular ethnic group have on adolescent career aspirations and self-esteem?

4. The study should be replicated with a larger sample in terms of numbers and variety of schools to determine the effect school climate or type has on the learners' career aspirations. Do ethnics in coeducational suburban or public school settings demonstrate similar LOA response patterns? Do such response patterns vary by region and degree of ethnic concentration? Provision should also be made to follow-up on the participants to assess the correlation of adolescent career aspirations with adult occupational status through in-depth interviews and longitudinal studies.

5. No attempt was made to analyze the ethnic composition of the Mixed Ethnics who participated in this study. Did the fact that they tended to identify with one facet of their ethnic identity over another influence their level of occupational aspiration? Since some investigators, such as Parsons, believe that the Mixed Ethnic household tends to adopt a singular ethnic identification, thus passing over the actual ethnic origins of the various members, prospective writers may want to specifically research the phenomenon
of the Mixed Ethnic regarding self-professed ethnic identity as it relates to career aspirations.¹

6. A distinction should be made between the exemplification and expectation role of significant others, as suggested by Otto and Haller, with specific attention given to the analysis of ethnic-related status transmission components.² Does the ethnic background of the incumbent define career aspirations, or provide models of status positions deemed appropriate by the subject's ethnic group?

7. The high level of occupational aspiration scores of the girls in this investigation suggest the need for the study of the Americanization of ethnic girls and women and their changing status within the family structure, and in contemporary society. What impact has the women's rights movement had on various Euro-American ethnic groups, and specifically on the career aspirations of ethnic females? Moreover, what impact do segregated female schools have on ethnic students? Did the socialization practices of the institutions involved in this investigation intensify the girls' awareness of their potential?

The aforementioned recommendations are based on the following assumptions:


²Otto and Haller, p. 25.
1. An understanding of the cultural background of a child is basic to the educational program. The formation of a child's behavior is determined to a large extent upon the adjustment or maladjustment of his or her particular cultural group to American standards. An appreciation of the reciprocal character of the process of assimilation is therefore essential to program planning.

2. American-born children no longer face the same ethnic group responsibilities that formed a normal part of their ancestors' life in their native country.

Throughout this paper, the investigator has endeavored to illustrate one salient point, which is, that the education of any subgroup begins by discovering their characteristics, by magnifying these traits via research and ethnic studies, by dignifying cultural differences, and by creating a feeling of pride in the group's cultural heritage.
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STUDENT SURVEY

Name: ________________________________

School: ______________________________

Class: Senior Semester: _____________

Present Age: _____ Sex (Check one.): ___ Male ___ Female

PLEASE CIRCLE ONE ANSWER FOR EACH QUESTION UNLESS YOU ARE TOLD
OTHERWISE. SOME QUESTIONS MAY HAVE SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS SO READ THE
DIRECTIONS CAREFULLY. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. NO NAMES
WILL BE USED IN THIS STUDY, BUT IF YOU FEEL THAT ANY OF THE QUESTIONS
IN PART A OR PART B ARE TOO PERSONAL, YOU MAY OMIT THEM. REMEMBER TO
FILL OUT THE LAST PAGE OF THIS SURVEY. PLEASE BEGIN.

Part A

In order to answer the next two questions about your parents' ethnic
background, you may have to think back to your grandparents or
greatgrandparents:

1. Think of your father's side of the family. Before
settling in the United States, which country did most of your
father's family come from?

A. Italy
B. Poland
C. Germany
D. Ireland
E. Czechoslovakia
F. Other (not listed above) ____________________ (write
in your answer.)
G. I don't know.
2. Now think of your mother's side of the family. Before settling in the United States, which one country did most of your mother's family come from?

A. Italy
B. Poland
C. Germany
D. Ireland
E. Czechoslovakia
F. Other (not listed above) ___________________ (write in your answer.)
G. I don't know.

3. Select the ethnic background or group your father would identify with most closely. (Mark only one response.)

A. Italian
B. Polish
C. German
D. Irish
E. Czechoslovakian
F. Mixed (more than one ethnic group)
G. Other (not listed above) ___________________ (write-in)
H. None.
4. Select the ethnic background or group your mother would identify with most closely. (Mark only one response.)

