OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL LEVELS OF ASPIRATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH

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Arturo De Hoyos

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This is to certify that the

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Arturo De Hoyos

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ABSTRACT

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by Arturo De Hoyos

Among recent contributions to the understanding of the relationship between social structure and personality, the studies of levels of aspiration have made some important contributions. In this type of study, however, the minority groups in American society have been almost neglected. The present study was designed to investigate differentials in levels of occupational and educational aspiration among Mexican-American youth in Lansing, Michigan. Of particular importance in the selection of the population studied, was the consideration of the fact that Mexican-Americans migrating to the northern cities of the United States have experienced a change from a mostly rural to a mostly urban environment. They have, likewise, changed from seasonal, agricultural work to industrial, urban employment. Of far greater importance to the social structure of the group are the changes in the patterns of their social interaction with the dominant group; from a relationship of subordination, typical of the Southwest, to one of greater social equality in the North. On the assumption that an increase in the diversity of the social environment of individuals tends to increase their perception of social facilities and alternatives for social mobility, the present study proposed an empirical test to determine the relationship between some attitudes and some social and cultural factors of Mexican-American youth in this different social environment.

The main proposition advanced in the present study was that the level of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American

youth was positively correlated with their acculturation to the dominant society, and that these two variables, in turn, were also positively correlated to their socio-economic status. This proposition was made in the form of eleven hypotheses, and a number of indexes was used to measure the relevant variables.

The correlation analysis of the data indicate the tenability of the thesis proposed. In all eleven hypotheses the null hypothesis was rejected. It is demonstrated that Mexican-American youth who score high in indexes of level of occupational and educational aspiration, score high in an index of acculturation to some achievement values of the dominant culture, and also score high in an index of parental socio-economic status.

At the descriptive level the findings show that Mexican-American youth in Lansing have, thus far, achieved considerably more education than their parents have, and also seem to have a high level of occupational and educational aspiration. In terms of social participation, orientation to achievement values, and language orientation, it is also shown that the acculturation of Mexican-American youth has advanced considerably.

At the conclusion it is noted that the data of the present study are not sufficient to determine whether the high level of social aspiration of the sample is a manifestation of their identification with the values of the dominant society or whether they are a manifestation of external imitation of those values. Based on this consideration, the study suggests some caution in the interpretation of the empirical facts. The need for further research is indicated which research may bring greater clarification of the findings of the present study.

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By .

Arturo De Hoyos

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Contents of This Chapter

In this introductory chapter the main ideas of the study are introduced. The chapter consists of the statement of the problem and of an extensive description of the general background of the population sampled. Also included in this chapter are definitions of key terms and concepts, a statement of the limitations of the study, and a general outline of the organization of the study in terms of chapters and contents. The main ideas introduced in the statement of the problem will be elaborated upon in Chapter II.

B. Statement of the Problem

One area of socio-psychological research has been greatly concerned in recent years with the relation between the social structure and individual behavior. As this relationship is complex, different types of studies have been conducted in an attempt to describe and analyse the relative importance of the variables involved. The extensive literature on socialization, stratification, and social mobility has demonstrated that many of the differences found in human social and individual behavior

¹See for example Alex Inkles, "Personality and Social Structure," in Merton, Broom and Cottrell (Eds.) Sociology Today (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), pp. 249-276. See also Alex Inkles and Daniel J. Levinson, "The Study of Modal Personality and Socio-Cultural Systems," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology, (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Third Edition, 1959), pp. 977-1020.

are highly related to certain differences which exist in the social structure. A simple illustration is the fact that individuals from different "classes," for example, are known to differ in terms of motivation for achievement, in their manifest social achievement, in the degree in which they participate in the various forms of social interaction, and in various other forms of behavior.

The discovery of these social facts has necessitated the development of a number of methodological techniques, the redefinition of concepts as well as the operationalization of many of these concepts in order to measure with increased objectivity the expressed attitudes and the observed behavior of individuals. ²

This development of tools of research in the social sciences has facilitated a more detailed study of many aspects of social phenomena. Thus, for example, studies about the dynamics of social mobility, or about the socio-psychological implications of social mobility, or about the individual, social, and cultural factors associated with social mobility, etc., are all contributions to the understanding of the phenomenon social mobility as an empirical fact in human society.

The study of levels of aspiration. Another such contribution toward a more complete understanding of social mobility is the study of levels of social aspiration. Research has demonstrated that levels of aspiration account in part for levels of achievement. Those individuals

¹A review of the literature relevant to this point is presented in Chapter II of the present study.

²See Robert K. Merton, <u>Social Theory and Social Structure</u>, (Revised Edition; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), particularly Chapters II and III.

³Seymour M. Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," <u>Rural Sociology</u>, 20 (Sept-Dec., 1955), pp. 220-228. In page 227 of this article Lipset advances this hypothesis explicitly. Haller has tested empirically this very hypothesis and his findings corroborate Lipset's claim. See Archie O. Haller, "Research Problems on the Occupational Achievement Levels of Farm-Reared People," <u>Rural Sociology</u>, 23 (Dec., 1958), pp. 355-362.

who aspire high tend to achieve higher positions in the social structure, while those who have lower aspirations tend to achieve relatively lower positions.

The study of levels of aspiration is perhaps more directly related to the concept social mobility, however, a number of students have also investigated the relationship of differentials in levels of aspiration to several other variables. For example, the study of occupational and educational levels of aspiration has been directed to investigate the extent and form in which these variables are associated with such factors as socio-economic status, "social class, "2 religious preferences, and other forms of group membership. 4

Study of levels of aspiration among minority groups. Most of the research on levels of aspiration has been conducted among members of the dominant group in American society. There is, to be sure, a small number of students who have investigated differentials in levels of social aspiration among members of certain minority groups, for instance the study among Negro students completed by Smith. Likewise, there are

¹Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspiration of 'Common Man' Boys," <u>Harvard Educational Review</u>, 23 (Summer, 1953), pp. 186-203. W. H. Sewell, A. O. Haller, and M. A. Straus, "Social Status and Level of Educational and Occupational Aspiration," <u>American Sociological Review</u>, 22 (February, 1957), pp. 67-73.

²LaMar Empey, "Social Class and Occupational Aspiration,"

American Sociological Review, 21 (December, 1956), pp. 703-709.

³Raymond W. Mack et al., "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 295-300.

⁴Russell R. Dynes et al., "Levels of Occupational Aspiration: Some — Aspects of Family Experience as a Variable," American Sociological Review, 21 (April, 1956), pp. 212-215.

⁵Benjamin F. Smith, "Wishes of Negro High School Seniors and Social Class Status," <u>Journal of Educational Sociology</u>, XXV (April, 1952), pp. 466-475.

aspiration between members of different racial groups. 1 Still others have studied this phenomenon of differential levels of aspiration between ethnic and racial groups. 2 Generally speaking, however, this type of study has been very limited, and it can be said that the study of levels of occupational and educational aspiration among members of minorities in the United States has been neglected. But this type of study might prove to be extremely fruitful in future sociological research. It appears that the concept of level of aspiration has increased in importance because of its apparent value as a means of operationalizing theoretical conceptualizations concerning the relationship between the individual and the social structure.

The above claim is particularly true with respect to studies among members of the same ethnic group. The importance of the sociological analysis of this type of behavior among members of ethnic groups is evident. For knowledge in this area could increase our understanding of the internal dynamics in the social life of these groups in American society, particularly with reference to their social mobility, acculturation, assimilation, and other general aspects of social change.

The study of differential levels of aspiration within ethnic groups, however, presents an important problem. This is the problem of the cultural dimension involved. Some writers claim that the variable culture can be regarded simply as another variable on the same theoretical level as education, socio-economic status, etc.³ However, in

¹Robert Gordon Holloway, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Negro and White Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Grade Male Students," (unpublished M. A. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Oregon, 1959).

²Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement," American Sociological Review, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47-60.

³Seymour M. Lipset, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>. This claim is implied by Lipset on page 227 of his excellent article. And while it would certainly be permissible to regard culture as simply another variable, one must not ignore the theoretical implications of doing so. One such implication,

the present study, this claim is considered an empirical question and accordingly, the relationship between cultural factors and levels of aspiration is empirically investigated.

The problem of the present study. This point now brings us to the more complete description of the substantive body of investigation of the present study. The main focus of the present study is the investigation of differentials in occupational and educational level of aspiration among members of one ethnic group. More specifically, this study investigates and analyses the levels of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American¹ youth and attempts to determine the association of these variables to the phenomenon of acculturation of members of this group to certain aspects of American society. The study also attempts to determine the nature of the relationship of socioeconomic factors to acculturation and to occupational and educational levels of aspiration. There are three main areas of analysis into which the substantive body of the present study can be divided:

for example, is the limitation which is imposed on the interpretation of the findings, whatever these might be. For while the findings may be used to compare groups in terms of absolute differences with respect to the variables involved, in terms of relative meaning to the groups involved, these differences could not be claimed to be comparable. In other words, from a given cultural frame of reference, the "highest" possible aspiration or even achievement might be to maintain the status-quo; however, from another cultural frame of reference, such manifest aspiration or achievement might be considered as a "low" or perhaps even the "lowest" possible alternative.

¹ For definition of this and other terms see pages 17-19.

A point that must be explicitly stated is that the only type of relationship which one can expect to determine in a study of this nature is that in which causal implications cannot possibly be considered. As yet one of the unsolved problems in the study of levels of aspiration—and the same can be said for most types of sociological research—is the inability to isolate the given variables involved to the point where their particular contribution can be clearly determined. Conceptual methodology here lags somewhat behind modern statistical techniques. Our problem in the present study, then, will consist in discovering the empirical relationship, or lack of it, between the relevant variables.

- 1. A study of the relationship between differentials in the level of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American youth and differentials in their acculturation to certain achievement values of American society.
- 2. A study of the relationship between the position in the social structure of Mexican-American youth (in terms of socioeconomic status) and their level of occupational and educational aspiration.
- 3. A study of the relationship between socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth and their acculturation to certain achievement values of American society.

As here stated, the present study is limited in scope to the study of levels of aspiration. However, it seems to have direct implications for the better understanding of the phenomenon of social mobility among members of the Mexican-American ethnic group, and in particular those of the younger generation. This claim is justified by the fact that due to the design of the study, it will be possible to make a descriptive comparison between the occupational and educational levels of aspiration of Mexican-American youth and the occupational and educational achievements of their fathers. This comparison may provide some bases for the hypothetical determination of probable trends in the future social mobility of Mexican-Americans in general. At any rate, the probable determination of trends might be applicable to Mexican-Americans who have permanently migrated to the northern regions of the United States, where they, as a group, have encountered what appears to be a different type of social structure. This last statement, of central importance in the present study, will be clarified presently.

C. General Background on Mexican-Americans

As the present study is concerned with the level of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American youth, it becomes necessary at this point to provide a general background of this ethnic group.

There is an extensive literature on the origin, culture, social organization, and personality characteristics of Mexican-Americans in the United States. Historically, the geographical concentration of members of this ethnic group has been the Southwest.

Practically all students who have written about this ethnic group agree on the generalization that Mexican-Americans, as a group, have resisted acculturation and assimilation far more successfully than most other ethnic groups in the United States. ² The acculturation of this group to the dominant American culture is only slightly greater than their assimilation into American society. ³

The factors associated with this resistance to assimilation are many and varied. Writers have mentioned the proximity of Mexican-Americans to their mother country (Mexico), the practice of mass

See for example Lyle Saunders, "Inter-Americana" Bibliographies
II, A Guide to the Literature of the Southwest, University of New Mexico,
(1942); John H. Burma, Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States,
Duke University Press, (1954); William D. Altus, "The Mexican-American:
The Survival of a Culture," Journal of Social Psychology XXIX (May,
1949), pp. 211-220. See the bibliography of this study for a more complete list of works on this ethnic minority.

²This point is explicitly made by Leonard Broom and Eshref Shevsky in "Mexicans--in the United States: A Problem of Social Differentiation," Sociology and Social Research XXXVI (Jan.-Feb., 1952), pp. 150-158.

For a recent and rather complete analysis of this particular point see Ozzie G. Simmons, "Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans in South Texas," (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1957). Chapter IX is of direct relevance to the point. It must be pointed out, however, that the thesis on the resistance to assimilation of Mexican-Americans has been developed from studies conducted mostly within geographical areas where the Mexican-Americans have lived for several generations and not enough consideration has been given to the fact that most Mexican-Americans in the United States are not immigrants: they are an indigenous population. Since they already had a well developed social system of their own, the American social system could (and did) enter their area without forcing acculturation. As more fully elaborated in this study, the Mexican-Americans in the urban North are in a different situation. They are immigrants trying to make their way in a foreign (to them) social system.

employment of members of this group which is common in the Southwest, the residential segregation of the group, the almost constant influx of new immigrants from the mother country, the school segregation, the refusal of these peoples to give up their native language, etc. These and several other factors are mentioned as being important barriers to assimilation and acculturation. And there is no reason to doubt that such explanation is essentially sound. Of course, skin color and religious preference are also undoubtedly of great importance in reinforcing the separateness of the group. 2

However, there is some evidence that this pattern of social isolation from the dominant society and culture undergoes important changes when Mexican-Americans move out of the Southwest, and particularly when they move to the industrialized, urbanized northern cities of the United States.

Mexican-Americans who move North encounter certain differences in the social structure which permit, and even encourage them to experience greater social interaction with the dominant group. This increased social interaction with the dominant group seems to provide Mexican-Americans with new opportunities to participate in social experiences little known to them.

For the purposes of the present study our consideration of these new and different social experiences faced by Mexican-Americans in the North will be at a very general level and will be based on references to some literature and on our own observations.³ Also, in substantiating this

¹Broom and Shevsky, op. cit., p. 153.

²Ibid., p. 154.

The empirical investigation of these differences in the social structure in the North faced by Mexican-Americans offers rich opportunities for research. The observations of this writer lead him to believe that many basic changes in the internal structure of the Mexican-American group in the North are associated with the physical mobility of its members. The patterns of family relationships, the religious behavior, recreational activities, group identification and cohesion, and many other aspects of the social life of the group, seem to be changing under the impact of the Northern social environment.

claim, we will concern ourselves with only a number of selected factors which are thought to be sufficient to illustrate the point that Mexican-Americans in the North may have an essentially different social experience in their social interrelationships with the dominant group than that which they usually have in the Southwest.

The selected factors considered in the present study are the following:

- 1. Group stereotyping
- 2. Residential concentration
- 3. School segregation
- 4. Mass employment
- 5. General group isolation

In terms of the five factors mentioned above, ¹ the social experience of Mexican-Americans may be radically different in the North than it is in the Southwest. For the social interaction of Mexican-Americans with the society and culture of the dominant group is greatly limited in the Southwest by the presence of these factors, but their absence in the North, or at least their limited manifestation, accounts for the difference in the social experiences of Mexican-Americans in the North. ²

¹This list of five is not meant to be exhaustive. There may be many other factors equally as important or even more important than those here selected. These five factors are only an illustration of the point that the social experience of Mexican-Americans in the North is to that degree different from their social experience in the Southwest.

²This does not mean that all Mexican-Americans in the North react in the same way to these environmental differences. However, for those whose attitude is toward change, the social facilities available in the North become concrete means to manifest this attitude toward change. It may even be inferred that the social facilities as such, do stimulate the perception of alternatives, and eventually, the motivation to change. Personality factors, however, can not be disregarded. Therefore, differences are to be expected in the response of Mexican-Americans who migrate to the North. The present study emphasizes the social variables and analyzes the differential reaction of Mexican-Americans to a change in social environment in terms of variables relevant to both the American and the Spanish cultures.

It becomes, of course, necessary to elaborate on the five factors mentioned above, and to show how they are relevant to the present study. Before this is done, however, a brief historical description of the Northern migration of Mexican-Americans will be presented.

As stated before, Mexican-Americans have traditionally resided in the Southwest. However, during the last two decades, particularly during and after World War II, the migration of members of this ethnic group into various other states of the Union has increased. Some cities in the industrial centers of the north, particularly, have been the recipients of large numbers of Mexican-Americans.

The great majority of these Mexican-Americans residing now in the North used to be agricultural migrant workers. And it seems that it was in this capacity that their first contact with the North took place. Their establishing permanent residence in the North, however, meant for most of them the abandonment of agricultural work as a way of life.

It is well-known that every year literally hundreds of thousands of Mexican-Americans travel through the North (as well as other regions) as agricultural seasonal laborers. And every year, when the crops are harvested, most of these workers, with their families, go back to their homes in the Southwest. During the last few years, however, many of these families have remained in the North and have established their permanent residence there. The decision to reside permanently in the

¹The writer has personally visited some of the social organizations of Mexican-Americans in Detroit, Flint, Saginaw, and Lansing, Michigan, where the size of the Mexican-American groups is considerable and now constantly increasing. It is also known that Chicago, Toledo, Minneapolis, New York, Madison, and other northern cities also have large numbers. In many of these cities Mexican-Americans as a group were inconspicuous a few years ago.

²The President's Commission on Migratory Labor, Migratory Labor in American Agriculture, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951). See particularly Chapter I, "Why Do We Have Migratory Workers and Who Are They," pp. 1-24.

North was apparently made when Mexican-Americans discovered that after the crops season they could stay in the North and obtain employment the winter months and, if desired, the rest of the year. Soon, of course, it became unnecessary for many of them to go back to the fields, as urban employment was available and it offered better remuneration as well as more security. In the last few years those coming to the North come looking specifically for permanent employment and permanent residence, and all indications are that their number is increasing. 2

The Mexican-American who becomes a permanent resident in the North soon realizes that the social structure there differs in certain significant aspects from that which he knows rather well in the Southwest. He may discover that certain social situations which in the Southwest usually hinder his interaction with the dominant group, in the North are lacking completely or at least greatly reduced. Among these social situations are the ones resulting from the absence of the five factors listed above. On these we now elaborate.

¹From personal extended interviews with a number of first Mexican-American residents in Lansing and other Michigan cities.

²It is now difficult to know the exact number of Mexican-Americans who reside permanently in the North. Since 1940, the U. S. Census has included them with the "white" population. The fact that many among them report English as their native language also adds to the difficulty. Most estimates five years old or older are inadequate due to continuous migration. But it is believed that in some cities their number is large. An official convention program published by the American G.I. Forum (a strong dynamic social organization of Mexican-Americans with chapters in twenty-two states of the Union) claims membership chapters in eight states in the northern industrial region. The writer has personal knowledge of some of these groups in Michigan. The best estimate for Lansing at the present is between 2600 and 2700. This is an average computed by the writer from the various estimates made by some of the best informed members of the group. Detroit, Saginaw and Flint have larger groups. Our reference here is strictly to members of this group who have established permanent residence in the North.