A. Italian
B. Polish
C. German
D. Irish
E. Czechoslovakian
F. Mixed (more than one ethnic group)
G. Other (not listed above) ______________________ (write-in)
H. None.

5. Select the group you identify with most closely. (Mark only one.)

A. Italian
B. Polish
C. German
D. Irish
E. Czechoslovakian
F. Mixed (more than one ethnic group)
G. Other (not listed above) ______________________ (write-in)
H. None.

6. Where were you born?

A. In the United States
B. Not in the United States

Place of Birth: _______________________________ (write-in)
If you marked response B to question 6, and were not born in the United States, then answer this next question. If you were born in the United States, you can skip this next question.

7. How long have you attended schools in the United States?
   A. Less than one year
   B. One to four years (1-4)
   C. Five to nine years (5-9)
   D. Ten or more years (10-up).

Part B

Answer these next two questions if your father is living at home or if your mother has remarried and you live with your stepfather and your mother, in which case the questions would then refer to your stepfather.

8. What type of work does your father do? You probably will not find his exact job listed, but circle the one answer that comes closest to the type of job your father does. If he is now out of work or if he is retired, mark the job he usually did. Mark only his main job if he works on more than one.

   A. Bank teller, clerical worker, dental assistant, key punch operator, telephone operator, typist, cashier, sales clerk, bill collector, recreation worker.
   B. Architect, chemist, engineer, lawyer, doctor, university professor, executive, government official, commissioned officer in the military, veterinarian.
   C. Bartender, cook, busboy, garbage collector, parking attendant, messenger, waiter, construction worker, crossing guard, freight handler.
   D. Accountant, school administrator, pharmacist, registered nurse, district or production manager, musician, computer specialist, personnel worker, pilot, high school teacher.
   E. Bellhop, janitor, attendant, dishwasher, maid, teamster, farm laborer, produce grader, stockboy, bootback.
F. Baker, carpenter, dispatcher, repairman, mechanic, mail carrier, receptionist, photographer, tool and die maker, electrician.

G. Insurance agent, social worker, real estate broker, reporter, sales manager or representative in manufacturing industries, building or office manager, entertainer, elementary school teacher, funeral director, artist.

H. Barber, bus/taxi/truck driver, dressmaker, punch press operator, nursing aide, watchman, file clerk, deliveryman, hairdresser, butcher.

I. Draftsman, secretary, store department head, salesman, teacher aide, stenographer, foreman, inspector, sheriff, baliff.

J. Proprietor or owner of a business (Self-employed).

K. Other: ____________________________

L. I don't know.

9. How far in school did your father go? (Mark one.)
   A. Some grade school.
   B. Completed grade school.
   C. Some high school, but did not graduate.
   D. Graduate from high school.
   E. Technical or business school after high school.
   F. Some college, but less than four years.
   G. Graduated from a four year college.
   H. Graduate or professional school (five years or more of college for an advanced degree).
   I. I don't know.

Answer these next two questions if your mother is living at home or if your father has remarried and you live with your stepmother.
10. What type of work does your mother do? Please select the one category that comes closest to the job your mother is presently working at. If she is now unemployed or retired, mark the job she formerly held. Mark only her main job if she works on more than one.

A. Bank teller, clerical worker, dental assistant, key punch operator, telephone operator, typist, cashier, sales clerk, bill collector, recreation worker.

B. Architect, chemist, engineer, lawyer, doctor, university professor, executive, government official, commissioned officer in the military, veterinarian.

C. Bartender, cook, busboy, garbage collector, parking attendant, messenger, waiter, construction worker, crossing guard, freight handler.

D. Accountant, school administrator, pharmacist, registered nurse, district or production manager, musician, computer specialist, personnel worker, pilot, high school teacher.

E. Bellhop, janitor, attendant, dishwasher, maid, teamster, farm laborer, produce grader, stockboy, bootback.

F. Baker, carpenter, dispatcher, repairman, mechanic, mail carrier, receptionist, photographer, tool and die maker, electrician.

G. Insurance agent, social worker, real estate broker, reporter, sales manager or representative in manufacturing industries, building or office manager, entertainer, elementary school teacher, funeral director, artist.

H. Barber, bus/taxi/truck driver, dressmaker, punch press operator, nursing aide, watchman, file clerk, deliveryman, hairdresser, butcher.

I. Draftsman, secretary, store department head, salesman, teacher aide, stenographer, foreman, inspector, sheriff, baliff.

J. Proprietor or owner of a business (Self-employed).

K. Other: ___________________________________________

L. I don't know.
11. How far in school did your mother go?
   A. Some grade school.
   B. Completed grade school.
   C. Some high school, but did not graduate.
   D. Graduate from high school.
   E. Technical or business school after high school.
   F. Some college, but less than four years.
   G. Graduated from a four year college.
   H. Graduate or professional school (five years or more of college for an advanced degree).
   I. I don't know.

Answer this next question only if you circled answer J: Proprietor or owner of a business (Self-employed) for question 8 or 10. If you did not circle answer J for either question 8 or 10, you may skip this item.

12. If either your father or your mother owns his or her own business, and you circled response J for question 8 and/or 10, circle the one category that best describes the size of your parent's business. The examples given for each category are only guides.

   A. Large business, valued at $250,000 or more: Household Appliances, hotel/motel, lumber company, etc.
   B. Medium-size business, valued between $100,000 and $250,000: Restaurant-supper club, furniture store, hardware store.
   C. Smaller business, valued at $75,000 to $100,000: Clothing store, automotive parts supplier, jewelry store.
   D. Small business, valued at $50,000 to $75,000: Liquor store, drug store, gas station.
   E. Small business, valued at $25,000 to $50,000: Grocery store, Bakery, shoe store.
F. Small business, valued at less than $25,000: Florist, gift shop, fruits and vegetables (produce) store.

G. OTHER: __________________________

13. Circle the one response which best describes your family's source of income. (Mark only one.)

A. Both my parents are working.

B. Only my father works.

C. Only my mother works.

D. Other (unemployment compensation, retirement, on leave, disability, etc.)

Answer the next question only if your parents are separated, divorced, or widowed, and if the parent with whom you are now living is not working. If your father or mother works, you may skip this question.

14. Does the parent with whom you are now living receive support payments (from a separation or divorce settlement) or income from your deceased father's or mother's pension or estate?

A. Yes

B. No

C. I don't know.

15. Circle the one response which best describes your present home situation. (Mark only one. Fill the blank.)

A. My parents are both living at home.

B. My parents are separated. I live with my __________.

C. My parents are divorced. I live with my __________.

D. One of my parents is dead. I live with my __________.

E. None of the above. I live with my __________.

(Example: relative, friend)
16. Please circle the appropriate number for each statement or supply a number where necessary.

Number of Older Brothers 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 ____
Number of Younger Brothers 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 ____
Number of Older Sisters 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 ____
Number of Younger Sisters 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 ____

17. How far in school would you like to go? (Mark only one response.)

A. Graduate high school.
B. Attend a technical, business or modeling school.
C. Attend a two year Junior College.
D. Complete four years of college.
E. Earn a Master's degree.
F. Earn a professional degree after college. (doctor of medicine, lawyer, doctorate degree in your field)
G. Other: ______________________. (Write-in)

Part C

This set of questions concerns your interest in different kinds of jobs. There are eight questions (18-25). Each one asks you to choose one job out of ten presented. Read each question carefully. They are all different. Answer each one the best you can. Do not omit any questions in this section. Be sure to circle only one answer for each of the eight questions.

18. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?

A. Lawyer
B. Welfare worker for a city government
C. United States representative in Congress
D. Corporal in the Army
E. United States Supreme Court Justice
F. Night watchman
G. Sociologist
H. Policeman
I. County agricultural agent

19. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose if you were FREE TO CHOOSE ANY OF THEM you wished when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?
   A. Member of the board of directors of a large corporation
   B. Undertaker
   C. Banker
   D. Machine operator in a factory
   E. Physician (doctor)
   F. Clothes presser in a laundry
   G. Accountant for a large business
   H. Railroad conductor
   I. Railroad engineer
   J. Singer in a night club

20. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?
   A. Nuclear physicist
   B. Reporter for a daily newspaper
   C. County judge
   D. Barber
   E. State governor
F. Soda fountain clerk
G. Biologist
H. Mail carrier
I. Official of an international labor union
J. Farm hand

21. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose if you were FREE TO CHOOSE ANY of them you wished when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?