- 1. Group Stereotyping. As Hatt has pointed out, group stereotyping increases social distance. In the Southwest Mexican-Americans are highly stereotyped. Attitudes and beliefs on the part of the dominant group concerning Mexican-Americans are usually conceptualized at the group level. The group image is usually perceived before the individual or personal image. In the North, however, this is seldom the case. In part this is due to the relatively small concentration of Mexican-Americans, to the lack of social conditioning of the dominant group toward Mexican-Americans, and perhaps to other factors. But the important point is that to a far greater degree than can be observed in the Southwest, the interaction of Mexican-Americans with the dominant group in the North is on individual rather than on group terms. In other words, the acceptance or rejection of Mexican-Americans as fellow citizens seems to be less dependent upon group stereotype reaction and more on individual behavior.
- 2. Residential concentration. Mexican-Americans in the North do not face the same degree of restriction in establishing their home residence as they do in the Southwest. It is true that even in the North one can find city areas with a relatively high concentration of Mexican-American families, but usually, these areas are not exclusive for members of this group. Most important is the fact that members of this group are not formally restricted by Real Estate provisions from establishing their home residences in other than certain ecological areas as it is true in

¹Paul Hatt, "Stereotypes and Minority Group Conflict," <u>Sociology</u> and Social Research, 31 (1946), pp. 110-116.

²Ozzie G. Simmons, op. cit., p. 408.

³This is no claim that prejudice and discrimination against Mexican-Americans is non-existent in the North. The form and the degree in which it does exist, however, as well as the social situations in which it is likely to be found, are evidently different than those in which Mexican-Americans are psychologically conditioned to expect in the Southwest.

the Southwest, where, as reported by some students, in most cities
". . . the dispersal of the Mexican group into the general population
is seriously handicapped, and Mexicans must continue to live together
whether they want it or not." The most important implication here to
be noted is that Mexican-Americans in the North do not feel the pressure
of institutionalized residential segregation. The obvious effect of such
a situation is that they have greater opportunities for social interaction
with the dominant group.

Americans find in the North is perhaps one of the most important factors contributing to the expansion of their social experience. School integration, for one, provides many new types of social interaction with the dominant group. But perhaps of greater social significance is the fact that school attendance among Mexican-Americans in the North is highly increased. Legal enforcement is perhaps the most important factor accounting for this phenomenon. And the fact is not that the legal requirements for school attendance differ radically between North and Southwest, but what appears to be the case is that for Mexican-Americans the school attendance law is seldom enforced in the Southwest. In the North, however, school attendance is more rigorously enforced by school

¹Ozzie G. Simmons, op. cit., p. 440.

²Pauline R. Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexicao Press, 1946). The evidence for this claim is also taken from our own empirical findings. For example, 50% of the mothers and 40% of the fathers of members of our sample report less than three years of schooling; and many have no schooling at all. As it is indicated in another part of this study, most of the parents were born and raised in the Southwest. See also John H. Burma, op. cit., p. 58, for a review of various studies reporting statistics on the educational status of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest.

authorities. As already mentioned, this important differential in school participation of Mexican-Americans in the North is the basis for many new types of social experience and interaction with the dominant group.

- 4. Mass employment. Mexican-Americans in the North in general have greater opportunities for occupational interaction with members of the dominant group. Whatever limitations they have in this type of interaction is due to other factors, for example, due to their lack of education and lack of technical skills, the majority of Mexican-Americans in the North are usually common laborers or semi-skilled workers, even though a good number among them has occupations of relatively high prestige. However, the most significant difference to be noted in their employment patterns is the fact that in the North, Mexican-Americans seldom work as a group, or in groups, as it is the usual case in their employment patterns in the Southwest. And in their various occupational activities in the North, Mexican-Americans find themselves in situations in which, if they will interact socially with others at all, they must do it with non-Mexicans.
- 5. Group isolation. It can be said that two extreme forms of accommodation are assimilation and isolation. Several ethnic groups, in their contact with the dominant American society and culture, have achieved accommodation through assimilation. Other groups, however have done it through isolation. A number of studies have established the fact that

In this study, of course, this definite claim can only be made for Lansing, Michigan, where the existence of this school policy is personally known to the writer. Mexican-American parents know, of course, and approve of this policy and to the knowledge of the writer, there have been no cases of opposition to it. And it is very likely that the same or similar situation exists in most or all the northern states.

²Broom and Shevsky, op. cit., p. 153.

the great majority of Mexican-Americans have become accommodated in American society by remaining isolated from the main stream of the culture and social activities of the dominant group. 1

This isolation of Mexican-Americans from American society and culture is manifested in the structural arrangements within the group which function to fulfill most, if not all, of the social needs of the members. For example, in most large cities of the Southwest it is usually found a separate Mexican Main Street or a Mexican business district where most services can be obtained. Even more spectacular, where the Mexican-American population is considerably larger, it is found that two different "towns" exist within the same political subdivision. For all, or most practical purposes there are two separate social and cultural systems within a single political and geographic delineation. This arrangement is more than a mere residential or school or church segregation. It amounts to an almost complete isolation between two groups or aggregates. Zeleny has called this type of arrangement by the name of separatism. ²

This type of situation results in a minimum of social interaction between Mexican-Americans and the dominant group, and in the consequent limitation in the social experience of Mexican-Americans with the dominant culture patterns.

But for Mexican-Americans who migrate permanently to the North this type of extreme isolation is very seldom, if ever, part of reality in their social life.³ Even assuming that some degree of residential and

¹Carolyn Zeleny, Relations Between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico, (Ph.D. Thesis, The Graduate School, Yale University, 1944). See also Ozzie G. Simmons, op. cit., Chapter IX.

²Zeleny, op. cit. See particularly pages 317, 327, 352, and the Summary in pages 355-357.

³Burma, <u>op</u>. <u>cit.</u>, p. 89.

other types of segregation might perhaps exist, generally speaking, the social interaction of Mexican-Americans with the dominant group and culture is greatly increased in the North. For example, for many of the social services which in the Southwest are provided by professional and technically trained people from their own group, Mexican-Americans in the North must depend on members of the dominant group, such as physicians, dentists, barbers, business men, social workers, etc. This is another form in which greater interaction and greater experience with the dominant group and culture may take place.

There are many other factors in the social structure of the North which could be mentioned as evidence for the claim that members of the Mexican-American group actually are exposed to many and varied social experiences which are different in nature, or at least in a considerable degree, from the social experiences known to them in the Southwest. Here we have briefly stated how five social structural factors differentiating the North from the Southwest (in relation to Mexican-Americans) may affect the social life of Mexican-Americans who establish their residence in the North. And all indications point to the assumption that this increased social interaction and experience contributes to the expansion of the social universe of members of this ethnic group.

A complete test of the claim that for Mexican-Americans the North is significantly different from the Southwest might be performed by comparing individuals from each of these two geographical areas in terms of relevant social and personality variables. The present study, however, is not designed to test directly the existence of these differences between North and Southwest. This is because direct observation indicates the existence of such differences and also permits their assumption. Furthermore, the existence of such differences, in itself, does not imply that all Mexican-Americans react to them in the same way. But a study of Mexican-Americans from the North, may reveal some of the differences

between those who respond one way or the other to the different social environment in the North. The analysis of differentials among Mexican-Americans in the North may provide further empirical evidence that for some of them the social environment in the North is different from that of the Southwest. At the same time, it may provide some insight into the internal dynamics of the group.

The above considerations would seem to indicate the need for the correlation of a number of factors on the bases of which differences among members of the group may be determined. Accordingly, the design of the present study calls for the investigation of such attitudes, behavior patterns, and social factors.

As stated in the first part of this chapter, in the statement of the problem, differential social interaction and experience can be expected to become manifested in (1) differential acculturation, (2) differential socio-economic status, and particularly, (3) differential levels of occupational and educational aspiration. The particular ways in which these variables are expected to be associated, and the implications of these associations, will be discussed in Chapter II.

D. Definition of Terms

The main purpose in clarifying some of the key terms used in the present study is to facilitate communication, not necessarily to defend or improve their particular definition.

Level of aspiration. This concept has been defined by psychologists and social psychologists. 1 It has also been used in sociological literature

¹For a good statement of the original theoretical foundation of the concept with a psychological point of view see Lewin, Dembo, Festinger, and Sears, "Level of Aspiration," in J. McV. Hunt (Ed.), Personality and the Behavior Disorders (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1944), pp. 333-378.

in recent research. Its use in the present study is in reference to given status-positions in the social structure which are available through achievement rather than through ascription. Specifically, it refers to individual orientation toward a goal.

Mexican-American. This term refers to individuals of Mexican or Spanish parentage residing in the United States and whose ancestors were at one time under the government of Mexico.

American society, dominant group. These terms refer to the predominantly white, non-Mexican population. American culture, society is also used in a general way in the sense in which social anthropologists have used it. It includes the general ways of behavior of the dominant group.

Acculturation. The concept here refers to a process, rather than to an event. The process is that of adaptation to different patterns of behavior. Essentially, an anthropological definition is accepted here:

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. Sociologists have increasingly used the term acculturation to refer to the adaptation of immigrants. However, the present study is concerned with only three specific areas of behavior in the process of acculturation. These are Language Behavior, Social Participation, and Orientation to certain achievement values.

North, Northern states. By these terms reference is made to the urbanized and industrialized north central states of the United States

¹See for example W. Lloyd Warner, American Life, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), Chapter VII.

²Robert Redfield, R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits, "Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation," <u>American Anthropologist</u>, XXXVIII, (1936), pp. 149-152.

such as Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio. The terms are used mainly to differentiate this region from the states of Texas, Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, and California, all of which, in turn, are here referred to as the Southwest. In the present study, of course, North usually refers specifically to Lansing, Michigan, the site of the study.

Southwest. See previous paragraph.

Social participation. This concept has been operationally defined to include particular aspects of the social life of Mexican-Americans in the North. For the operational description of the index of social participation see Chapter III, page 49.

<u>Value-Orientation</u>. This concept has also been operationally defined to refer strictly to orientation to certain achievement values. See Chapter III, page 53 for complete description of the index used in the study.

Social facilities, facilities. These terms, used synonymously, refer to objective, external, and concrete means available to individuals for their social achievement. School opportunities, employment possibilities, opportunities for social participation, etc., are some such facilities.

E. Limitations of the Study

By design the present study is limited in scope. For practical considerations some limitations were imposed in terms of sampling and also in terms of geographical area.

With respect to the sample limitations, the study is restricted to the findings reported by 91 Mexican-American boys who reside in Metropolitan Lansing, Michigan. The study does not include data from members of other ethnic groups. Females are not included in the sample. The ages of the 91 boys in the sample range from 15 to 18 years of age inclusive.

Though no claim is made concerning the application of the findings to Mexican-Americans in other northern cities, the fact that great efforts were made to include all Mexican-American boys 15 to 18, who had residence in the metropolitan area, ¹ gives the writer reason to believe that the findings here reported might suggest the general characteristics of Mexican American boys who reside in the northern cities of the United States. But only similar studies in other cities can corroborate this belief.

Substantively, the present study has been limited to the investigation of some of the factors that are thought to be associated with differentials in levels of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American youth. The study has some theoretical implications for the understanding of possible trends in the social mobility of members of this group in the future, but the theoretical and methodological design in the present study was specifically directed to the investigation of levels of aspiration.

F. Organization of the Thesis

In this first chapter the research problem has been stated. A general historical review of the population represented by the sample has been included, and also the main objectives and limitations of the study. A clarification and definition of key terms and concepts forms also part of this first chapter.

In Chapter II the theoretical background of the study design will be made explicit. In the same chapter a review of some of the relevant literature will be presented in order to place the present study in its proper perspective. The theoretical propositions as well as the specific hypotheses guiding the research design will also form part of Chapter II. Chapter III will deal essentially with methodology. The selection of the sample, the research techniques and the procedures followed in the actual

¹See technique used in the selection of the sample on page 36.

completion of the study will also be described. The method of data analysis forms also part of Chapter III.

Chapter IV is mostly a description of the sample. The main objective in this chapter is to describe and partly analyze the general characteristics of the sample. In the process of describing the relevant characteristics of the sample, however, this chapter prepares the reader for a critical interpretation of the two following chapters.

Chapter V is the main part or the core of the study. This chapter deals specifically with the statistical test of the eleven major hypotheses which the present study was designed to test. This is the chapter which presents the statistical test of the theoretical propositions advanced by the writer in the present study.

In Chapter VI the study is concluded. Besides a brief restatement of the main thesis and also of the theoretical frame of reference, a summary of the findings is included here. Also some theoretical implications of the findings are considered, and a number of future possible research problems is suggested.

G. Summary of Chapter

In this chapter the main thesis of the study has been introduced. It was stated that the study of the level of aspiration among minority groups has been generally neglected and that such studies are important for the understanding of the internal dynamics of these groups in American society. The chapter also describes the environmental changes which Mexican-Americans encounter when they migrate to the North. The thesis that the increased diversity in the social environment of Mexican-Americans is partly manifested in their greater acculturation, higher socio-economic status, and higher levels of occupational and educational aspiration was introduced and it was suggested that an empirical test of this proposition could be achieved by a correlation of relevant variables. This idea will be further elaborated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE AND STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

A. Contents of This Chapter

In this chapter the purpose is threefold: First, a review of the general theoretical principles in selected empirical studies on levels of aspiration will be presented. Second, on the bases of the reviewed literature, a frame of reference will be delineated. Within this frame of reference the specific theoretical propositions to be tested in the present study will be made explicit. Third, the formal statement of the major hypotheses guiding the empirical investigation will be presented. A summary of the contents will close the chapter.

B. Review of Literature

The literature bearing on the concept level of aspiration is extensive. Studies of this socio-psychological phenomenon have been conducted by psychologists and sociologists. The concept itself was first used and defined in psychological literature in German. In the English language, however, perhaps Kurt Lewin could be singled out as one of the original contributors to this type of scientific investigation. ¹

In the last few years the study of levels of aspiration has been taken over by students of social structure as it has become evident that

¹Kurt Lewin, T. Dembo, L. Festinger and P. S. Sears, op. cit. In this work Lewin and his associates present a comprehensive theoretical statement of the concept.

sociological theory could contribute very considerably to the understanding of individual differences. The frame of reference of the present study is sociological. The design calls for the investigation of some variables in the social structure which appear to be related to differentials in levels of aspiration. And since most of the conceptual background for the present study comes from studies that have related the concept of level of aspiration to various dimensions of the social structure, the psychological literature will not be formally reviewed here. 1

General Theoretical Principles. The theoretical foundation for the study of levels of aspiration is the extensive theoretical and empirical contributions made in the field of social stratification and particularly in the field of social mobility. From the empirical observation that there are objective differences in the social organization and social structure of human groups, as well as differences in the manifest behavior of members of these groups, social scientists have advanced theoretical propositions which attempt to account for these differences. They have attempted to identify the social structure variables which account for these differences and to determine their particular contribution to the phenomenon of different levels of aspiration.

While much has been accomplished in this area of research, much remains to be done. The problems are many and complex; the variables

¹This is no claim that the line of demarcation is definite. In general, however, there are studies that emphasize either the group structure or the individual structure when investigating differences in level of aspiration. There is a score of excellent reports on the relationship between aspiration and psychological variables such as intelligence and motivation. The work of Lewin and associates, op. cit., mentions several of these studies conducted in laboratory conditions. A good illustration of this type of experimental work, to cite only one, is that of Festinger, in which level of aspiration is correlated to wish, expectation, and group standards. See L. Festinger, "Wish, Expectation and Group Standards as Factors Influencing Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, (April, 1942), pp. 184-200.

multiple. The determination of the relative importance of these variables, at least within the frame of reference of social interaction, is still one of the most perplexing problems in social research.

The study of level of aspiration has been particularly directed to the description and analysis of differentials with respect to educational and occupational aspiration. The following review of literature documents the generalization that these differences exist. It also suggests that the nature of the relationship between the variables mentioned is complex.

Specific Empirical Studies. The thesis that social values are related to level of aspiration and to levels of achievement has been advanced and documented by several writers. Hyman, for instance, approaches the problem by showing that different social classes have different value systems. He points out that ability and motivation are factors upon which achievement depends, and states further that ability may be limited by socially impossed barriers and by "lack of individual striving." The values necessary to achieve are manifested in the acceptance of success goals and in the belief in the accessibility of such goals. These two factors, Hyman claims, the lower classes do not possess and, therefore, their social aspiration and their consequent achievement is lower than that of other classes.

In a more recent study this thesis has been corroborated by Rosen who reports a significant relationship between value-orientation and educational aspiration.²

¹Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, Class, Status and Power, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-442.

²Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psycho-Cultural Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, 21, (April, 1956), pp. 203-211.

Other writers also have studied the relationship between social status and level of aspiration. Kahl, Empey, Riessman, Smith and Sewell, Haller and Straus, have contributed to the clarification of the relationship of this variable to levels of occupational and educational aspiration. Kahl, discovering that intelligence and social status (as measured by fathers' occupation) were equal predictors of educational aspiration, controlled both factors separately and demonstrated that social status made an independent contribution to differentials in levels of aspiration. 1 Sewell, Haller, and Straus demonstrated the operation of the same social principles. Controlling intelligence, these writers demonstrated that social status can be regarded as a separate variable in observed differences in level of occupational and educational aspiration. The much larger sample used by these researchers (4, 167), and particularly the character of the area sampled (the whole state of Wisconsin), gives perhaps greater significance to their contribution.² It is also of significant importance that the two studies involved populations in different geographical areas; one in Boston, Massachusetts, the other in Wisconsin.

Empey's contribution deals with social class and occupational aspiration, ³ and so does Riessman's. ⁴ Their findings show that members of the lower social classes, as a group, have consistently lower levels of aspiration. The study by Empey, however, throws more light into the internal dynamics of the aggregates called social classes. Using

¹Joseph A. Kahl, op. cit.

²Sewell, Haller, and Straus, op. cit.

³LaMar Empey, op. cit.

⁴Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 18, (June, 1953), pp. 233-242.

what he calls relative measurement, Empey shows that the differences in level of aspiration are not as significant (and certain differences even disappear), when the techniques of measuring level of aspiration take into account the status level from which the individual comes initially.

The particular significance of Smith's study, which also reports the same pattern of relationship between social class and level of aspiration, is that his sample was entirely of Negro students. This and other studies document the hypothesis that, in terms of level of aspiration, class differences transcend racial lines. 2

Rosen, Mack, Murphy and Yellin have investigated the relationship between level of aspiration, race, ethnicity, and religious orientation.