A. Psychologist
B. Manager of a small store in a city
C. Head of a department in state government
D. Clerk in a store
E. Cabinet member in the federal government
F. Janitor
G. Musician in a symphony orchestra
H. Carpenter
I. Radio announcer
J. Coal miner

22. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN HAVE by the time you are 30 YEARS OLD?

A. Civil engineer
B. Bookkeeper
C. Minister or priest
D. Streetcar motorman or city bus driver
E. Diplomat in the United States Foreign Service
F. Share cropper (one who owns no livestock or farm machinery, and does not manage the farm)

G. Author of novels

H. Plumber

I. Newspaper columnist

J. Taxi driver

23. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose to have when you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them you wished?

A. Airline Pilot

B. Insurance Agent

C. Architect

D. Milk route man

E. Mayor of a large city

F. Garbage collector

G. Captain in the army

H. Garage Mechanic

I. Owner-operator of a printing shop

J. Railroad section hand

24. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN HAVE by the time you are 30 YEARS OLD?

A. Artist who paints pictures that are exhibited in galleries

B. Traveling salesman for a wholesale concern

C. Chemist

D. Truck driver

E. College professor
F. Street sweeper
G. Building contractor
H. Local official of a labor union
I. Electrician
J. Restaurant waiter

25. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose to have when you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them you wished?

A. Owner of a factory that employs about 100 people
B. Playground director
C. Dentist
D. Lumberjack
E. Scientist
F. Shoeshiner
G. Public school teacher
H. Owner-operator of a lunch stand
I. Trained machinist
J. Dock worker

Part D

Later on in this study, it will be necessary to examine your grade-point average. Your grade-point average will be used for group comparisons. It will not be given-out to anyone. At no time will your name be used in this study. With all of this in mind, please mark one of the choices below. Please note that a "no" response means that your survey form can not be used in the study.

A. Yes, you may use my grade-point average.
B. No, I do not want you to use my grade-point average.
C. I am not sure. I would like to talk to you before I mark one of the responses. Please contact me through my teacher.

PLEASE SIGN YOUR NAME:
THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS! PLEASE GIVE YOUR PAPER TO THE INSTRUCTOR. BEST WISHES FOR THE FUTURE.
APPENDIX B

FOUR FACTOR INDEX OF SOCIAL STATUS: OCCUPATIONAL SCALE AND SCORING INSTRUCTIONS

Permission to use this instrument was obtained from August B. Hollingshead as per letter dated 3 August 1978.
OCCUPATIONAL SCALE

Score 9 Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Businesses.

a. Higher executives: chairpersons, presidents, vice-presidents, assistant vice-presidents, secretaries, treasurers;

b. Commissioned officers in the military: majors, lieutenant commanders, and above, or equivalent;

c. Government officials, federal, state, and local: members of the United States Congress, members of the state legislature, governors, state officials, mayors, city managers;

d. Proprietors of businesses valued at $250,000 and more;

e. Owners of farms valued at $250,000 and more;

f. Major professionals (census code list).

Score 8 Administrators, Lesser Professionals, Proprietors of Medium-Sized Businesses

a. Administrative officers in large concerns: district manager, executive assistants, personnel managers, production managers;

b. Proprietors of businesses valued between $100,000 and $250,000;

c. Commissioned officers in the military: lieutenants, captains, lieutenants, s.g., and j.g., or equivalent;

d. Lesser professionals (census code list).

Score 7 Smaller Business Owners, Farm Owners, Managers, Minor Professionals

a. Owners of smaller businesses valued at $75,000 to $100,000;

b. Farm owners/operators with farms valued at $75,000 to $100,000;

1This appendix includes only major headings of the occupational scale. A complete listing of the census code occupational titles can be found in August B. Hollingshead, Four Factor Index of Social Status (New Haven, Connecticut: Privately printed, n.d.).
c. Managers (census code list);

d. Minor professionals (census code list);

e. Entertainers and artists.

Score 6  Technicians, Semiprofessionals, Small Business Owners

a. Technicians (census code list);

b. Semiprofessionals: army, m/sgt., navy, c.p.o., clergymen (not professionally trained), interpreters (court);

c. Owners of businesses valued at $50,000 to $75,000;

d. Farm owners/operators with farms valued at $50,000 to $75,000.

Score 5  Clerical and Sales Workers, Small Farm and Business Owners

a. Clerical workers (census code list);

b. Sales workers (census code list);

c. Owners of small business valued at $25,000 to $50,000;

d. Owners of small farms valued at $25,000 to $50,000;

Score 4  Smaller Business Owners, Skilled Manual Workers, Craftsmen, and Tenant Farmers

a. Owners of small businesses and farms valued at less than $25,000;

b. Tenant farmers owning farm machinery and livestock;

c. Skilled manual workers and craftsmen (census code list);

d. Noncommissioned officers in the military below the rank of master sergeant and C.P.O.
Score 3  Machine Operators and Semiskilled Workers
Score 2  Unskilled Workers
Score 1  Farm Laborers/Menial Service Workers

SCORING INSTRUCTIONS
FOUR FACTOR INDEX

The Occupational Scale component of Hollingshead's Four Factor Index can be applied to Part B of the Student Survey, resulting in an estimation of the respondent's social economic status. Three examples are provided to illustrate the scoring of the Student Survey Part B:

1. Joseph Imbrogno is a high school senior. His parents are both living at home and are gainfully employed. His father has an MBA, and is a bank officer. His mother also has a master's degree, and works as an elementary school teacher. His status score is computed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Factor Weight</th>
<th>Score X Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occupation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bank officer</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduate degree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Score = $\frac{66}{66}$
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Factor Weight</th>
<th>Score X Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother's occupation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elementary school</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduate degree</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Score = 56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scores for each parent are summed, and the total is divided by two to determine Joseph Imbrogno's social status:

Father 66  
Mother 56  
Total score 122 divided by two = 61

The resulting total score (61) fits into the top range of computed scores (66-55), thus placing Joseph in social stratum one or major business/professional (Upper Class).

2. Barbara Cleary is a high school senior. Her parents are divorced. Barbara lives with her mother, who is gainfully employed. Her mother is a high school graduate, and is presently working as a waitress. Barbara indicated that her mother does not receive support payments. Her status score is computed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Factor Weight</th>
<th>Score X Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother's occupation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waitress</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's education:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high school graduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Score = 22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The resulting total score (22) fits into the second lowest range of computed scores (29-20), thus placing Barbara in social stratum four, or semiskilled workers (Working Class).

3. Alfred Lutz is a high school senior. His mother is a housewife. He lives with both of his parents. His father owns a bakery valued between $25,000-$50,000. His father completed two years of college. It is not necessary to mention the mother's educational background. Her score can not be computed, since "housewife" has no assigned scale value. Alfred's status score would be computed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Scale Score</th>
<th>Factor Weight</th>
<th>Score X Weight</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father's occupation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>owner of small business</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father's education:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partial college</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total Score = 40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The resulting total score (40) fits into the second highest range of computed scores (54-40), thus placing Alfred in social stratum two, or medium business (Upper Middle Class).¹

APPENDIX C

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCALE.

Permission to use this instrument was obtained from Archibald O. Haller as per telephone conversation in November 1977.
THE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCALE

Copyright 1957
By Archie O. Haller

YOUR NAME ________________________________

THIS SET OF QUESTIONS CONCERNS YOUR INTEREST IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF JOBS. THERE ARE EIGHT QUESTIONS. EACH ONE ASKS YOU TO CHOOSE ONE JOB OUT OF TEN PRESENTED.

BE SURE YOUR NAME IS ON THE TOP OF THIS PAGE.

READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY. THEY ARE ALL DIFFERENT.