Rosen's study examines the achievement motivation, valueorientation, and level of aspiration of members of six racial and ethnic
groups. Through extensive analysis of data on ethnographic, attitudinal,
and personality characteristics, Rosen found that "Jews, Greeks, and
Protestant (whites), are more likely to possess higher achievement
values and higher vocational aspirations than Italians and French
Canadians. The sixth group was the Negro and its responses in different
variables did not follow a consistent pattern. For example, in valueorientation and in educational aspiration, this group was comparable to
the first three, but in vocational aspiration this group was the lowest
of the six groups.

Mack and his associates, in their study of aspiration and mobility differentials among religious groups, report that the mobility ethic in

¹Benjamin F. Smith, op. cit.

²Robert Gordon Holloway, op. cit.

³Bernard C. Rosen, op. cit.

American society is so strong "that it will override in influence subcultural religious dogma." These writers report no great differences between Protestants and Catholics in terms of level of aspiration. Their basic claim is that religion in contemporary American Society, and among white, white-collar, male individuals is not a significant factor in differentials in level of aspiration and achievement.²

How levels of aspiration are affected by certain types of family experiences in the socialization process is reported by Dynes and his associates. Their findings demonstrate some definite relationships between differential level of occupational aspiration and some specific forms of role relationships within the family structure such as feelings of rejection, parental favoritism, fear of punishment from fathers, conflict with parents, etc.³

This general review of empirical studies on levels of aspiration indicates some of the areas of interest followed by students of the problem. It can be said that perhaps what most of these students of the concept have done is define the problem much more explicitly and completely, often discovering important new problems and dimensions of the relationship between the variables. One such problem, of direct relevance to the present study will be discussed presently.

Dynamic aspects of the level of aspiration.

In establishing the empirical relationship of different variables

¹Raymond W. Mack, R. J. Murphy, and S. Yellin, op. cit.

²These authors, however, do not interpret their data as directly contradicting in all its dimensions the long established Weberian thesis. And they suggest that their findings be taken as evidence that the modern social structure in the United States needs re-examination in order to detect particular or characteristic internal components which might explain apparent variations of long and well-known relationships.

³Russell R. Dynes, Alfred C. Clarke and Simon Dimitz, op. cit. For an extensive bibliography and review of studies on this point see also, A. O. Haller, C. E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," Social Forces, 38 (1960), pp. 289-295.

to the variable level of aspiration, an important problem area has been discovered by those interested in this concept. Most of the empirical research in this area has demonstrated that in terms of level of aspiration the various ethnic, racial, and socio-economic status groups studied do differ from one another when studied as groups. However, it has also become evident that in most cases a number of individuals within these groups do not follow the group pattern. In other words, in most of these studies there is a number of individuals in the sample who, when considered individually, "deviate" from the behavior pattern typical of their group, that is, not all members of lower status groups can be found to have lower level of aspiration.

An immediate, general implication of this phenomenon, of course, seems to be that the relationship of the variables is much more dynamic than it may appear to be. At least one writer has pointed out the importance of considering this problem area in the study of levels of aspiration.

After empirically demonstrating that differences in the "community of orientation" (the community in which the individual spends his teens), were related to differentials in social achievement and in level of aspiration, Lipset mentions the fact that "residents of small communities . . . do not have high status jobs or good educations, many of them are not even aware that these goals are attainable. Thus a self-perpetuating cycle exists for men in less-privileged environments." "The fact remains," adds the same author, "that many men do break this cycle: and it is the further task of the research in this and other areas of behavior to locate the sources of such 'deviant' behavior."

In general, most research on differential levels of aspiration has considered--either explicitly or implicitly--this phenomenon of "deviation." Mostly, however, this has been done in terms of

¹Seymour Martin Lipset, op. cit., p. 228, emphasis added.

individual differences, that is, essentially from a psychological point of view. There is reason to believe, however, that important aspects of this phenomenon are directly associated to certain objective aspects of the social structure. The present study, as it is more fully elaborated upon in the following pages, is designed to investigate this phenomenon of "breaking of the self-perpetuating cycle" in its relation to social structure variables. 2

C. The Theoretical Frame of Reference

To analyze empirical data the use of a theoretical setting is not only indispensable; it is the most practical aspect of the procedure.

Within a theoretical setting data can be interpreted and conclusions drawn. This theoretical setting is usually called the frame of reference.

For the present study this frame of reference is delineated under two subdivisions. 1) Aspiration is a function of the social environment of individuals, and 2) The increased diversity in the social environment of individuals is instrumental in their rising their level of aspiration.

1. Aspiration as a function of the social environment of individuals.

The fact that a number of individuals from less-privileged environments do break the self-perpetuating cycle implies, of course, that they internalize and identify themselves with the achievement values of the

¹See for example Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," <u>American Sociological</u> Review, 22, (April, 1957), particularly pages 211,212.

²Actually, of course, individual factors and social structure factors relevant to this phenomenon of breaking the cycle are not mutually exclusive. The emphasis of the ones or the others is a matter of research design which is the result of research interests. In the present study the desire to investigate the reaction of members of an ethnic group who are facing radical changes in their social environment suggests the emphasis of social structure factors as the main frame of reference for the study.

more socially privileged groups.1

Identification with the higher achievement values, in turn, implies contact with and perception of concrete new social facilities. From a sociological point of view, the problem is to identify these concrete social facilities and determine their relationship to differential levels of aspiration.

The theory has been advanced that if the social environment of an individual is reduced in diversity, his perception of the facilities for achievement are likewise limited and reduced. One obvious corollary of this theory is that if the social environment of an individual is increased in diversity, his social interaction and social experiences are likely to increase also, and so is his perception of new facilities for achievement. This increase in diversity refers operationally to a change in social environment such as migration from rural to urban settings.

¹This hypothesis of the identification with higher goals, and the internalization of higher values by members of less-privileged social groups is advanced by Robert K. Merton as the main basis for his theory of deviant behavior. But some writers, for example Empey and Stephenson, have explicitly stated that Merton's position is in direct conflict with that of Hyman and other writers who have empirically demonstrated that lower-class individuals limit their social aspiration to their own class horizons.

The position of the present writer is simply that the apparent conflict is actually non-existent. The confusion of Empey and Stephenson seems to be the result of their partial and faulty interpretation of the data. Hyman's position that individuals limit their aspirations to class horizons is correct when groups are considered as groups. Merton's position, that internalization of values transcends class lines, is also correct and documented by all studies in this area which have demonstrated that individual "deviation" from the group behavior pattern is a fact. The main point is that for Merton's hypothesis to be true it is not indispensable that all members of less-privileged groups internalize the higher goals or values. On the other hand, for Hyman's position to hold true it is not indispensable that all members of less-privileged groups limit their aspiration to their own group horizons. See Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), chapter IV. See also Herbert H. Hyman, op. cit. For a statement of the apparent conflict and a more complete documentation of the same see LaMar Empey, op. cit., p. 703, and Richard M. Stephenson, op. cit. p. 204.

²Seymour M. Lipset, op. cit., pp. 223-227.

Specifically, it may include an increase in concrete social facilities for achievement such as greater opportunities for education and greater possibilities for occupational variability and mobility.

2. The increased diversity in the social environment of individuals is instrumental in their rising their level of aspiration. It follows that if level of aspiration is associated to type and complexity of the social environment, individuals who change to a more diversified social environment may be expected to raise their level of aspiration. A test of the above theoretical proposition would require a situation provided by an essentially homogeneous group of individuals who have experienced a change in their general social environment and who thus have become exposed to new and increasingly diversified social experiences.

In the present case, the members of the ethnic group here studied, present the needed conditions to test this proposition. One reason for this is that this group is composed of individuals who have migrated from a primarily rural type of social environment to a primarily urban setting. Another reason is that their migration has resulted in very significant increases in the objective social facilities for social achievement as their migration has been from a geographical area where the institutionalized social relationships imposed certain definite restrictions for the social interaction of this group with members of the dominant group, to

¹A higher level of aspiration, however, is not necessarily the only manifestation of the reaction to social structural changes experienced by the group. There is likely to be many other changes in the personal and group behavior of members of the group, changes which may or may not be expected to be associated to the changes in the level of aspiration. In this study, for example, other changes expected from members of the group studied are in the area of acculturation and in the socio-economic area. Some aspects of the process of acculturation were selected because of the natural relevance for the group here studied. Socio-economic variables were selected because of their relevance and predictive value in studies of the level of aspiration.

a geographical area where such restrictions are absent or highly minimized. 1

An empirical test of the above proposition can be achieved by demonstrating that members of the group here studied have actually raised their level of aspiration. In an imprecise way this can be done by an intergenerational comparison, that is, comparing the level of aspiration of the sample (and in the case of education their actual achievements) with the actual achievement of their fathers and the inferred level of aspiration. This can be significant particularly if those of the older generation spent most of their life in a more reduced social environment while those of the new generation (the sample) have lived all or most of their lives under the new and greatly diversified social environment.

But a more meaningful test of the theory can be achieved by a consideration of differentials, among members of the sample itself, in terms of other variables which are known to be associated to level of aspiration.

Since a higher level of aspiration implies the internalization of the achievement values of more privileged groups, and since the group here studied is an ethnic group, the process of acculturation can be used to measure the internalization of relevant values of the dominant group. For the purposes of the present study, only certain selected aspects of the process of acculturation will be considered here in their relation to the level of aspiration. Also, as the review of some of the empirical studies has indicated, higher levels of aspiration and internalization of higher achievement values are known to be associated with higher socioeconomic status. Therefore, the consistent relationship of level of aspiration, acculturation, and socio-economic status, may be taken as an empirical demonstration of the theoretical propositions made in the present study.

¹The documentation supporting this claim and the entire argument have already been presented in Chapter I. See pages 6-17.

D. Statement of Hypotheses

Within the theoretical frame of reference presented above, the general proposition to be tested in this study is that the level of aspiration of Mexican-American youth is correlated with their acculturation to certain aspects of the dominant culture; and that their acculturation is correlated with their socio-economic position in the social structure. Social aspiration refers specifically to occupational and educational aspiration and acculturation refers specifically to social participation, language orientation, and to attitudes toward certain achievement values of the dominant group. ¹

To test this theoretical proposition the following specific hypotheses are proposed.²

Relationship between acculturation and level of aspiration.

- 1. The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of valueorientation to achievement, the higher they will score in a measure of level of educational aspiration.
- 2. The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of valueorientation to achievement, the higher they will score in a measure of level of occupational aspiration.
- 3. The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of social participation in American social life, the higher they will score in a measure of level of educational aspiration.
- 4. The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of social participation in American social life, the higher they will score in a measure of level of occupational aspiration.
- 5. The more Mexican-American youth know and use the English language, the higher their level of educational aspiration.
- 6. The more Mexican-American youth know and use the English language, the higher their level of occupational aspiration.

¹See Chapter III for a complete description of the indices used in the measurement of these variables. See also Appendix C showing the actual instrument used for the collection of data.

²The method of testing these hypotheses is described on pages 59-60.

Relationship between socio-economic status and level of aspiration.

- 7. The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their level of educational aspiration.
- 8. The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their level of occupational aspiration.

Relationship between socio-economic status and acculturation.

- 9. The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their social participation in American social life.
- 10. The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their knowledge and use of the English language.
- 11. The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their value-orientation to achievement.

E. Summary of Chapter

In this chapter has been delineated the theoretical bases upon which the present study was designed. This included a general review of specific empirical studies which have demonstrated the relationship of several social structure variables to level of aspiration. It was pointed out that the variables related to differentials in level of aspiration are many and their interrelationship complex.

The review of the literature corroborates the basic generalization that higher levels of aspiration are more common among members of higher socio-economic status groups, while lower levels of aspiration are more common among lower socio-economic status groups. It was noted, however, that this phenomenon is true only when the various groups are taken as groups. In other words, when the frequencies of the tabulation of any two variables are shown in a two by two table, it

is found that all four cells contain some cases. This means that in all cross-tabulation of variables there is always a number of "deviant" cases.

One implication of this fact, with respect to the further study of levels of aspiration, is that a more refined analysis may be necessary to determine the more dynamic aspects of the several variables in order to determine their particular contribution in "the breaking of the self-perpetuating cycle."

The present study attempts to further the investigation of level of aspiration with particular emphasis on the problem of "deviation" or this breaking of the cycle. Sociological theory can face this problem by suggesting that an increase in the diversity of the external social environment of individuals provides capable individuals with the opportunity to perceive new alternatives and increased social facilities. The perception of new alternatives and facilities may be manifested, among other things, in higher levels of aspiration. It was explained how this proposition may be tested by the correlation of relevant variables. It was also explained how the study of levels of aspiration of an ethnic group provides the essential situation to test this proposition. The last part of the chapter consists of the formal statement of the hypotheses.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. Contents of This Chapter

In this chapter the complete methodological procedures used in the study will be presented. This presentation consists of three main parts. The first part is dedicated to the description of the nature of the selection of the sample, the second, is a systematic discussion and presentation of each of the research instruments used in gathering the data such as schedules, indices and statistical tests. The third part of the chapter includes a general description of the research procedures followed during the entire study. These include the research design, the field work, the procedures in the analysis of the data and also a description of the statistical methods used in testing the hypotheses of the study. The chapter is closed with a summary.

B. The Sample

The sample in the present study consisted of all Mexican-American boys, fifteen through eighteen years of age, living in the metropolitan area of Lansing, Michigan, during the year 1958. The study is strictly concerned with male subjects. As a major part of the study is concerned with the investigation of occupational level of aspiration, it was important to include boys who, in terms of age, were about to enter the labor market. The sample included also eighteen year olds to avoid the exclusion of over-aged High School seniors. 1

¹The problem of over-age in the school population among Mexican-Americans is a common phenomenon. See John H. Burma, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 58.

The names of the subjects of this study were obtained through the records of the Lansing city Board of Education. The writer had direct access to the master school census of the city of Lansing where the name of every child of school age in Lansing is recorded. This census includes the parochial schools. The writer examined the records for several days and listed the name, age, grade, parent's name and address of every Spanish-named student found in the school census. In addition to the year 1958, the records of 1957, 1956, and 1955 were also examined. This was done in order to obtain the names of sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen year-olds who in such years were fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years old respectively, but who might have left school and consequently, not likely to be found in the 1958 census. The specific purpose was to obtain the necessary information from the records and then attempt to contact

¹It is relatively easy for a Spanish-speaking person to identify Spanish names. The probabilities for errors of omission (and comission) are very low. This is particularly true when both given and surnames are Spanish names. Two possible shortcomings of this method of selecting a population or a sample are: first, children of intermarriages might be omitted, and second, recent immigrants to the city might not yet be included in the school census. Concerning children of intermarriages the writer believes that few, if any, omissions were made. All intermarriages personally known to the writer are young couples. Another point is that intermarriages between Mexican-American males and American females can be identified by name. On the other hand, children of American males and Mexican-American females are rarely identified as Mexican-Americans, as the assimilation of the family into the dominant group is usually complete. From the cultural or ethnic point of view these children cannot be considered potential subjects for the present study. For the patterns in intermarriage in general and of intermarriage between Mexicans and Americans in particular, see the writer's unpublished M.A. Thesis "A Sociological Study of Intermarriage Between Mexicans and Americans in Salt Lake City, Utah, "Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1954.

²Michigan law does not require school attendance after the sixteenth birthday. However, the official records contain the names of all school children and adolescents up to their twentieth birthday.

such individuals in their respective homes and test and interview them.

By this procedure nine individuals were contacted in their homes. Four of them were no longer attending school and the other five had been absent from school when the school groups were visited. 1

The sample in this study consists of 91 Mexican-American youth. It is thought that this number includes the great majority, and possibly all the individuals of required age who were living in Lansing, Michigan at the time of the study.

C. Research Instruments and Techniques

By research techniques and instruments it is meant the various means used to gather and analyze the data such as schedules, scales, indices and statistical tests. In the study a main schedule containing several multiple-item indexes as well as other questions was used to obtain most of the data. But there were two other separate instruments used, one containing an index, the other consisting of a scale. Besides a scale of occupational aspiration there were indices of educational aspiration, socio-economic status, and acculturation; this last in terms of three sub-indices on social participation, language orientation, and value-orientation. The specific purpose of the various indices, their theoretical justification, their operational definition, and their analysis in terms of reliability and validity tests, will be presented in that order for every one of the instruments.

1. Index of Occupational Aspiration

a) Purpose. The purpose of an index of occupational aspiration is to measure the level of occupational aspiration of individuals. An

¹Of these four, all of whom were personally interviewed by the writer, only one was actually employed. Another was planning to join the army and the other two were unemployed.

index of occupational aspiration may elicit from an individual his wishes, interests, preferences, and expectations concerning the statuses and roles which in terms of occupation, he is thinking about as he contemplates his future in the labor market. The particular index of occupational aspiration used in this study was the Occupational Aspiration Scale (OAS) developed at Michigan State University. 1

b) <u>Description</u> and theoretical justification of OAS. The use of OAS has already been justified in previous research. Here we will only mention some of its salient characteristics as a research instrument.

OAS is "a forced-choice instrument developed to estimate the occupational prestige level desired by the subject while minimizing the non-prestige effects of his particular occupational choice." The OAS provides to every respondent the same set of occupational alternatives for choice producing thus more uniform data which can be more easily manipulated and analyzed. The scale has also a time dimension as it requires an answer to the same questions in terms of different ages of the individual thus creating a time perspective in the person's choice of an occupation. The scale also permits the subjects to indicate occupational preferences and expectations thus distinguishing between their realistic (expectations) and idealistic (preferences) level of occupational aspiration. The OAS scale offers the subject ten occupational alternatives from which he is to select one. This is done in eight questions but in each the alternatives

¹A. O. Haller, <u>Occupational Aspiration Scale</u>, East Lansing, Michigan State University, 1957.

²Haller, "Research Problems on the Occupational Achievement Levels of Farm-Reared People," Rural Sociology, 23, (Dec., 1958) pp. 355-362.

³Ibid., p. 358. For a rather comprehensive analysis of the OAS see I. W. Miller, "Level of Occupational Aspiration: Problems in Its Conceptualization and Measurement." Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Michigan State University, 1960.

are different. Time is also a variable as the subject is asked to indicate his choice of occupation "when your schooling is over" and also "by the time you are 30 years old," (see Appendix B).