ANSWER EACH ONE THE BEST YOU CAN. DON'T OMIT ANY.

Question 1. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?

1.1 _____ Lawyer
1.2 _____ Welfare worker for a city government
1.3 _____ United States representative in Congress
1.4 _____ Corporal in the Army
1.5 _____ United States Supreme Court Justice
1.6 _____ Night watchman
1.7 _____ Sociologist
1.8 _____ Policeman
1.9 _____ County agricultural agent
1.10 _____ Filling station attendant
Question 2. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose if you were FREE TO CHOOSE ANY of them you wished when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?

2.1 _____ Member of the board of directors of a large corporation
2.2 _____ Undertaker
2.3 _____ Banker
2.4 _____ Machine operator in a factory
2.5 _____ Physician (doctor)
2.6 _____ Clothes presser in a laundry
2.7 _____ Accountant for a large business
2.8 _____ Railroad conductor
2.9 _____ Railroad engineer
2.10 _____ Singer in a night club.

Question 3. Of the jobs listed in this question which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?

3.1 _____ Nuclear physicist
3.2 _____ Reporter for a daily newspaper
3.3 _____ County judge
3.4 _____ Barber
3.5 _____ State governor
3.6 _____ Soda fountain clerk
3.7 _____ Biologist
3.8 _____ Mail carrier
3.9 _____ Official of an international labor union
3.10 _____ Farm Hand

Question 4. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose if you were FREE TO CHOOSE ANY of them you wished when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?

4.1 _____ Psychologist
4.2 _____ Manager of a small store in a city
4.3 _____ Head of a department in state government
4.4 _____ Clerk in a store
4.5 _____ Cabinet member in the federal government
4.6 _____ Janitor
4.7 _____ Musician in a symphony orchestra
4.8 _____ Carpenter
4.9 _____ Radio announcer
4.10 _____ Coal miner
Question 5. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN HAVE by the time you are 30 YEARS OLD?

5.1 _____ Civil engineer
5.2 _____ Bookkeeper
5.3 _____ Minister of Priest
5.4 _____ Streetcar motorman or city bus driver
5.5 _____ Diplomat in the United States Foreign Service
5.6 _____ Share cropper (one who owns no livestock or farm machinery and does not manage the farm)
5.7 _____ Author of novels
5.8 _____ Plumber
5.9 _____ Newspaper columnist
5.10 _____ Taxi driver

Question 6. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose to have when you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them you wished?

6.1 _____ Airline pilot
6.2 _____ Insurance agent
6.3 _____ Architect
6.4 _____ Milk route man
6.5 _____ Mayor of a large city
6.6 _____ Garbage collector
6.7 _____ Captain in the army
6.8 _____ Garage mechanic
6.9 _____ Owner-operator of a printing shop
6.10 _____ Railroad section hand

Question 7. Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN HAVE by the time you are 30 YEARS OLD?

7.1 _____ Artist who paints pictures that are exhibited in galleries
7.2 _____ Traveling salesman for a wholesale concern
7.3 _____ Chemist
7.4 _____ Truck driver
7.5 _____ College professor
7.6 _____ Street sweeper
7.7 _____ Building contractor
7.8 _____ Local official of a labor union
7.9 _____ Electrician
7.10 _____ Restaurant waiter
Question 8. Of the jobs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose to have when you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them you wished?

8.1 ______ Owner of a factory that employs about 100 people
8.2 ______ Playground director
8.3 ______ Dentist
8.4 ______ Lumberjack
8.5 ______ Scientist
8.6 ______ Shoeshiner
8.7 ______ Public school teacher
8.8 ______ Owner-operator of a lunch stand
8.9 ______ Trained machinist
8.10 ______ Dock worker

SCORING INSTRUCTIONS

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCALE

All eight questions are scored the same.

There are ten alternatives for each question, and only one alternative may be checked.