The prestige ranking system used in the coding of the ten alternatives in each question of OAS is a compact but simplified system of a previous attempt to rank the prestige of jobs and occupations the validity of which has been substantially demonstrated by repeated studies at various times and places. 1

- c) Operational definition. Operationally, what is here considered the level of occupational aspiration is the answer of the subjects to the series of questions in the OAS which ask them to indicate their occupational expectations.²
- d) Empirical analysis of the index. As mentioned before, the OAS is a newly developed instrument of research. However, its reliability and validity as a measure of the level of occupation aspiration has been empirically demonstrated. Nevertheless, for the present study, it was

¹Alex Inkles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige." American Journal of Sociology, 61 (1956), pp. 329-339.

²The OAS permits the tabulation and analysis of both or either one of the realistic or idealistic dimension of occupational aspiration. A combination of the two sets of scores, of course, gives a general level of occupational aspiration as measured by OAS. For purposes of the present study only the scores of the realistic dimension are used. The choice is purely arbitrary and the only justification is the interest of the writer in presenting findings which seem to describe and indicate the most probable behavior of the subjects in terms of occupation. The complete analysis of the OAS shows that the two dimensions, or the total OAS score all give correlation coefficients statistically significant. See entire matrix of correlations in Appendix B.

³One particular aspect of the continuing research in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Michigan State University is concerned with a comprehensive analysis of the OAS which includes validity and reliability tests. See Miller, op. cit.

necessary to have some indication of the reliability and validity of the scale, and to do this some provisions were made in the study design.

l) Reliability. The problem of consistency of measuring instruments is perhaps as important in the administration procedures as it is in the theoretical design. To insure the highest possible consistency in the administration of the OAS (and also of all the other instruments), the writer was the sole administrator. Differences in instructions and in general testing conditions were thus greatly minimized. Instructions were given in both English and Spanish in order to avoid the possible misinterpretation of directions by subjects who might have understood one language better than the other. From the point of view of administration of instruments, therefore, it is believed that over-all reliability is high.

For the reliability test of the OAS the multiple-form method was used. This method requires that at least two forms of a given instrument be administrated to the sample. The correlation of the two forms becomes an indication of reliability. The second index to measure the level of occupational aspiration of the sample was included in a separate schedule. There, members of the sample were asked to answer a direct, open-end question about their occupational plans. Their answer was considered as their realistic level of occupational aspiration. For after they were asked the question "what jobs and occupations have you thought about going into?" they were asked to state specifically an answer to the question "Of these jobs which one do you think you will follow?" (See Appendix A items 18 and 19.) The answer to this last question was scored by the use of the prestige ranking system of the North-Hatt Scale, which is also the basis of the prestige ranking system

¹William J. Good and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), pp. 235-236.

²National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupation: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News, 9 (1947), pp. 3-13.

used in the OAS. Occupations reported by the sample not included in the North-Hatt scale were assigned scores which were thought to be as equivalent as possible to scores given similar occupations in the scale. When the scores from the OAS and the open-end, direct question, from the other schedule were correlated, the resulting coefficient was .53, thus indicating a moderately high degree of reliability between the two forms used to measure the level of occupational aspiration.

2) Validity. The validation of research instruments insures that they measure that which they are designed to measure. There are several criteria for validity, but ultimately, the validity of an instrument is determined by its power to predict. In most cases, however, only partial validation of instruments is possible.

To test the validity of the OAS an internal consistency test was completed. This test which consists of the inter-correlation of all the items composing the index, serves as an empirical support to the theoretical assumptions made in the construction of the index. As shown in Appendix B, the correlation matrix of the OAS shows all inter-correlations of the items to be positive thus providing support to the logic followed in the choice of the items that constitute the index.

e) Summary. A general description of the index of occupational aspiration has been presented. The purpose of such an index in the present study, the theoretical justification for its use, and its operational definition were explicitly stated. It was also stated how this occupational aspiration index was tested for reliability and validity. It was concluded

¹Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), Chapter 4.

²See John T. Doby et al., An Introduction to Social Research (Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Co., 1954), Chapter 6.

that the OAS, as used here, is at least moderately reliable, and that it is internally consistent. For this reason its use as an index of occupational aspiration of members of the sample appears to be justified.

2. Index of Educational Aspiration

- a) <u>Purpose</u>. The purpose of an index of educational aspiration is to measure the level of educational aspiration of individuals. By the use of such an index it may be possible to determine the wishes, interests, preferences, and expectations which individuals have with respect to their future educational achievements.
- b) Description and theoretical justification of index. The index of educational aspiration used in the present study consisted of single direct questions concerning educational plans and desires. One question was designed to elicit a reply indicative of the realistic level of educational aspiration, another question was designed to elicit a reply indicative of their idealistic level of educational aspiration. One question read "Do you plan to continue your education beyond High School?" the other, "If you could, would you like to go to College?" (see Appendix A).

Responses to these questions were coded according to a fourlevel criteria: those planning college, those planning other types of education after High School, those planning to finish High School only, and those with any other plans. This was done to avoid a strict dichotomy. The responses were coded in such a way that plans to attend college would get a high score while plans to drop school before finishing High School would get a low score. The other two alternatives were weighted in between.

A one-item index, if designed as a direct question may be theoretically justified in terms of itself. This is particularly true if the answers are taken at face value. The theoretical justification for using indices of educational aspiration as indicators of the level of educational aspiration, however, is the assumption that desires and plans about education actually do represent first stages in the sequence of actual behavior toward educational achievement. It is possible, therefore, that a knowledge of the educational level of aspiration of individuals, if positively correlated with other relevant indices may be the basis for estimating their probable educational achievements.

- c) Operational Definition. For the purposes of the present study, the answers of the subjects to questions about their wishes and plans with respect to education, are here operationally defined as their stated level of educational aspiration.
 - d) Empirical analysis of the index.
- 1) Reliability. Since the index of level of educational aspiration consisted of single, direct questions, to test for reliability by the multiple-form method would have required the duplication of the question in another part of the schedule or in another different schedule. This alternative was decided against in order to avoid any suspicion on the part of members of the sample. The next best alternative to determine reliability by the multiple-form method was to provide for the measurement of a factor which was closely related to educational aspiration. For this purpose an index of school adjustment was used. This index included such questions as "How hard are High School studies for you?"; "Do you like school?"; "Do you consider yourself a (good, average, below average) student?"; etc. (see Appendix A, items 37-41).

The rationale for using such an index was the assumption that an individual who indicated a high level of educational aspiration would also most likely score high on the index of school adjustment. As shown in the correlation matrix of these two indices, the correlation of school adjustment and the realistic level of aspiration produced a coefficient of .42. The correlation of the same index and the idealistic level of educational aspiration was found to be .51 (see Appendix D).

Though this is, admittedly, a considerable deviation from the strict correlation of two equivalent forms, the moderately high correlation coefficients obtained provide some support to the partial claims of reliability for the index of educational aspiration. On the other hand, if the correlated variables or indices are considered two entirely different forms measuring approximately the same variable, then their high correlation can be taken as a test of validity. Ultimately, the best evidence offered here that the index of level of educational aspiration was a consistent measurement of the variable, is that it consisted of a single, plainly direct question and that its administration to all subjects was uniform.

- 2) Validity. Other than the possible test of validity mentioned previously, the validity of the index of educational aspiration was taken at face value. 1
- e) <u>Summary</u>. The index to measure the level of educational aspiration of the sample consisted of a single direct question. Since it was desirable to measure both the realistic and the idealistic dimension of educational aspiration, two separate questions were designed and used. In general, it is believed this type of index was reliable, but the empirical test for reliability consisted only of an approximate test. The validity of the index was taken at face value due to the fact that it consisted of a single, direct question.

3. Index of Socio-Economic Status

a) <u>Purpose</u>. A socio-economic index (SES) is to measure the relative socio-economic position which individuals occupy in the social structure. In the present study the SES index was used to differentiate among members of the sample in terms of the variable.

¹Margaret J. Hagood and D. O. Price, Statistics for Sociologists, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 140.

b) Description and theoretical justification of the index. The SES index used in this study consisted of a combination of three separate forms. One form consisted of a modification of Sewell's SES index. The second form consisted of items measuring parental education, and the third form consisted of items on the occupational stability of the father (see Appendix A, items 47-49, 54-55, and 60-73).

The measurement of SES does not usually require several criteria. Research has demonstrated that a single criterion, occupational prestige. is the most valid single item index to measure SES.² In the present study, however, it became necessary to differentiate among members of an occupationally homogeneous group; it became desirable, therefore, to use multiple criteria which could be expected to be more discriminating. Furthermore, occupation per se was thought to be inadequate because of the apparent social limitations imposed on the fathers of the sample with respect to the occupational alternatives open to them as relatively untrained in-migrants. This limitation seems to be particularly true when migration is from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban environment, which in the present case was also true of the families of the sample. In other words, there is every reason to believe that migrants might find it necessary to accept almost any type of employment or occupation as they attempt to adjust to a new social situation, even though such acceptance may be a temporary one. On the bases of these considerations their occupation would make a doubtful index of their socio-economic status.

¹William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale," Rural Sociology, 8 (June, 1943), pp. 161-169.

²Paul K. Hatt and C. C. North, op. cit. See also Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1957), pp. 64-75.

But since occupation is such a widely-accepted indicator of SES, it was decided to include also in the index a number of items related to occupation. These were designed to obtain information on the <u>number</u> of different jobs held by the father during the year, the number of <u>months</u> of unemployment, and also to determine whether or not the father did the <u>same type</u> of work during the entire year. Answers to these questions were constructed into a sub-index of occupational stability and became also a part of the composite SES index. As described below, the various forms of the composite index were coded and tabulated so that their separate analysis could become possible.

- c) Operational Definition. The answers to the items composing the SES index described before, when scored and tabulated into a numerical value are considered here as the socio-economic status of the sample.
 - d) Empirical Analysis of the Index.
- 1) Reliability. Strictly speaking, no real test of reliability was applied to the SES index. At best it can be said that a variation of the equivalent form technique was used. As mentioned before, the composite index consisted of the combination of three forms. The three forms were coded and tabulated separately as independent though somewhat equivalent measures of SES, and they were intercorrelated. The correlation of the occupational stability of the fathers and the educational achievement of both parents resulted in a correlation coefficient of .23.1

¹For the theoretical assumptions made in the use of the equivalentforms technique in testing for reliability see Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, <u>op</u>. <u>cit.</u>, p. 104.

The correlation of the form on occupational stability of the fathers with the form on home quality and facilities items was found to be .51. The correlation of the form on the education of the parents and the form on home quality and facilities resulted in a coefficient of .79. Therefore, to the extent that these correlation coefficients suggest that the somewhat equivalent forms were measuring the same variable, to that extent a claim of reliability can be made.

- 2) Validity. To test the SES index for validity a test of internal consistency was made. The correlation matrix of the index items is shown in Appendix D, where it can be seen that the essentially positive inter-correlation of all the items lends support to the logic followed in the construction of the index. It should be noted, however, that this is, at best a partial test for validity.
- e) Summary. To estimate the relative socio-economic status of members of the sample a composite SES index was designed. This index was composed of multiple criteria in order to overcome the occupational homogeneity of the population and also because the status of the subjects as recent migrants suggested that occupation might be a doubtful criterion as an index of SES. A discussion of the empirical evaluation of the index was presented and it was concluded that on the basis of this analysis the general reliability and validity of the index was acceptable.

4. Index of Acculturation

The design of the study required the measurement of certain aspects of acculturation into the dominant culture on the part of members of the sample. To accomplish this task three different indices were used. First, an index of social participation, second, an index of language orientation, and third, an index of value-orientation. In the final analysis these three indices were treated as separate units measuring three different variables. Their correlation with other variables was also done separately. The measurement of acculturation in this study, as

explicitly stated before, 1 is limited to the three variables here considered. 2

- a) Index of Social Participation.
- 1) Purpose. The index of social participation in this study was designed to estimate the extent and type of social participation of members of the sample in the society of the dominant group. The specific purpose of the index was to gather data on the social participation variable which could be quantified and correlated with other relevant variables.
- 2) Description and theoretical justification of index. As one dimension of acculturation social participation was selected because of its particular relevance for the type of sample used, teenagers. The index consisted of items on school social activities, membership in school athletic teams, recreational activities in and out of school, and attendance to and membership in clubs, social groups, and any other type of association (see Appendix A, items 9-15 and 16). Also included in the index were questions to determine the ownership of, and

¹See page 18 in Chapter I.

²As stated in Chapter II, sociological research has demonstrated the relevance of the variable acculturation in the investigation of differentials in levels of aspiration and/or mobility orientation. Our consideration of acculturation in this study is important enough to warrant the inclusion of three different dimensions in the form of three distinct and separate indices. Though the three dimensions included here are perhaps three of the most important ones in measuring acculturation, they are not exhaustive and certainly not mutually exclusive. The original design called for a composite index of acculturation, but as the design of the actual research instruments progressed, it was decided to construct the three indices here analyzed.

the ability to drive an automobile, as well as the extent of actual driving activity. 1

The measurement of social participation has been usually in terms of membership in clubs and various other types of associations. Several measuring instruments have been devised as indices of social participation such as Chapin's Social Participation Scale. However, due to the particular nature of the sample in the present study (with respect to age and ethnic background) it was believed necessary to develop a more appropriate index of social participation. The need was felt for an index that would reflect activity in various aspects of formal and informal social involvement of teenagers. And since the index must differentiate between subjects of the same ethnic and age group it was desirable to include as many types of social activity as possible which were of particular relevance to the group.

- 3) Operational Definition. Social participation in this study is operationally defined as the answer to the various questions which form the index of social participation described here. A high score in the index of social participation will be interpreted as the manifestation of high social participation while a low score in the same index will be interpreted as the manifestation of low social participation.
 - 4) Empirical Analysis of Index.
- (a) Reliability. The test of reliability for the index of social participation was performed by the split-half technique. The composite index was divided into two major parts and each of these was independently tabulated. The total scores were then correlated and the resulting

¹The last three items were thought to have some differentiating capacity on the assumption that this aspect of activity seems to be of particular interest to teenagers desirous of conforming to the standards of the average teenager in the dominant group. Tests of internal consistency gave support to this assumption.

²F. Stuart Chapin, Social Participation Scale, 1937, University of Minnesota, 1938.

³Part one consisted of items 9-15 inclusive; part two of seven items which were included in question 16. See Appendix A.

correlation coefficient was .83. When corrected by the use of the Spearman-Brown formula the reliability coefficient obtained was .91.

- (b) Validity. As with other indices, the test of internal consistency was used as criteria for validity. The correlation matrix is shown in Appendix D, and the positive intercorrelation of the index items indicates that from the point of view of internal consistency, the index had acceptable validity.
- 5) Summary. As one dimension of acculturation, the variable social participation was selected and an index to measure it was designed. In terms of this index the members of the sample were differentiated. The index consisted of multiple items which were designed to estimate the participation of the subjects in various types of social interaction. It was stated that the particular nature of the sample, with respect to age and ethnic background, indicated the need to construct a comprehensive index. The index was analyzed in terms of reliability and validity and it was concluded that the instrument was acceptable on the basis of this analysis.
 - b) Index of Language Orientation
- 1) Purpose. The purpose of the index of language orientation was to measure the knowledge, usage, and exposure of members of the sample to the Spanish and English languages respectively. The specific purpose in using the index was to obtain data on the language variable which could be quantitatively compared with data from other relevant indices.
- 2) Description and theoretical justification of index. The index of language orientation consisted of sixteen items which were designed to estimate the extent to which the subjects knew, used, and were exposed to either or both the Spanish and English languages. The items were questions about the language behavior in different social situations such

¹The original index consisted of 17 items, but one of these was eliminated in the final analysis due to faulty data.

as talking to parents, to peers, or in dreaming. The subjects were also asked to state whether they could write, sing, and speak with greater facility in one or the other language. The responses were scored in such a way that a high score indicated greater efficiency and preference for English while a low score would indicate a greater efficiency and preference for Spanish.

The use of language as a dimension of partial acculturation was based on the assumption that Mexican-Americans who achieve a greater acculturation to American society know and use the English language to a greater extent than those whose acculturation has been slower. This assumption is documented in the literature dealing with the acculturation and assimilation of minority groups.²

3) Operational definition. Language orientation is here defined as the answers of the members of the sample to the questions composing the language orientation index. As indicated before, a high score in such index indicates a positive orientation to the English language in terms of preference and understanding. It also indicates that the individual is highly exposed to social or symbolic interaction situations in which the English language is emphasized while the Spanish language is de-emphasized.³

¹Technically, the "use" of language in dreaming is only at the conceptual level. The subjects were asked to state whether their dreams were in Spanish or in English or in both, a differentiation which is empirically possible for bi-lingual individuals.

²For a discussion of this very point see Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 153-154.

³The possibility does exist, of course, that an individual may be equally oriented to both languages, that is, that his knowledge, preference, etc., is no different for either language. Even though the probability of finding such cases in this study was thought to be low, the data were coded and tabulated in such a way as to consider such cases. The statement in the text, therefore, stands as given.

- 4) Empirical analysis of the index.
- (a) Reliability. The index of language orientation was tested for reliability by using also a variation of the multiple form technique. The assumption made here, which was also made in testing the other indices, was that the items of one form contained items essentially from the same universe of content as did the other forms of the index. The language index consisted of three separate forms. The first form contained items on knowledge of language, the second form contained items on usage of language, and the third form contained items on exposure to language. The correlation of forms one and two produced a coefficient of .60, that of forms two and three produced a coefficient of .50, and that of forms one and three resulted in a correlation coefficient of .40. This suggests a somewhat moderate reliability of the language index used.
- (b) Validity. To test the validity of the index of language orientation a test of internal consistency was performed. The intercorrelations of the sixteen items is shown in a correlation matrix and the validity of the index is indicated by the positive correlation coefficients in most of the correlations between items (see Appendix D). In general, and on the basis of this internal consistency test, it is believed that the index did measure the language orientation of the subjects.
- 5) Summary. As a second dimension of acculturation, the language orientation variable was selected. The purpose of the index constructed was to differentiate between members of the sample having a predominently positive orientation to either the Spanish or English language. The main justification for the use of such an index was the assumption that language is a basic aspect in the process of acculturation. This assumption has also been made in other studies of acculturation and some empirical evidence exists for its support. The empirical analysis of the index of language orientation included tests of reliability and validity and the evidence indicated that in terms of the techniques used, the index was essentially reliable and valid.

- c) Index of Value-Orientation
- 1) Purpose. The purpose of an index of value-orientation is to estimate the differences between individuals with respect to their attitudes toward given values. In the present study it was necessary to distinguish between subjects with a positive orientation to certain achievement values of the dominant group and subjects whose orientation to the same achievement values was negative or at least less positive.
- 2) Description and theoretical justification of index. Valueorientation has been defined as "meaningful and affectively charged
 modes of organizing behavior principles that guide human conduct."