The scores for each alternative are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternative</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The total score is the sum of the scores for each of the eight questions.
Normalized Data for O.A.S. Raw Scores

The normalized data for the O.A.S. scores were computed by the method given by Edwards. The data entitled "observed Z" represents equivalent scores having a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1.0. However, the form of the "observed Z" distribution is the same as that for the raw scores. The cumulative frequencies below a given raw score plus one-half of the frequencies of that score were converted to cumulative percentages (or proportions of total N). These cumulative percentages were used to find the Z score value corresponding to the point in a theoretical normal distribution by referring to a table of the unit normal curve. These normalized Z scores also have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1.0: however, the scores have been stretched in such a way as to normalize the distribution. Also, the cumulative percentages were converted to equivalent T-scores by means of a table of T-scores. Essentially, a T-score equals a normal Z score multiplied by 10 and the product added to 50. Hence, the T-scores have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.0. Standard scores enable us to compare measurements from various distributions of comparable form since we have reduced the measurements of each distribution to a common scale.

| Raw Scores: | Mean = 36.2 | S.D. = 12.99 |
| T-Scores:   | Mean = 50.0 | N = 441     |
|            | S.D. = 10.0 |

APPENDIX D

JURY MEMBERS FOR STUDENT SURVEY CONTENT VALIDATION
JURY MEMBERS FOR STUDENT SURVEY CONTENT VALIDATION

Mr. Paul J. Asciola  
Executive Director  
National Italian American Foundation  
1019 Nineteenth Street, NW  
Suite 730  
Washington, D.C. 20036

"I have gone over your student ethnic identification survey and find it satisfactory."  
--24 April 1978

Msgr. Geno Baroni  
H.U.D. Room 4100  
451 7th Street SW  
Washington, D.C. 20410

"I have administered your questionnaire to several groups in a multicultural graduate education workshop and it is felt by these groups that the instrument is appropriate for the purposes intended."  
25 May 1978

Dr. Richmond E. Calvin  
Director Counselor Education and Psychological Foundations  
Indiana University  
1825 Northside Boulevard  
South Bend, Indiana 46615

"I am pleased that you are doing work on ethnicity. Your questionnaire strikes me as a good one."  
2 May 1978

Dr. Domenic Candeloro  
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle  
Department of History  
Box 4348  
Chicago, Illinois 60680

"Your items look like they are in pretty good shape."  
17 April 1978

Mr. Daniel U. Levine  
Director  
Center for the Study of Metropolitan Problems in Education  
School of Education—University of Missouri  
5100 Rockhill Road  
Kansas City, Missouri 64110

"I think your survey has the potential of finding out much useful information concerning the relationships between ethnicity, aspiration, and social mobility."  
15 April 1978

Dr. Lawrence J. McCaffrey  
1227 Maple Avenue  
Evanston, Illinois 60202  
(Department of History, Loyola University)
Re: Student Ethnic Identification Survey for doctoral dissertation

Dear

Enclosed please find a copy of the Student Ethnic Identification Survey. The Student Survey is a multiple-choice instrument, self-compiled, consisting of fourteen items. Questions are designed to elicit information on ethnic identification, social class, and level of educational aspiration. The survey may be given to a group, and can be completed in fifteen to twenty minutes. Since there are no right or wrong answers, the survey will not yield a score per se. Two measures will be derived from this survey, the first, an ethnic group designation, and the second, an estimate of the student's social class position based on Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position.

An attempt has been made to support each respondent's choice of a primary ethnic identification through the use of cross-check questions, that is, the repetition of the basic ethnic background question in a different format. Andrew M. Greeley used this technique of rewording in Ethnicity, Denomination, and Inequality (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1976).

A student will be designated as being a member of a particular ethnic group based on the consistency of three out of five responses to questions one through five (Options A-E) with the deciding factor to be the response to question five, "Select the group you identify with most closely." Selection of diverse response options, resulting in less than three compatible responses would place the student in the "Mixed Ethnic" category.

In an effort to establish the content validity of the Student Survey, I am asking you to evaluate the instrument, and send me your suggestions and/or comments regarding the survey questions, wording, and format. Do you feel that the instrument is appropriate for the purpose intended, that is, the voluntary self-profession of a primary ethnic identity by high school seniors?

The doctoral study I wish to undertake deals with the relationship between ethnicity and level of occupational aspiration. The purpose of the study is to determine whether the level of occupational
aspiration among high school seniors is influenced by the students' ethnicity, when such factors as social class and academic achievement are controlled. I am using a second instrument to measure level of occupational aspiration, and validity and reliability data are already available for this instrument.

I am planning to do a pilot-test next month to establish the reliability of the Student Survey, and would like to incorporate your suggestions into the survey draft used. Please return the enclosed survey along with your written comments as soon as possible to:

Jeannine M. Huckenbroich  
1620 North Major Avenue  
Chicago, Illinois 60639

Thank you for your help. I will be very happy to share any information I acquire from my dissertation with you.

Sincerely,

Jeannine M. Huckenbroich  
Ed.D. Candidate  
Loyola University  
Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Major Advisor: Dr. Allan Ornstein

Committee Members: Dr. Barney Berlin  
Dr. Lois Lackner  
Dr. Pedro Saavedra

Enclosures: Student Ethnic Identification Survey  
Self-addressed, stamped return envelope

cc: jmh/ao
Jury members were sent a copy of Parts A and B of the *Student Survey*, which corresponded to questions one through eleven, and questions sixteen and seventeen of the final version of the survey. (See Appendix A). The jury was also asked to comment on Part D, or the confidentiality option.

Members were sent the following summary of sources for survey questions:

### Student Survey Summary of Sources

**Part A: Questions Related to Ethnicity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Number</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Greeley (1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Investigator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Investigator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Investigator</td>
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</table>

**Part B. Questions Related to Social Class and Extraneous Data**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Question Number</th>
<th>Source</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Coleman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Investigator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Haller; Miller, OAS, p. 130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Part C. Confidentiality Option**

| 14              | Investigator.   |

---

1This section later became Part D of the *Student Survey*, and was unnumbered. See Appendix A. See also the bibliography of this report for specific citation of the various sources.
Part C of the survey was not included in this validation process, as this section is, in fact, a separate instrument, the Occupational Aspiration Scale. Data on the validity of this instrument was already established by Haller and Miller.¹

Survey questions twelve through fifteen were added after the decision was made to use Hollingshead's Four Factor Index of Social Status as a coding device for Part B.²

¹Haller and Miller, OAS, pp. 79-93. See Appendix C. See also the "Description of Instruments," in Chapter III of this study, pp. 57-69.

²Hollingshead, Four Factor Index of Social Status. See Appendices A and B. See also Chapter III, pp 65-69, 72-77.
APPENDIX E

ETHNIC CLASSIFICATIONS OF STUDENT RESPONDENTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Category</th>
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<th>Mother Guerin</th>
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<td>Filipino (5)</td>
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<td><strong>308</strong></td>
<td><strong>185</strong></td>
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These totals may not coincide with the total N given for each ethnic subgroup in the final sample. Differences in figures reflect the number of student survey forms in each of the 5 groups which could not be utilized in the final sample due to missing information on other crucial variables, such as SES or GPA.

Hispanic includes Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, and South American respondents.

Indian: In this particular case, the student did not indicate whether she was a Native American or from India.

Oriental includes Japanese and Korean respondents.
### TABLE VIII
PERCENTAGES OF ETHNIC SUBGROUPS BY SCHOOL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Category</th>
<th>Weber</th>
<th>St. Patrick</th>
<th>Notre Dame</th>
<th>Mother Guerin</th>
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<td>--</td>
<td>.5</td>
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APPENDIX F

ETHNIC GROUP PROFILES:
SUMMARY OF DATA ON LOA, SES, AND GPA
<table>
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<th>Ethnic Identification</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>LOA Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>SES Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>fifth</td>
<td>fourth</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dissertation submitted by Jeannine M. Hucklenbroich-Riotto has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. Allan C. Ornstein, Director
Professor, Curriculum and Instruction, Loyola

Dr. Barney M. Berlin
Associate Professor; Department Chairman, Curriculum and Instruction, Loyola

Dr. Lois M. Lackner
Associate Professor, Curriculum and Instruction, Loyola

Dr. Pedro J. Saavedra
Assistant Professor, Foundations, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

Date 12/17/79

Director's Signature