 Value-orientation in other words, is the readiness to be guided by a
 particular set of values. The term and the concept may be used in
 relation to a total value system or in relation to particular values within
 that total value system.²

In the present study the concept value-orientation is limited to a particular set of values within a total value system. The value-orientation index used here, therefore, is not designed to cover an entire value system, rather, it is intended as a tool to differentiate between members of the sample in terms of their orientation to particular achievement values.

The value-orientation index used here consisted of 42 items used previously at Michigan State University.³ These items are statements of belief to which the subjects respond by indicating agreement of

¹Bernard C. Rosen, op. cit., p. 53.

²<u>Ibid.</u> As used by Rosen, the concept refers to human conduct in a specific type of situation, i.e. the achievement of mobility in the American social structure.

³A. O. Haller, The M.S.U. Work Beliefs Check-List, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, (1957).

disagreement with the given statement. The index includes the following six belief-value areas:

- 1. Belief that work has intrinsic/instrumental value
- 2. Positive/negative evaluation of structured time
- 3. Positive/negative evaluation of physical mobility
- 4. Positive/negative evaluation of change
- 5. Belief in internal/external determination of events
- 6. Positive/negative evaluation of deferred gratification.

The decision to use this particular check-list as an index of valueorientation was guided by the theoretical assumptions which are the
bases for the dichotomous questions. The items seem to have a differentiating capacity in terms of the two value systems of direct relevance to the sample. The selection of the items was based on an
extensive body of theory and empirical studies which attempt to explain
two more or less opposing systems of value-orientation to life and
human action. These two systems are those conceptualized by the
terms Gemeinschaft and Gessellschaft. The direct relevance of this
theoretical system for the present study is the assumption that Mexican
or Spanish social and cultural values are characteristically closer to
the Gemeinschaft orientation to life, while the values of the dominant
group in American society are characteristically closer to the
Gesellschaft orientation.²

¹Ferdinand Tonnies, Fundamental Concepts of Sociology: Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, Translated and supplemented by Charles P. Loomis, (New York: American Book Company, 1940; republished by Michigan State University Press, 1956).

²This assumption is based on an extensive literature on the description and analysis of Spanish culture and social organization in the United States and other countries in Latin America. A detailed and classical study on the culture and social values of Spanish-Americans is that of Leonard and Loomis, Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1941.

For a theoretical and empirical identification of Spanish culture with the Gemeinschaft type of value-orientation see C. P. Loomis and Allan Beagle, Rural Social Systems, (New York: Prentice Hall Inc.,

- 3. Operational Definition. For purposes of the present study value-orientation is defined as the responses of the subjects to the items in the index of value-orientation. The responses to the index items were scored in such a way that a high score is indicative of a value-orientation more characteristic of Gesellschaft thinking, while a low score in the same index indicates a value-orientation more characteristic of Gemeinschaft. Mexican-Americans who might have internalized the achievement values of the dominant group, in terms of the value-areas included, would be expected to have a higher score than those whose value-orientation is still primarily based on their Mexican-Spanish cultural background.
 - 4. Empirical analysis of the index.
- a) Reliability. A real test of reliability cannot be claimed for the index of value-orientation used here. However, an attempt was made to measure the extent to which the instrument "agreed with itself" and this was done by making a correlation analysis of the six sub-areas of the index. The correlation analysis demonstrated that except for one of the six areas, the greatest part of the index had a tendency to "agree with itself" (see correlation matrix in Appendix D).

^{1951,} second edition), pp. 9-26. A rather general but clear and significant analysis of differences in the value-orientation of the Latin-American and Anglo-American social systems is that of William F. Whyte and Allan R. Homberg in "Human Problems of U.S. Enterprise in Latin-America, "in the entire issue of Human Organization, (Fall, 1956). A strictly theoretical identification of Spanish-American social structure and value-orientation with the Particularistic-Ascriptive pattern of value-orientation is found in Talcott Parsons' The Social System, (Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 111 and 198-199. Particularism and Ascription are much more refined concepts in the analysis of value-orientations, but they fall within the more general "sponge" type of Gemeinschaft and are, therefore, directly relevant. An illustration of the combination in theory and research of the two levels of theoretical analysis (Parsons' pattern-variables and Tonnies' typologies) see C. P. Loomis and John C. McKinney, "Systematic Differences Between Latin-American Communities of Family Farms and Large Estate, "The American Journal of Sociology, 51, (March, 1956), PP. 404-12.

The correlation coefficient of every one of the six areas was also correlated with the grand total for the index. The resulting coefficients of correlation were 68, 68, 06, 72, 66, and 72. which indicates that, (except for the third area) the index was consistently measuring the same variable.

With respect to area three the analysis shows that items of this area tended to correlate very slightly with each of the other five and also with the total index score. But since this fact has more direct implications for the validity of the index it will be discussed under validity.

b) Validity. An internal consistency test was the basis to establish validity for the value-orientation index. As mentioned before, area three, one of six parts of the index, produced a positive but very slight correlation with the rest of the index. This area had six of the forty-two items in the total index and the evidence indicates that these six items were measuring another dimension than the one intended. Because of this it seems evident that the index as a unit was partially invalidated. ¹

It was decided to use the data from the value-orientation index because of the fact that the other thirty-six items included in the index had such high internal consistency. To that extent it was believed that the index was measuring the variable intended. However, the interpretation of the data must consider the facts of the analysis.

5. Summary. To measure the value-orientation of the subjects in this study, an instrument of forty-two items was selected. This instrument had been designed to estimate the orientation of individuals

In principle, data from area three should have been eliminated as part of the index. By the time the observation was made, however, the statistical analysis had been completed. The failure to eliminate this part of the data, therefore resulted in the partial invalidation of the index even though the internal consistency of the other five areas (36 items) supported the logical validation of the items. In another part of this thesis this point is more fully considered and the theoretical assumptions made for the inclusion of area three in the index of value orientation are reconsidered and a tentative explanation offered. See discussion of Table 20 on page 90.

to certain achievement norms and values. The theoretical justification in using this instrument was the fact that the areas included in the index appeared to have discriminatory characteristics of direct relevance to the two cultural orientations of the members of the sample. The empirical analysis of the index indicated that in general the theoretical assumption in the selection of the instrument was essentially sound. Nevertheless, the reliability and validity of some of the items included in the index (since this was analyzed in great detail) could not be fully established (that is, in terms of the techniques used) and it was suggested that the interpretation of the data should take that fact into consideration.

D. Research Procedures

1. Administration of Instruments

Following the acceptance of the theoretical design of the study, the writer spent thirteen months in the actual construction of the various instruments, in their pre-testing, and in the completion of the field work. The administration of the research instruments took place in the Lansing Junior and Senior High Schools. With special permission from the office of the Board of Education, and by previous arrangements and appointments with the respective school principals, the writer visited six Junior and Senior High Schools. Two parochial schools were also included. The writer was provided with the proper facilities and on designated time and place the subjects were met and administered the instruments. The actual administration in every case lasted from two to two and one-half hours. The writer was present at all times and was directly in charge.

2. Data Analysis

The editing, scoring, coding and tabulating was done by the writer.

Data were recorded on IBM coding sheets and then submitted to the IBM

Tabulating Department where sets of cards were punched for all data. Preliminary analysis was done in IBM equipment but the major statistical analysis was completed by MISTIC, the electronic computer at Michigan State University. One set of IBM cards was punched according to special requirements to be used in combination with tape program K-2 in the computer. This program computes the matrix of product-moment correlations between each pair of a set of variables. Accordingly, a correlation matrix was computed for every index and sub-index used in the study.

A total of 15 correlation matrices was computed. Included is one master matrix consisting of the totals of all relevant indices. The intercorrelation of these totals produced the correlation coefficients of all the variables included in the hypotheses proposed by the study.

3. Method Used in Testing the Hypotheses

The principal statistical technique used in this study is correlation analysis. The correlation coefficient (r) if statistically significant indicates the existence, degree, and direction of the association between two or more variables. In the present study the two variables in every one of the hypotheses proposed are correlated and their correlation, as stated, is expected to be positive. If the statistical analysis proves this to be the case, the existence and the direction of association will be established. The size of "r" will show the degree of correlation between variables. 1

$$\mathbf{r}_{xy} = \frac{\mathbf{s} \, \mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{x} \, \mathbf{y} - \mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{x} \, \mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{y}}{\left(\left[\, \mathbf{s} \, \mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{x}^2 - (\mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{x})^2 \right] \, \right] \, \mathbf{s} \, \mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{y}^2 - (\mathbf{E} \, \mathbf{y})^2 \right)} \, \frac{1}{L}$$

¹The formula for "r" is the one that the electronic computer uses in its K-2 program. For computational convenience this formula is written in terms of x, y, xy, and s as follows,

In order to determine whether the degree of correlation is statistically significant or not, the "t" test of significance will be applied to every correlation coefficient. If the size of "r" is found to be statistically significant, the correlation of the given variables will be taken as supporting the hypothesis proposed.

In testing the null-hypothesis the .05 probability level will be the criterion for acceptance or rejection.

E. Summary of Chapter

The main purpose of this chapter has been the description of the techniques used in the present study. This description has covered the research design, the research techniques and procedures, the field work, and the analysis of the data.

From the methodological point of view the main approach followed in this study is an empirical one. Based on a body of theory, a number of specific, empirically testable hypotheses were proposed. By the use of relevant techniques the necessary data were collected in order to make an empirical test of these hypotheses.

The sample for this study consisted of 91 Mexican-American boys 15 through 18 years of age. With the possible exception of a very few, this number includes all individuals with these characteristics who were living in Lansing, Michigan, in 1958.

$$t = \left(\frac{r}{\sqrt{1-r^2}}\right) \left(\sqrt{N-2}\right)$$

See Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1954), p. 303. See also, Michigan State University Computer Laboratory Library Program number 135 (K-2).

¹The formula for the "t" test of significance is that given by Edwards:

With respect to the research techniques used here, a total of six indices was used. Four of these were included in a schedule and were designed to measure educational aspiration, social participation, socio-economic status, and language orientation. The two other indices, the one to measure occupational aspiration the other value-orientation, were included in two separate instruments. These six indices were described and discussed in terms of purpose, theoretical justification, operational definition, and empirical analysis.

The research procedures followed during the entire study were also described in this chapter. This included the administration of the instruments and the various other aspects of field work, the statistical analysis of the data as well as the computing equipment and facilities used. The method used in testing the hypotheses of the study was also described and explained. In the last part of the chapter the statistical formulas used in the statistical analysis of the data were presented.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

A. Contents of This Chapter

In this chapter the most relevant and important characteristics of the sample are described. This description, however, is presented with a minimum of discussion. A more complete discussion of direct relevance to the main thesis of the study is presented in Chapter V where the major hypotheses of the study are empirically tested.

The contents of this chapter constitute part of the substantive contributions of the present study, for they are an addition to the empirical knowledge available which is concerned with the internal dynamics of Mexican-American groups living in the northern industrial centers of the United States. It is believed that some of the findings presented in this chapter might serve as bases for the formulation of testable hypotheses in future studies of the same population.

In describing the sample, some of the demographic, aspirational, socio-economic, and cultural characteristics of Mexican-American youth in the North will be presented in that order. Specifically, the chapter will present data showing how the sample is distributed demographically, how it is distributed in terms of occupational and educational level of aspiration, how it is distributed in terms of socio-economic variables, and the extent of its acculturation in terms of social participation, language orientation, and value-orientation to certain achievement values.

Of particular importance in the description of the sample will be a direct comparison of the occupational and educational level of aspiration of members of the sample to the occupational and educational achievements of their fathers, the achievement of the fathers as manifested in their present occupational and educational standing.

B. Demographic Characteristics

In this section will be presented a general description of age, school grade, place of birth, and religious preference of the sample.

l. Age

In terms of age, members of the sample ranged from 15 to 18 years of age. The specific distribution is presented in Table 1.

Table l	I	Distribution	of	Sample	by	Age.
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Age	Number	Percentage
15	34	38
16	23	25
17	22	24
18	12	13
Totals	91	100

As shown in Table 1, it can be noted that as age increases the number of subjects decreases. This might be an indication that the Mexican-American population in Lansing is increasing. Of course, the age distribution pattern may also be interpreted as suggesting that the problem of drop-outs from school still characterizes the Mexican-American population in the North, that is, as young Mexican-Americans advance in age they tend to leave school. However, this last conclusion does not appear very likely. On the contrary, it would appear

that among Mexican-Americans in Lansing the phenomenon of drop-outs is not nearly as frequent as it is in the Southwest. Empirical support for this belief comes from the fact that 58% of the sample are over 16 years of age and yet they are still attending school.¹

2. Place of Birth

The distribution of the sample by place of birth shows that a large number have been born in the North. This suggests that their entire socialization has taken place in the North. As described in Table 2, 57% of the sample say they were born in Michigan, 36% say they were born in Texas, and 3% in other states. The other 3% report Mexico as their place of birth.

Table 2. Distribution of Sample by Place of Birth.

Place of Birth	Number	Percentage
Michigan*	52	57
Texas	33	36
Other States (U. S.)	3	3
Mexico	3	3
Totals	91	99

Most of these were born in Lansing, but there were a few who reported other parts in Michigan as their place of birth.

3. Grade in School

As stated in Chapter III (page 36), the age range of the sample was from 15 to 18 years inclusive. Included in the sample, therefore, were subjects attending different grades in school. The data show that grades 8th through 12th were represented.

¹Table 1 shows that 62% are 16 years of age and over, however, of this number 4% were actually drop-outs; therefore, only 58% are actually attending school.

Most studies reporting on the school attendance and achievements of Mexican-Americans have stated that over-age is a characteristic of the school population of this group. The present study, to some degree corroborates this generalization. In our sample 15 years is the lowest age and therefore the 10th should be the lowest school grade reported. In the sample, however, there are 33 individuals, or 26% who are attending either the 8th or 9th grades. This is described in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of Sample by Grade in School.

Grade in School	Number	Percentage
12th	9	10
llth	26	29
10th	19	21
9th	25	27
8th	8	9
Drop-outs	4	4
Totals	91	100

But even if in terms of over-age in school Mexican-Americans in the North do not differ greatly than those in the Southwest, there are other aspects of their school experience which indicates some important differences. Patterns of school attendance, for example, show great differences. The data show that 60% of the sample are attending the 10th or a higher grade. This indicates that school mortality among Mexican-Americans in the North is considerably lower than in the Southwest. For while 60% of the subjects attend the 10th or a higher grade, only 12% of their parents have achieved that much education (see Table 10).

¹For example, see Wilson Little, <u>Spanish-Speaking Children in</u> Texas, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1944), pp. 63-65.

Statistics from other studies have also demonstrated the low educational achievements of the average Mexican-American in the Southwest. 1

4. Religion

The findings of this study tentatively suggests that with respect to religious behavior some changes appear to be taking place among Mexican-American in the North. Invariably, most studies about this ethnic group have gathered evidence that the religious preference of most members of this group is Roman Catholicism. To the knowledge of the writer there are no specific studies which have attempted to analyze the impact of Protestantism on members of this group as their acculturation increases. The present study provides only minimum evidence that the religious preference of this group is changing to some degree. The most relevant implications of this evidence, however, are that the phenomenon merits more research attention in order to determine its importance.

Table 4 shows that 23% of the sample reported other than Catholicism as their preferred religion. As suggested, this fact may have direct relevance when the full process of acculturation is considered.

Table 4.	Distribution	of Sample b	y Religious	Preference.
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Number	Percentage
70	77
16	18
5	5
91	100
	70 16 5

[&]quot;Under Protestant Church were included such denominations as Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterians, etc. Under Sect were included religious bodies such as Spiritualists, Jehova Witnesses, etc.

¹For a review of the literature on this specific point see John H. Burme, op. cit., pp. 72-73. There are no indications in the literature that school opportunities in the Southwest for Mexican-Americans have changed significantly in the last few years.

It must be noted here that there is no implication that Protestantism facilitates acculturation, or that Catholicism hinders acculturation. The precise relationship of the variables is strictly an empirical question of some interesting implications. At this time it can only be stated that the number of Protestant churches among Mexican-Americans seems to be increasing. What the social significance of this undetermined fact may be, remains to be explored.

C. Aspirational Characteristics

Under this heading will be presented some of the empirical findings concerning the level of occupational and educational aspiration of the sample. A comparison will be made between the realistic and the idealistic level of aspiration as reported by the sample. The influence of the parents on members of the sample, with respect to the level of occupational aspiration reported, will also be considered in this part of the chapter.

1. Occupational Level of Aspiration

Members of the sample were asked to indicate what occupation they would prefer to have if they were completely free to have the occupation they wished. They also were asked to indicate what occupation they were actually planning to enter. Answers to the first question were operationally defined as manifesting an idealistic level of

¹Protestantism, at least in theory, should be expected to facilitate the acculturation of ethnic group into the culture of the dominant group. In the case of Mexican-Americans, however, Protestantism might actually contribute to the further isolation of this group from American society. This suggestion comes from the fact that among Protestant religious bodies a much more intensive type of social interaction is usually encouraged. In these activities the Spanish language is used almost exclusively. All the Protestant churches serving Mexican-Americans in Lansing conduct their services in Spanish and are directed by Spanish-speaking preachers.

aspiration; answers to the second question, were operationally interpreted as a realistic level of occupational aspiration (see Appendix A, items 19 and 25 for exact wording of questions).

The data show that Mexican-American youth distinguish between the two types of aspirational level with respect to occupation. When asked questions eliciting their realistic level of aspiration, they lower their occupational aspiration considerably in relation to their preferences as indicated by their idealistic choice. The actual distribution of the sample in terms of their indicated level of occupation aspiration is presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Distribution of Sample by Realistic and Idealistic Level of Occupational Aspiration as Measured by the North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale.*

	Distribution				
Level of Aspiration	${f Ideal}$	istic	Real	listic	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
46-50	2	2	5	6 (low)	
51-55	3	3	4	4	
56-60	7	8	13	14	
61-65	8	9	9	10 (medium)	
66-70	19	21	19	21	
71-75	13	14	14	15	
76-80	4	4	4	4 (high)	
80 and over	35	38	23	25	
Totals	91	99	91	99	

The North-Hatt Occupational Prestige Scale ranges from a low score of 33 to a high score of 96. See reproduction of scale in Bendix and Lipset Class Status and Power, op. cit., pp. 412-414.

As Table 5 indicates, Mexican-American youth seem to show some awareness of the probable difficulties in achieving the type of occupational level which they idealistically might like to achieve. When asked to indicate their realistic choice (plans) 44% of them aspire to a high level of occupational prestige. This is lower than the 56% that results when they are asked to indicate their idealistic occupational level of aspiration. On the other extreme of the table, only 5% of the sample aspire to a low level of occupational prestige when asked to indicate their idealistic choice. But when actual plans are considered, 10% indicate that they might choose a lower level of occupational aspiration. The middle scores also show a difference between levels. For 38% of the sample becomes 45% when the subjects are asked to indicate their idealistic level of occupational aspiration. These findings lend support to many other studies which have reported variations between realistic (plans) and idealistic (preferences) level of aspiration with respect to occupation. 1

To consider the level of occupational aspiration of the sample from another dimension, a comparison of their scores with the scores obtained by their fathers was made. The occupation of the fathers, of course, was that reported by members of the sample.²

The comparison of the two generations with respect to occupational level of aspiration is shown in Table 6. The range of the scores used in Table 6 is wider than that used in Table 5, but otherwise, the scoring procedures were the same. The wider range in Table 6 was used in

¹See for example, Joseph A. Kahl, LaMar Empey, Bernard C. Rosen, Benjamin F. Smith, Richard M. Stephenson, Robert G. Holloway, op. cit.

²The interpretation of these differences must take into consideration the possibility that, for particular reasons, the occupation of the fathers might not actually reflect their level of occupational aspiration. See the discussion about the occupation of migrants on page 46.

Table 6. Comparison of the Occupational Level of Aspiration of Sample Members with the Occupational Achievement of Fathers.*

Occupational		Distri	bution	
Prestige	Sam	ple	Fath	ners
Scores	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
40 and under	0	0	5	5
41-45	0	0	7	8
46-50	0	0	48	53
51-55	1	1	0	0
56-60	12	13	18	20
61-65	13	14	5	5
66-70	23	25	3	3
71-75	21	23	2	2
76-80	12	13 ·	1	1
81 and over	9	10	0	0
No answer	0	0	2	2
Totals	91	99	91	99

The scores used for the sample in this table are their <u>realistic</u> level of aspiration scores. The use of their idealistic scores or the mean of the two scores would emphasize the differences even more.

order to include all the scores from the data on the fathers, scores which were considerably lower when compared to those of the sons in their reported level of occupational aspiration.

Table 6 shows perhaps one of the greatest differences between the two generations of Mexican-Americans in the North. For while 66% of the fathers are reported as having occupations with prestige scores of 50 or less, not a single case among members of the sample aspire to such level of occupational prestige. On the other hand, while only 3% of the parents have occupations with relatively high prestige (a score of 71 or over), it can be seen that 46% of the sample aspire to

occupations with these high prestige scores. Even in the occupational levels between the two extremes (scores 51-70) definite differences can be observed as 28% of the parents fall within this range of occupational prestige, while 53% of the sample indicate a level of occupational aspiration within this prestige level.

To increase the validity of the data on the level of occupational aspiration, members of the sample were asked two specific questions related to the questions on occupational choice. One question was designed to probe about their concern for their future occupation. In this question the subjects were asked to indicate the amount of thought they had given their job plans. The data indicate that only 7% of the subjects reported as having thought very little about their future job plans. Forty-one percent said they had given some thought to this matter, and 52% said they had thought a great deal about their future occupational plans. To a certain extent this piece of information is an indication that their reported choices were made with sufficient consideration of the problems involved in entering the labor market.

In the other question the subjects were asked to report a self-estimate of their probable ability in performing the occupation chosen. Indirectly, this question might elicit an answer which could be a manifestation of the extent of their knowledge of the occupation they said they were planning to follow. To this question, only 11% answered that they thought the occupation they planned to enter would be very easy for them. Sixty-two per cent said that it might be somewhat difficult, and 2% said that it might be very difficult. It is unfortunate, however, that 25% did not answer this particular question. As no further probing was done in this area, the true significance of these findings can only be a matter of free speculation. The important point is that apparently the majority (75%) actually reported some thought concerning their probable ability in relation to the requirements of their occupational choice, which

might be taken as an indication that their reported level of occupational aspiration was given some consideration.

Members of the sample were also asked to report the type of occupation they thought their parents wanted them to follow. The main purpose of the question was to determine the extent of parental influence in their occupational choice, as it is known that the influence of parents is an important factor in the determination of the level of aspiration of youth.

The data were organized into three main categories in order to show greater contrast, also, because there were some differences between the answers of fathers and mothers, the response of each were separated. The findings are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Distribution of Sample by Their Perception of Parental Influence in Their Choice of an Occupational Category.

Subjects Perception of Occupational	Number of Subjects Perceiving Parental Influence				
Category Desired	Fat	her	Mot	Mother	
for Them by Parents	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Laborer	8	9	4	4	
Skilled or Semi-skilled	18	20	16	18	
Professional	11	12	7	8	
No Answer	54	• 59	64	70	
Totals	91	100	91	100	

The first noticeable item in Table 7 is the high number of No Answers obtained. It is not known whether the subjects refused to answer the question because they just did not know their parents' desires or because of other reasons. The number of refusals is so high, however, that it suggests a rather poor communication pattern between parents

and sons in connection with such an important aspect in the life of young people as is the life's occupation. This situation is even more evident between sons and mothers where in 70% of the cases the sons give no information about the occupation they think their mothers would want them to achieve. Table 7 also shows that according to the sons, few of their parents want them to become laborers. Again, this is more noticeable in the case of mothers, as only 4% of them would be satisfied if their sons became laborers. On the other extreme, 11% of the fathers and 7% of the mothers would like their sons to become professionals.

Over all, these findings suggest that communication between parents and sons with respect to occupational aspiration is rather poor. However, whatever perception the sons have of their parents wishes, that is, the influence they perceive, indicates that the parents desire the upward occupational mobility of the sons.

2. Educational Level of Aspiration

With respect to education, members of the sample were asked to indicate their level of aspiration by stating their wishes for education beyond High School and also by stating their actual plans concerning their maximum educational aspiration (see page 43 for exact wording of questions).

Answers to the first question were operationally defined as the idealistic level of aspiration, answers to the second question were defined as the realistic level of educational aspiration. The findings from these two main questions on educational aspiration are shown in Table 8.

As indicated in Table 8, 77% of the sample indicate that they would like to attend college; however, when asked to indicate their actual plans, only 49% say they plan to continue their education beyond High School. On the other hand, only 23% expressed no wish to attend college, while 51% say they had no plans to do so.

Table 8. Distribution of Sample by Answers to Two Questions on Educational Aspiration.

Questions on Educational	Response					
Aspiration	Yes		No			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Totals	
Idealistic						
If you could, would you like to go to college?	70	77	21	23	91 100	
Realistic				•		
Do you plan to continue your education beyond High School?	45	49	46	51	91 100	

As with their occupational aspiration, members of the sample make a difference between their wishes and their plans concerning educational aspiration, as 28% of those who say they would like to attend college do not actually plan to do so.

The subjects were also asked a question related to their educational aspiration. The question was in reference to High School graduation. In answering this question 91% indicated that they were planning to graduate from High School, while 9% said they did not plan to complete their High School. These data are of great significance, for the fact that such a large majority say they plan to graduate from High School is in itself an indication of significant differences in the attitude toward education of Mexican-Americans residing in the North. 1

¹This does not mean that Mexican-Americans in the Southwest necessarily have a negative attitude toward education. However, the expression of an attitude is often a function of the perception of actual social facilities and possibilities, in this case with respect to educational achievement. For statistics on educational possibilities and achievements of Mexican-Americans see Edward C. McDonagh, "Status Levels of Mexicans," Sociology and Social Research, 33 (1948-49), pp. 449-459.

To increase even in an indirect way the validity of the data on the level of educational aspiration the sample were asked three other questions related also to their education. One question was designed to determine the amount of knowledge the sample had with respect to college curriculum. In a way the answer to this question could be used as a check on wishful thinking, for if a subject reported an inaccurate conception of the general contents of a college curriculum, his reported wishes and/or plans to attend college could become of doubtful validity. 1

The data show that in answering this question 64% of the sample had a definite, accurate idea of what a college curriculum includes, 14% had a vague or inaccurate conception, and 22% did not answer the question. As suggested before, at least in the case of 64% of the sample their stated level of educational aspiration would seem to be based on their actual knowledge of college possibilities.

The second question was designed to determine the sample's concern for education. They were asked to indicate the amount of thought they had given the matter of education. The findings show that 58% had a great deal of concern for their education, 41% indicated they had some or little concern, and only 1% did not answer the question.

In the third question the subjects were asked about their relative satisfaction with their present school experience and activity. In other words, whether they generally enjoyed school or not. To this question 3% definitely answered in the negative, 52% said they enjoyed schooling to some extent and 45% reported that they liked and enjoyed school very much.

¹The criteria used were simple, yet it would seem quite effective. Subjects were asked to state what they would study in college, if able to attend. Answers such as "carpenter," "baseball," "mechanic," "tool and die," etc., were interpreted as indicating an inaccurate conception of the college curriculum. On the other hand, answers such as "Mathematics," "Liberal Arts," "Chemistry," "Business Administration," etc., were interpreted as indicating an accurate conception of the contents of a college curriculum.

Members of the sample were also compared to their fathers with respect to educational achievement. The difference between the two generations was found to be quite considerable. This comparison, of course included the achievements of the sons up to the time of their testing. The findings show that young Mexican-Americans in the North, that is the first generation with most of their school experience in the North, already have achieved more formal education than have their fathers during their entire life. Moreover, a large number of the sample, as mentioned before, are planning for even more education. This means that the difference in education between the two generations is likely to be much greater than it is now, once members of the sample complete their education. This comparison in educational achievements is shown in Table 9.

Table 9. Distribution of Sample by Number of School Years Completed by Self and Fathers.

		Distr	ibution	
School Years	Fat	hers	So	ns
Completed	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than three years	38	42	0	0
Three to five years	20	22	0	0
Six to seven	6	7	2*	2*
Eight years	6	7	8	9
Nine years	3	3	26	29
Ten years	3	3	20	21
Eleven years	3	3	26	29
Twelve years	4	4	9	10
Over twelve years	2	2	0	0**
No data	6	7	0	0
Totals	91	100	91	100

In the six to seven category for the Sons, the 2% indicated are actually drop-outs. Also, 2% of the 29% shown in the nine year category are drop-outs.

This category, of course, does not yet apply to Sons.

As noted before, the educational achievements of the two generations are greatly different with the sons having many more years of formal education than their fathers.

Since the educational achievement of young people is greatly affected by the attitudes of parents toward education, ¹ another question was designed to determine the influence of the parents on the educational aspiration of the sample. The subjects were asked to report their parents' wishes or desires concerning their (the subjects') educational aspiration. The data consist of what the subjects think their parents want them to achieve in terms of education. This information is shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Distribution of Sample by Perception of Parental Desires Concerning Their Education.

Parental Desires	Distribution		
	Number	Percent	
Ego should quit school now and go to work	5	5	
Ego should finish High School and then go to work	31	34	
Ego should continue education beyond High School	51	56	
Other	3	3	
No data	1	1	
Totals	91	99	

As it can be observed in Table 10, most members of the sample report that they feel their parents want them to achieve educational mobility. Of particular significance is the 56% who say their parents

¹See for example, Joseph A. Kahl, op. cit.

want them to continue their education beyond High School. This figure is comparable to the 49% in Table 8 (page 74) who say they plan to attend school beyond High School, and to the 58% who report a high concern for their education (page 75). Apparently, high concern for education, positive parental support and plans to achieve higher education are closely related factors.

D. Socio-economic Characteristics

The socio-economic characteristics of the sample will be described in this part of the chapter. The description consists mainly of references to data gathered by the use of a composite index of socio-economic status. Some items of this index are discussed in more detail than others.

From the socio-economic point of view, it appears that Mexican-Americans in the North seem to enjoy a somewhat higher socio-economic status than Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. Evidence for this claim will be presented in the following pages.

To determine the socio-economic status of the sample, they were asked to report on their home ownership, and home facilities, including communication and recreational facilities. They were also asked some questions the answers to which might determine the job or occupational stability of the father. These index items, plus data on the educational and the occupational status of the parents were used as indicators of the socio-economic status of the sample. The distribution of the sample in terms of selected items from the SES index is shown in Table 11.

Table 11 is an indication that, at least in terms of the selected items, Mexican-Americans in Lansing enjoy some economic comfort.

Of special note is the report on the 73% who say they own their home (or they are in the process of paying for it). Of course, quality of homes

¹A discussion of other aspects of the socio-economic status index used in this study is given in Chapter III, page 45.

Table 11. Distribution of Sample by Ownership of Selected Socioeconomic Status Items.

SES Items		Owne					
	Y	es	N	Io	Totals		
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
House	71	78	20	22	91	100	
Automobile	66	73	25	27	91	100	
Power washer	73	80	18	20	91	100	
Television set	85	93	6	7	91	100	
Home radio	91	100	0	0	91	100	
Telephone	72	79	19	21	91	100	

is an important variable, so that home ownership in itself is not sufficient basis to indicate a high standard of living. But even so, in relation to what Mexican-Americans in the Southwest have accomplished economically, this fact of home ownership is a significant manifestation of the economic advance and interest in economic progress of Mexican-Americans in the North. The information on the other items shown in Table 11 also support this general statement.

To partially determine the socio-economic status of the sample an index to estimate the job stability of the fathers was also included. The questions were designed to gather information on the number of months of unemployment during the year, the job turnover, and the different occupations or jobs the father had during the year. This information was thought sufficient to provide a general index of job stability which could also indicate the socio-economic status of the family.²

¹For an illustration see Pauline R. Kibbe, <u>op. cit.</u> See also, Mary M. Clark, "Sickness and Health in Sal Si Puedes," Ph. D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1957.

²Occupation, per se, is usually a reliable index of socio-economic status, but it is questionable as a single item index when unemployment is a high possibility among members of a given population, as is the case of certain ethnic minorities. For a complete discussion of this point see page 47.

The relative stability of the father's occupational patterns was described in terms of three categories, High, Medium, and Low, and the findings are shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Distribution of Sample by Father's Job Stability.

	Distri	bution
Job Stability	Number	Percent
High	52	57
Medium	23	25
Low	10	11
No data	6	7
Totals	91	100

It can be seen in Table 12 that only 11% of the sample reported a low job stability for their fathers. High job stability was reported by 57%, while the other 25% reported medium stability. This suggests that the majority of the members in the sample belong to families who have a steady income. For people who in the past had usually depended on seasonal work, this new economic situation made possible by relatively permanent employment, must be considered as an important step toward a higher socio-economic status.

A description of the sample was also completed in terms of the overall composite socio-economic index. This constitutes Table 13.

The scores in Table 13 are the result of the addition of individual scores from questions on job stability, education of parents, home

¹Operationally defined, job stability was high if the father was employed nine or more months of the year, had a single job and did mostly one type of work if he had more than one job. On the other hand, low job stability was indicated by nine or more months of unemployment, and three or more different jobs during the year.

Table 13. Distribution of Sample by Scores in a Composite Index of Socio-economic Status.*

			=
	Distr	ibution	
SES Index Scores	Number	Percent	
41-45*	1	1	
46-50	3	3	
51-55	4	4	
56-60	8	9	
61-65	17	19	
66-70 (Mean: 68)	18	20	
71-75	20	22	
76-80	9	10	
81-85	5	5	
86-90	5	5	
91-95	1	1	
Totals	91	99	

The possible range of scores in this SES index was 35 as the lowest score and 96 as the highest.

quality and facilities, and communication facilities. As stated in the table the lowest score a family could possibly obtain was 35 while the highest possible score was 96. This was an arbitrary index, yet it serves to describe the sample.

E. Extent of Acculturation

Of considerable importance to the present study are the findings concerning the extent of the acculturation of the sample. Acculturation, as indicated before, is considered here only in terms of selected criteria. Three different and separate criteria were used in the study.

These were social participation, language orientation, and orientation to certain achievement norms and values. This last variable is called here value-orientation (see page 54 for more complete definition). The description of the sample in terms of these three aspects of acculturation will constitute the remaining part of this chapter.

1. Social Participation

As stated in Chapter III, the measurement of the social participation of the sample included more than the mere membership in the attendance to given organizations. The subjects were asked about their participation in school activities and about their activities out of school. The general purpose of the questions was to determine the extent of social interaction and social experience of Mexican-Americans in the various aspects of social life more or less typical of young people. The amount of participation in selected types of activities is shown in Table 14.

Table 14 shows that, with respect to social participation in school sports and in extracurricular activities during the year, Mexican-American youth do participate to a considerable extent in activities that might bring interaction with the dominant group. Only 22% report no participation in extra curricular activities, while 78% report some participation in at least one type of activity. It must be noted, however, that membership in school ball teams as well as in social clubs appears to be rather low. Since no extra probing was undertaken in this area, it is not possible to say whether the low participation reported is due to lack of interest on the part of Mexican-Americans or whether it is due to other reasons.

It has been stated before that the main purpose of investigating the social participation of the sample was to determine the extent of their interaction with the social life of the dominant group. In order to extend this investigation to aspects of life other than school or

Table 14. Distribution of Sample by Their Indicated Social Participation in Selected Activities.

	Extent	of Part	cipation in Percent	tages
Type of Activity	None	One	More Than One	Total
Extracurricular activities, school	22	55	23	100
Membership in school ball teams	54	20	26	100
Other outdoor activities	23	34	.43	100
Membership in social clubs	71	20	9	100
Attendance at social club activities	70	19	11	100

school related activities, the subjects were also asked certain questions which were expected to obtain data on activities after school and during week-ends. One specific objective was to differentiate between members of the sample who interacted mostly with members of their own ethnic in-group from those interacting also with members of the dominant group in such activities as going to church, dancing, playing, and other such typical week-end activities. The findings are shown in Table 15.

Admittedly, Table 15 is very general. But even so, it indicates something of the amount of the activities of the subjects. Of particular importance with respect to interaction with the dominant group, is the reported activity on Sunday morning when 81% of the sample have some type of personal contact with members of the dominant group doubtless mostly in church.

On the assumption that work provides an important type of social interaction, members of the sample were asked to report on the type

Table 15. Distribution of Sample by Type of Activity and Week-day and Time of Participation.

		Day and Time of Participation								
Type of Activity or Category	Sat.	Sat. P.M.			Sun. P.M.	Sun. Eve.	Daily, After School			
Have active, per sonal contact wit members of dom	h									
nant group	25	23	4	81	12	10	21			
Have active, per sonal contact wit ethnic in-group only		36	33	4	34	38	56			
Watch T.V. at home	32	36	54	4	38	44	19			
Relax at home, sleep	20	4	9	10	15	8	4			
Totals	100	99	100	99	99	100	100			

^{*}All frequencies in percentages.

of work they did, if any, during week-ends and after school hours. They were asked to report the total number of jobs which they had held in the past. This referred particularly to part-time jobs, but as the subjects were asked to list all the jobs ever held, some full-time summer jobs were also included. This information is shown in Table 16.

Since the sample were asked to report only that employment which was for pay and away from their own home, the data in Table 16 would seem to indicate that, in terms of employment relationships, the interaction of Mexican-Americans with members of the dominant group is considerable. As indicated, 78% have held at least one job; and only 22% report that they have not had this type of social experience.

Table 16. Distribution of Sample by Total Number of Part-Time and Full-Time Summer Jobs Ever Held.

Number of Jobs	Distr	ibution
Number of Jobs	Number	Percent
Four or more	11	12
Three	15	16
Two	27	30
One	18	20
None	20	22
Totals	91	100

2. Language Orientation

It is generally agreed that language behavior is perhaps one of the most important aspects of culture. It is certainly a readily identifiable symbol of cultural background. This is perhaps the main reason why in studying the process of acculturation of minority groups, the study of their language orientation is of definite and significant relevance.

Members of the sample were asked a number of questions concerning their language knowledge, preference, and usage. The data were organized into one single table which describes the distribution of the sample in terms of their knowledge, usage, and direct and indirect exposure to the Spanish and the English languages which, of course, were of direct relevance to the sample.

The three specific aspects of language orientation, that is, knowledge, usage, and exposure, were purposefully designed so that the manifestation of language orientation would be a comprehensive one.

The questions were direct and specific questions, and they were designed to differentiate between knowledge of the languages in terms of speaking and writing and usage of the languages which would tend to indicate the

preferences concerning language. With respect to exposure to languages the main purpose was to discover the different types of situational experiences in which the subjects found themselves under pressure to learn or speak one or the other language. The questions were thought sufficient to provide data on the personal and social factors which contribute to the resistance or acceptance of acculturation in terms of language orientation. The findings are shown in Table 17.

The data in Table 17 reveal many important characteristics of the acculturation process of Mexican-Americans in the North. One can observe already the differences between the two generations, i.e., the parents, whose early socialization was completed mostly in the Southwest, and the sons, most of whom have experienced much more social interaction with the dominant group. It can be seen in Table 17, that while parents speak to one another and to their children mostly in Spanish, their children use English most of the time. Of particular importance is the fact that in social situations away from the home, such as church, play activity, etc., members of the sample report an increased use of English. In addition, 77% say they speak best, and 93% say they write best in English, while 80% claim they use English in their popular singing. 1

On the other hand, in social activities in the home, such as listening to radio, playing recorded music, etc., the use of Spanish is much greater. This evidence definitely supports the claim that, in terms of language orientation, Mexican-Americans in the North are rapidly advancing in the process of acculturation.

¹John H. Burma, op. cit., p. 72, reports that only 7% of the Mexican-American population in the United States speak English as their mother language. It is evident that migration to the North will alter this situation considerably.

Table 17. Distribution of Sample by Knowledge and Usage of, and Exposure to, the English and Spanish Languages.*

Situational Language L Experience	Language Preference Shown in Percentages					
-	nglish	Spanish		Totals		
Knowledge						
Ego speaks best in	77	11	12	100		
Ego writes best in	93	1	5	99		
Usage						
Ego talks to parents in	37	45	18	100		
Ego talks to friends in	80	8	12	100		
Ego's dreams are in	58	10	32	100		
Ego sings popular songs in	80	12	8	100		
Exposure						
Parents talk to Ego in	15	67	18	100		
Parents talk to one another in	5	86	9	100		
Ego attends church services in	76	21	3	100		
Ego listens to radio programs i		62	0	100		
Ego listens to recorded music i		85	0	100		
Ego reads magazines and news	-					
papers in	71	29	0	100		
Ego attends movies spoken in	37	15	47	99		
Ego's best friends use mostly	67	5	27	99		

Because of the way in which they were constructed and coded, two items from the language index could not be included in this table.

3. Value-Orientation

As more fully described in Chapter III (see pages 54-58), some aspects of the value-orientation of the sample were measured by an index consisting of a series of statements covering six specific belief-value areas. Also, as explained before, the value-orientation variable was strictly concerned with orientation to certain achievement norms and values. The statements were dichotomous, therefore, agreement

or disagreement with a given statement would indicate one type of valueorientation or the other, depending on the direction indicated by the statement, whether positive or negative (see Appendix C).

The data from the index of value-orientation have been organized into six separate tables, each one of which shows the distribution of the sample in terms of agreement or disagreement with the specific value-orientation statements. The response of the sample concerning the intrinsic or instrumental value of work is shown in Table 18.

The belief that work has an intrinsic value indicates a valueorientation more typical of the dominant group, while the belief that work
has only instrumental value would indicate that the traditional cultural
values of the Mexican-American are still the bases for his present
orientation to achievement values. As shown in Table 18, on the statements about the intrinsic value of work (items 2, 4, 6, 7 and 8), the
percentage of those who agree is higher than the percentage of those who
disagree. On the other hand, on the statements referring to the instrumental value of work (items 1, 3, and 5), those who agree are in the
minority. This is some evidence that for the sample in general, work
has intrinsic value, or in other words, work is not believed to be a
necessary evil.

The second belief-value area is concerned with the evaluation of structured time. The eight items of the index in this area are designed to elicit answers which will indicate whether the individual has a positive or a negative attitude toward structured time. The theoretical assumption here is that a positive evaluation of structured time is more typical of, or at least more compatible with, the value-orientation of the dominant group. On the other hand, a negative evaluation of structured time would indicate that the subject still has some negative attitude toward the strict organization of time as it is typically found in a highly

Table 18. Distribution of Sample by Response to Statements Concerning the Value of Work.

	atements on the alue of Work N	Agi	ree Percent	Resp Disa Number			otals Percent
1.	The only purpose of work is to make money	38	42	53	58	91	100
2.	I believe a man needs to work in order to feel that he has a real place in the world	84	92	7	8	91	100
3.	I feel sorry for people whose job requires that they take orders from others	24	26	67	74	91	100
4.	Every man should have a job that give him a steady incom		97	3	3	91	100
5.	The happiest men a those who work only when they need money		18	75	82	91	100
6.	Doing a good job da in and day out is on of the most satisfy- ing experiences a man can have	ie	78	20	22	91	100
7.	A regular job is go for one	od 84	92	7	8	91	100
8.	I feel sorry for rich people who never learn how good it is					·	
	to have a steady job	51	56	40	44	91	100

urbanized, industrialized society. The distribution of the sample in terms of their evaluation of structured time is shown in Table 19.

Table 19 is another illustration of the suggestion that these Mexican-Americans are oriented to the achievement values of the dominant group. It can be observed that all statements on the negative evaluation of structured time (items 1, 2, 3, and 6), received a lower percentage of agreement. On the other hand, the statements on the positive evaluation of structured time (items 4, 5, 7, and 8), received a higher percentage of agreement.

The third belief-value area included in the index of value-orientation was concerned with an evaluation of physical mobility. The items included in this index of physical mobility are relevant on the basis of the theoretical assumption that a positive orientation toward physical mobility, or in other words, a greater detachment from the home community, is more characteristic of the culture of the dominant group, while the opposite is generally true of the traditional spanish culture. The findings are shown in Table 20.

The data in Table 20 indicate that the sample has a negative orientation toward physical mobility. The agreement of members of the sample with the negative statements on physical mobility (items 1 and 4), is considerably greater than their disagreement. With respect to the positive statements, that is, those indicating a positive evaluation of physical mobility, (items 2, 3, and 5), their agreement is considerably lower than their disagreement. The only exception in the table to this pattern indicated by the sample is their answer to item number 6 which is positive and yet received a high percentage of agreement. One alternative to the explanation of this apparent discrepancy is that perhaps the statement meant something else to the sample. At any rate, at first sight, it appears that with respect to physical mobility, the value-orientation of Mexican-Americans is still very much based on their

Table 19. Distribution of Sample by Response to Statements Concerning Evaluation of Structured Time.

	atements on cructured Time Nu	Agree umber Percent		Response Disagree Number Percent		Totals Number Percent	
1.	I don't like people who are always right on time for every appointment	6	7	85	93	91	100
2.	I feel sorry for people who have to do the same thing every day at the same time	33	36	58	64	91	100
3.	I don't like to have to make appoint- ments	26	29	65	71	91	100
4.	I believe that promptness is a virtue	70	77	21	23	91	100
5.	I usually schedule my activities	48	53	43	47	91	100
6.	I'd rather let things happen in their own way than scheduling them by a clock	42	46	49	54	91	100
7.	It makes me feel bac to be late for an appointment	d 70	77	21	23	91	100
8.	I expect people who have appointments with me to be right on time	71	78	20	22	91	100

Table 20. Distribution of Sample by Response to Statements Concerning Evaluation of Physical Mobility.

Statements on Physical Mobil	Agı lity Number	ree Percent	Di	sponse sagree r Percent	Totals Number Percent	
1. I would be us happy living from my rel tives	away	69	28	31	91	100
2. I hope to mo from here w the next few	ithin	25	68	75	91	100
3. People who a leave their he towns are he me to understand	nome- ard for	31	63	69	91	100
4. A man's firs loyalty shoul his home con ity	ld be to	76	22	24	91	100
5. When a boy la man, he sleave home		22	71	78	91	100
6. I like to see things and m new people		93	6	7	91	100

traditional culture. In other words, the data show that community life and in general close ties with their primary groups seem to be very important to members of the sample.

However, a closer analysis of the data in Table 20 might reveal another explanation for the apparent negative evaluation of physical mobility by members of the sample. It should be taken into consideration that most of these Mexican-Americans have been migrants for many

generations. This is particularly true of those who have come to the North. It would not be too unreasonable to assume that their experience during these last few years in the North, where they have enjoyed permanent residence, has provided for them a good basis for the comparison between their previous migrant status and their present relatively stable position in a community. Understandably then, it is very possible that a negative attitude toward the <u>practical</u> disadvantages of physical mobility might have been developed among them. Their negative evaluation of physical mobility might be directed toward these specific disagreeable consequences of physical movement, which are well-known to them, but not necessarily toward the broader orientation of community detachment which an index on physical mobility is indirectly attempting to measure. ¹

An alternative explanation of the findings in Table 20 might be that the once-migrant Mexican-American population is reacting to the new social environment and opportunities in the North by becoming increasingly static. This might be an important step toward the faster and more complete assimilation of the group into the dominant society.

Belief-value area number four was concerned with the positive or negative evaluation of change. The theoretical assumption in the design of the statements is that a positive orientation toward change indicates a value-orientation more compatible with that of the dominant group. On the other hand, individuals who disagree with the positive evaluation of change would seem to indicate a value-orientation which appears to be

¹The findings of Table 20 have some methodological implications. For it would appear that certain indices cannot be used indiscriminately with all populations. For example, to measure physical mobility attitudes among migrant or once-migrant populations might necessitate special methodological sophistication. A more extensive study of this phenomenon among migrant groups might reveal some radical attitude changes not only with respect to physical mobility, but perhaps also concerning other aspects of personal and social behavior.

more typical of traditional societies. The findings concerning the evaluation of change on the part of the sample are shown in Table 21.

Table 21. Distribution of Sample by Response to Statements Concerning Evaluation of Change.

			Response			
Statements on Change N		gree Percent		sagree Percent		als Percent
						
1. I like to try new things	82	90	9	10	91	100
On the whole, the old ways of doing things are best	28	31	63	69	91	100
Life would be bor- ing without new experiences	71	78	20	22	91	100
4. I like people who are willing to change	72	7 9	19	21	91	100
5. On the whole, most changes make thing worse	s 16	18	75	82	91	100
6. The happiest people are those who do things the way their parents did		24	69	76	91	100
7. New things are usually better than old things	69	76	22	24	91	100

The contents of Table 21 present some evidence that Mexican-Americans in the North generally have a positive attitude toward change. All the negative statements about the value of change (items 2, 5 and 6), received relatively low agreement; the positive statements, on the other hand (items 1, 3, 4 and 7), which indicate a positive evaluation of

change, all were answered with a greater percentage of agreement.

Again, this is an illustration of the value-orientation of the sample in this particular aspect of social reality.

The fifth belief-value area was designed to determine the attitude of members of the sample toward the determination of events in life. Answers to these statements indicate whether the individual believes essentially in internal or in external forces or influences as the basic power behind the things which happen to him in life, or the events which take place and, directly or indirectly, effect his life. These data are presented in Table 22.

It can easily be observed in Table 22 that in general, Mexican-Americans seem to believe in the internal determination of events, i.e., that success is mostly the result of personal effort, not a matter of fate. The theoretical assumption of the statements in Table 22 is that certain values in the dominant culture do not encourage the belief on external factors as the best explanation for personal achievement. But with respect to the data in Table 22 it must be observed that perhaps a better description of the sample is that it is ambivalent. For if the percentages shown in items 2, 4, 5 and 8, are more carefully noticed, it can be seen that the sample is not sharply divided. In other words, items indicating a belief in the external determination of events (2, 3, 5 and 8) do not necessarily have low scores. Moreover, in their answer to item number 7, the sample actually indicate a belief in the external determination of events.

The evidence seems to indicate then, that in terms of the belief in the external or internal determination of events, the value-orientation of Mexican-Americans in the North tends to be closer to that of the dominant group. However, as noted above, the traditional orientation in this particular value still appears to be quite strong among members of this group.

Table 22. Distribution of Sample by Response to Statements Concerning the Determination of Events.

Statements of the Determine of Events	ation Ag	ree Percent	Disa	ponse agree Percent		otals Percent
l. I believe the person can anything he if he is will work for it	get wants	89	10	11	91	100
2. Man should too hard, for fortune is in hands of Go	or his n the	44	51	56	91	100
3. A man shou work too ha because it whim any good less luck is him	rd von't do od un-	20	73	80	91	100
4. With a little believe I ca most anythi really want	n do al-	51	45	49	91	100
5. A person sh hope for mu this life		48	47	52	91	100
6. If a man car himself it i fault		75	23	25	91	100
7. Practically thing I try to out well for	o do turns	35	59	65	91	100
8. I usually factory somethic important		43	52	57	91	100

The sixth and last belief-value area was expected to differentiate between those individuals who evaluate positively that type of behavior called deferred gratification, and those whose evaluation of such a pattern of behavior is essentially negative. On theoretical grounds, a positive evaluation of deferred gratification is more typical of the value-orientation of the dominant group. The distribution of the sample in terms of this variable, is shown in Table 23.

The data in Table 23 show that, in terms of their evaluation of deferred gratification, the value-orientation of the sample is definitely closer to the one expected for members of the dominant group. For it can be observed that in most of the statements the difference in the percentages is considerable. For example, statements on the negative evaluation of deferred gratification (items 1, 2, 3 and 7), all received lower percentages, while statements on the positive evaluation (items 4, 5 and 6), received considerably higher percentages in agreement.

F. Summary of Chapter

The principal purpose of this chapter has been to present a general description of the sample. This description was given in terms of specific demographic, aspirational, socio-economic, and cultural characteristics of the members of the sample as these are revealed in the empirical findings of the present study.

As indicated in the text and in the various tables presented in this chapter, the general social conditions of Mexican-Americans in the North appear to be much more conducive to the social achievement of members of the group. For example, in educational achievement, a comparison of fathers and sons was made and it was found that Mexican-American youth in the North already have achieved considerably more education. In terms of specific levels of aspiration it is indicated in this chapter that the level of both occupational and educational aspiration of young Mexican-Americans appears to be quite high.

Table 23. Distribution of Sample by Response to Statements Concerning the Evaluation of Deferred Gratification.

Ι	Statements on Deferred Gratification		gree	Di	esponse sagree	Tot	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		rercent				Fercen
1.	I would rather work than go to school	14	15	77	85	91	100
2.	Money is made to spend not to save	39	43	52	57	91	160
3.	I think there is so thing wrong with people who go to school for years we they could be out earning a living		10	82	90	91	100
4.	One gains more in long run if he stud than if he gets a j	dies	87	12	13	91	100
5.	The more school person gets, the better off he is	a 81	89	10	11	91	100
6.	Generally speaking things one works hard for are the best	81	89	10	11	91	100
7.	When I get a little extra money, I usually spend it	44	48	47	52	91	100

A comparison was made in this chapter of the educational and occupational achievements of fathers of the sample and the level of aspiration of the sons. The findings show that the differences between the two generations is definitely in favor of the sons, that is, the younger generation of Mexican-Americans in the North definitely aspire to higher occupational and educational levels.

It was also demonstrated that the fathers seem to want the occupational and educational mobility of their sons—at least so the sons believe. Some evidence was presented which suggests that those youth who have a higher level of educational aspiration also show high concern for their education, enjoy more their present schooling, and seem to have an accurate conception of the contents of a college curriculum. This last factor would seem to indicate that their indicated level of educational aspiration is the manifestation of real interest.

The chapter also describes the sample in terms of their realistic and idealistic levels of occupational and educational aspiration. In this respect some evidence was presented to the fact that Mexican-Americans also follow the pattern of other groups in that they also lower their level of aspiration when asked to consider realistic factors.

With respect to socio-economic status, this chapter presented some evidence to support the claim that the position which Mexican-Americans in the North occupy in the social structure appears to have higher prestige than the one known to them in the Southwest. One particular aspect of this higher socio-economic status is the high percentage of house ownership reported by members of the sample.

The last part of the chapter was concerned with the description of the sample in terms of their acculturation to certain aspects of the larger culture. The three aspects considered were social participation, language orientation, and orientation to certain achievement norms and values. With respect to social participation, the data seem to demonstrate that Mexican-Americans in the North are not practicing Separatism, as their contact with members of the dominant group appears to be substantial.

With respect to the language orientation of the sample, in this chapter it is demonstrated that their orientation is toward acculturation. It was pointed out that in terms of language knowledge and usage the

difference between the sample and their parents is considerable. Though the home is still the most important source for the cultivation of the Spanish language, more and more activities away from home seem to be having a marked influence in the adoption of the language of the dominant group.

Concerning the orientation of the sample to certain achievement norms and values, the general conclusion is that members of the sample seem to be adopting the attitudes of the dominant group. The chapter included six separate tables describing the sample in terms of six particular belief-value areas. With some noted exceptions, it was concluded that here, too, there are some strong indications that members of the sample appear to be adopting the achievement values of the dominant group and, as a logical consequence, they no longer seem to perpetuate the values and attitudes of the traditional Spanish culture.

CHAPTER V

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

A. Contents of This Chapter

In the previous chapter a large part of the substantive findings of the present study was presented in a purely descriptive manner. For the main purpose of the previous chapter was that of describing the salient characteristics of the sample, without complex statistical analysis of the data. It is in the present chapter that the statistical analysis of the data is undertaken in the form of correlation of the relevant variables.

The presentation in this chapter, then consists of the statistical testing of the eleven specific hypotheses proposed in the study. As stated in Chapter III (pages 59-60), where the methodology of the study was described, the main statistical techniques used in the test of the hypotheses are correlation analysis and the "t" test of significance. In this chapter the correlation coefficient of the two variables of every one of the hypotheses will be presented. For every correlation coefficient the result of a test of significance for that coefficient will also be presented in order to support the acceptance or rejection of the null hypothesis of no association.

The main thesis of the present study, that occupational and educational levels of aspiration, socio-economic status, and some aspects of the acculturation of Mexican-Americans are intercorrelated factors, is presented in this chapter in the form of three major propositions which in turn are broken down into eleven hypotheses.

B. Proposition 1

The first theoretical proposition in this study is that there is a relationship between the level of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-Americans and their acculturation to certain aspects of American society. Mexican-Americans showing a higher degree of acculturation, in terms of the criteria used, are expected to indicate that they also have a higher level of occupational and educational aspiration. Since acculturation is measured in terms of social participation, language orientation, and value-orientation, these three variables must be correlated separately with occupational and educational aspiration. This first proposition is tested in terms of six hypotheses which follow.

Hypothesis (1). The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of value-orientation to achievement, the higher they will score in a measure of level of educational aspiration.

The test of this hypothesis consisted in the correlation of valueorientation and educational aspiration as the two variables. The correlation coefficient obtained was .20. By means of the "t" test of significance the null hypothesis of no association was tested.

$$r = .20$$
, $t = 1.97$ d.f. $= 89$ p > .05

To be statistically significant a "t" value of at least 1.66 would be required. As shown above, the "t" value is 1.97 which indicates that the correlation of the two variables is significant. For this first hypothesis, then, the null hypothesis of no association can be rejected.

¹See footnotes pages 59 and 60 for the statistical formula used in the computation of "r" and "t".

²This means that one-tailed tests are being applied. Since all hypotheses here explicitly state the direction of the relationship of the variables, one-tailed tests is all that is required.

The empirical demonstration of this hypothesis provides some evidence to the claim that orientation to some of the achievement values of the dominant group on the part of Mexican-Americans is associated with their aspiration to achieve higher education which, in turn, they may see as instrumental to their social mobility. This finding also may be an indication that increased education may facilitate the perception and acceptance of different values by individuals who face the dilemma of assimilation or separatism.

Hypothesis (2). The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of value-orientation to achievement, the higher they will score in a measure of level of occupational aspiration.

The correlation of the total scores obtained by subjects in the indices of value-orientation and occupational aspiration produced a correlation coefficient of .24. To determine statistical significance, the null hypothesis of no association was tested.

$$r = .24$$
, $t = 2.35$ d.f. = 89 p. < .05

The test of this hypothesis shows that the null hypothesis must be rejected. A "t" value of at least 1.66 would indicate a significant correlation between variables. The "t" value of 2.35 therefore, shows that the correlation indicated is significant.

The tenability of this hypothesis suggests that Mexican-Americans who indicate a high level of occupational aspiration seem to be also adopting the achievement values of the dominant group.

Hypothesis (3). The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of social participation in American social life, the higher they will score in a measure of level of educational aspiration.

The correlation coefficient found from these two variables was .38.

As the test of significance indicated that a coefficient of this size is

statistically significant, the test of this hypothesis provides some evidence that the social participation of Mexican-Americans seems to be positively correlated with their level of educational aspiration. The null hypothesis of no association was, therefore, rejected.

$$r = .38$$
, $t = 3.85$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

The tenability of this hypothesis means that Mexican-Americans whose social participation is high, also have a higher level of educational aspiration. On the other hand, those who score low in the index of social participation also indicate a low level of educational aspiration. This further suggests that increased social participation with the dominant group might be a significant means of perceiving the values of higher education. No causal relationship between the two variables is implied here however.

Hypothesis (4). The higher Mexican-American youth score in an index of social participation in American social life, the higher they will score in a measure of level of occupational aspiration.

The correlation coefficient between these two variables was found to be .30. The test of significance by the use of the "t" test indicates that the null hypothesis must be rejected, as a correlation coefficient of this size is statistically significant.

$$r = .30$$
, $t = 2.73$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

This means, then, that the hypothesis is tenable as proposed, that is, Mexican-Americans who participate more fully in social interaction with the dominant group also indicate a higher level of occupational aspiration than do those whose social participation is less.

Hypothesis (5). The more Mexican-American youth know and use the English language, the higher their level of educational aspiration.

The test of this hypothesis shows that its two variables are positively correlated. The correlation coefficient obtained was .27. The value of "t" obtained in testing this correlation coefficient permits the rejection of the null hypothesis of no association.

$$r = .27$$
, $t = 2.63$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

The data indicate that the hypothesis is tenable as proposed. This suggests that Mexican-Americans who know and use the English language more than they do Spanish also indicate a higher level of educational aspiration. On the other hand, those who know and use more the Spanish language indicate also a lower level of educational aspiration.

Hypothesis (6). The more Mexican-American youth know and use the English language, the higher their level of occupational aspiration.

The evidence shows that occupational aspiration and language orientation are also positively correlated. The correlation coefficient of these two variables was found to be .26, and the test of significance of this coefficient permits the rejection of the null hypothesis.

$$r = .26$$
, $t = 2.54$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

The tenability of this hypothesis indicates that Mexican-Americans who have a better command of the English language indicate a higher level of occupational aspiration than those whose main language orientation is still toward the language of their fathers and mothers. The overall suggestion seems to be that acculturation and aspiration for general social mobility are closely related factors.

The six hypotheses tested above complete the test of the first proposition which suggests that there is a positive relationship between the educational and occupational level of Mexican-Americans and their acculturation to some aspects of American society. As demonstrated by the statistical analysis of the hypotheses, the correlation of the

variables of all the hypotheses was found to be positive and statistically significant.

C. Proposition 2

The second major theoretical proposition of this study suggests that there is a relationship between the socio-economic status of members of the sample and their level of educational and occupational aspiration. It specifically states that the higher the socio-economic status of members of this group, the higher their level of educational and occupational aspiration. To test this proposition two hypotheses were proposed and were empirically tested.

Hypothesis (7). The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their level of educational aspiration.

The test of this hypothesis indicates that it is tenable as proposed. The correlation coefficient of the two variables was .40. By means of the test of significance, the null hypothesis of no association can be rejected.

$$r = .40$$
, $t = 4.04$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

Since a "t" value as small as 1.66 would indicate the significance of this correlation coefficient at the .05 level of significance, the "t" value of 4.04 indicates that the null hypothesis of no association must be rejected. This suggests the conclusion that Mexican-Americans who have a higher socio-economic status also appear to have a higher level of educational aspiration. The corollary of this conclusion, of course, would be that those with a low socio-economic status also have a low level of educational aspiration.

Hypothesis (8). The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their level of occupational aspiration.

The correlation coefficient resulting from these two variables was .23. When the null hypothesis of no association was tested a "t" value of 2.07 was obtained which permits the rejection of the null hypothesis.

$$r = .23$$
, $t = 2.07$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

Socio-economic status and occupational aspiration appear to be significantly correlated. This indicates that Mexican-Americans who rate high in one variable also rate high in the other.

The test of hypotheses number 7 and 8 have provided some empirical evidence that the second theoretical proposition of this study is essentially sound. The correlation coefficients in the two hypotheses were found to be positive and statistically significant.

D. Proposition 3

The third and last theoretical proposition in this study is that socio-economic status and acculturation are related factors. As previously stated, acculturation is measured in terms of social participation, language orientation, and orientation to certain achievement values. To test this third proposition three specific hypotheses are proposed and empirically tested.

Hypothesis (9). The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their social participation in American social life.

The two variables of this hypothesis, socio-economic status and social participation, were correlated and produced a coefficient of correlation of .50. The null hypothesis of no association was tested by means of the "t" test of significance.

$$r = .50$$
, $t = 5.83$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

As it can be observed, the statistical significance of the correlation coefficient obtained is demonstrated by the test of significance. This indicates that the null hypothesis of no association must be rejected since the value of "t" obtained is far greater than that needed to establish that the two variables are significantly correlated.

The test of this hypothesis suggests that Mexican-Americans who have a higher socio-economic status also experience greater social participation with the dominant culture. In other words, they interact more fully in American society than do Mexican-Americans who have a lower socio-economic status.

Hypothesis (10). The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth, the higher their knowledge and use of the English language.

The Pearsonian r of socio-economic status and language orientation shows that these variables are positively correlated. The correlation coefficient was found to be .53. The value of "t" obtained in the test of significance permits the rejection of the null hypothesis of no association.

$$r = .53$$
, $t = 5.83$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

As it can be seen, the value of "t" obtained is significantly larger than that needed to consider significant the correlation of socio-economic status and language orientation. This indicates that Mexican-Americans who have a higher socio-economic status are also more proficient with the English language. They know it better and they use it more extensively than they do Spanish.

Hypothesis (11). The higher the parental socio-economic status of Mexican-American youth the higher their value-orientation to achievement.

As with the previous hypotheses, the two variables in this hypothesis were correlated. The resulting correlation coefficient was .33.

The test of the null hypothesis of no association shows that the correlation coefficient obtained is significant.

$$r = .33$$
, $t = 3.29$, $d.f. = 89$ p. < .05

The null hypothesis of no association is, therefore, rejected. The data show that socio-economic status and value-orientation are significantly correlated. Mexican-Americans who have a higher socio-economic status also accept more readily the achievement values of the dominant group. More specifically, they believe that work has intrinsic value, they have a positive evaluation of structured time, change, deferred gratification, and believe more in the internal (rather than in the external) determination of events. This suggests that Mexican-Americans in the North seem to be gradually identifying themselves with the dominant group. This at least is shown by their internalization of values which are more typical of the dominant culture rather than of the traditional Spanish culture.

These three previous hypotheses have shown a positive correlation between the socio-economic status of Mexican-Americans and their acculturation to certain aspects of the culture of the dominant group. The three specific acculturation dimensions were social participation, language orientation, and orientation to achievement values. The statistically significant correlation of these variables provides, then, some empirical evidence for the support of the third theoretical proposition advanced in this study.

E. Summary of Chapter

The main purpose of this chapter was to present the empirical test of the hypotheses advanced in this study. The statistical test of the

eleven hypotheses has given empirical support to the three major theoretical propositions in the present study. In the statistical analysis of the data it was found that all the eleven hypotheses proposed were tenable. The statistical analysis of the data consisted of correlation analysis and conventional "t" tests of significance to determine the tenability or untenability of the null hypotheses of no association. The summary of the test of the eleven hypotheses is presented in Table 24.

As indicated in Table 24, all eleven hypotheses proposed in the present study were found to be tenable, that is, the correlation coefficients of every hypothesis indicated that the association of the variables was statistically significant. Hypotheses 1 to 6 were proposed to test the proposition that a relationship exists between the acculturation of Mexican-American youth, to the general culture, and their educational and occupational level of aspiration.

Hypotheses 7 and 8 were proposed to test the proposition that socioeconomic status and the level of occupational and educational aspiration
of Mexican-American youth are variables positively correlated. This
too, was confirmed. Hypotheses 9, 10 and 11, were proposed to test
the proposition that the socio-economic status of Mexican-American
youth and their acculturation to the general culture are also correlated
variables.

It is concluded that the empirical test of the hypotheses of the present study provide sufficient evidence for the tenability of the main thesis here advanced.

Table 24. Summary of Test of Hypotheses.*

Hypothesis Number	Variables	(r=)	(t=)	(d.f.)	p. *
(1)	Educational Aspiration and Orientation to Achievement Values	. 20	1.97	89	p. < .05
(2)	Occupational Aspiration and Orientation to Achievement Values	. 24	2.35	89	p. < .05
(3)	Educational Aspiration and Social Participation	. 38	3.85	89	p. < .05
(4)	Occupational Participation and Social Participation	. 30	2.73	89	p. < .05
(5)	Educational Aspiration and Language Orientation	. 27	2.63	89	p. < .05
(6)	Occupational Aspiration and Language Orientation	. 26	2.54	89	p. < .05
(7)	Educational Aspiration and Socio-economic status	.40	4.04	89	p. < .05
(8)	Occupational Aspiration and Socio-economic status	. 23	2.07	89	p. < .05
(9)	Socio-economic status and Social Participation	.50	5.36	89	p. < .05
(10)	Socio-economic status and Language Orientation	.53	5.83	89	p. < .05
(11)	Socio-economic status and Orientation to Achievement Values	.33	3.29	89	p. < .05

^{*}At the .05 level of significance a "t" value of 1.66 or higher would be required to reject the null hypotheses.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

A. Contents of This Chapter

This chapter consists of the conclusion of the present study. In this chapter will be presented a restatement of the main thesis and of its theoretical bases. It will include a general summary of the empirical findings of the study and also some theoretical and practical implications suggested by such findings. Included also will be a discussion of possible research problems which have become evident in the process of the completion of the present study. A general summary of the contents of the chapter will bring it to a close.

B. Restatement of the Main Thesis

The main thesis advanced in this study, which thesis has been proposed in the explicit form of eleven testable hypotheses, is that the level of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American youth is positively correlated to their acculturation to some aspects of the dominant American culture, and that these two variables, in turn, are also positively correlated to the socio-economic position of Mexican-Americans in the social structure. As explicitly stated in Chapter III on the methodological procedures, the testing of the eleven hypotheses consisted in the statistical correlation of the relevant variables and also in the evaluation of the statistical correlations by a statistical test of significance.

C. Restatement of the Theoretical Frame of Reference

The theoretical frame of reference within which the main thesis could be properly understood was delineated on the basis of two main principles: 1) That social aspiration is in part a function of the social environment of individuals, and 2) That increased diversity in the social environment of individuals is instrumental in their rising their level of social aspiration. The tenability of these two generalizations has been demonstrated with some populations, but it is necessary to continue research on this field with other populations. In the present study certain considerations suggested the selection of an ethnic minority of migrants to the northern urbanized centers of the United States. This minority is the Mexican-Americans who have left the Southwest and have moved to the North.

The case of migration of Mexican-Americans to the North, as described in Chapter I, is discussed in terms of five specific social factors believed to account for a great deal of the difference in the social interaction which members of this group experience as they move to the North from the Southwest. Specifically, it was stated in Chapter I that Mexican-Americans who migrate to the North encounter less group stereotyping, less residential concentration of their own members, less school segregation, less incidence of mass employment, and lesser group isolation. It is further stated that in relation to the restricted social interaction which Mexican-Americans experience in the Southwest, the existence of the social environmental differences found in the North constitutes a significant increase in the diversity of their social environment, including greater interaction with the dominant group and culture. As further elaborated in Chapter II, the diversity of their social environment, in itself, constitutes new social facilities for members of this

ethnic group, such as greater educational and occupational opportunities and possibilities. Furthermore, the greater the opportunities for the interaction of Mexican-Americans with the dominant society and culture, the greater the possibilities for their perception of other social facilities which may be instrumental in their rising their level of social aspiration.

As proposed in the present study, one manifestation of the existence of new social facilities in the North for Mexican-Americans, and of their perception of such facilities might be the correlation of their socio-economic status, their acculturation to certain aspects of the dominant culture, and their level of occupational and educational aspiration. The particular way in which these variables are correlated is explicitly stated in Chapter II.

D. Summary of Findings

The empirical findings of the present study generally substantiate the main thesis. The eleven hypotheses proposed in the study were found tenable. The data show that Mexican-Americans who indicate a high level of occupational and educational aspiration also indicate a high level of acculturation to certain aspects of American culture and also report a high socio-economic status. On the other hand, Mexican-Americans whose scores indicate a low level of educational and occupational aspiration, also have scores indicating a low level of acculturation, and also report a low socio-economic status.

From the descriptive point of view, the findings fall into three major areas: (1) the description of the sample in terms of levels of aspiration, (2) the description of the sample in terms of their socioeconomic status, and (3) the description of the sample in terms of their acculturation to certain aspects of the dominant culture.

1. Level of Aspiration

First with respect to level of occupational aspiration, the data show that Mexican-Americans in the North have a relatively high level of occupational aspiration. There are indications that their own aspirations and the desires of their parents may enable them to achieve some social mobility in the future. Mexican-Americans also make a distinction between a realistic and an idealistic occupational aspiration. When they are asked to consider realistic factors, they lower their level of occupational aspiration, thus suggesting that they also realize the existence of external factors which come between aspiration and achievement.

An important finding in this study is the very great difference which exists between the level of occupational aspiration of the sample, and the actual occupational prestige level of their fathers. The prestige level of the actual occupation of the fathers is extremely low by comparison.

With respect to the level of educational aspiration, it was also found that their aspiration is quite high. As the data include findings on the actual educational achievements of the sample up to now, the validity of their stated educational aspiration is logically increased when it is realized that their educational achievements already surpass the educational achievements of the parents. But here, too, Mexican-Americans also seem to realize the role of external social factors, for they also lower their level of educational aspiration when asked to consider realistic factors.

2. Socio-economic Status

In general, the socio-economic status of Mexican-Americans in the North appears to be higher compared to the one they are known to have as migrants or as residents of the Southwest. Though in terms of the SES index used in this study there are differences within the sample studied, it appears, however, that the great majority of the families have a steady income, and some amount of private property such as real estate, automobiles, and home appliances.

3. Acculturation

The findings suggest that the acculturation of Mexican-Americans in the North is an important fact in their life experience. From the point of view of the three dimensions of acculturation considered here, members of the sample report that they have considerable social interaction with members of the dominant group, that they prefer and speak mostly the English language, and also that they have adopted some important achievement values of the dominant group. Tentatively, these findings suggest that the acculturation of Mexican-Americans in the North may be taking place at a pace that has been unknown previously among members of this ethnic group. The well-known resistance to acculturation on the part of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest may be suffering the impact of the new social experience in the North. It might be relevant here to mention that about two-thirds of the sample reported the North as their birth place (Michigan) which would indicate that the new generations of Mexican-Americans in the North may face the problem of acculturation and even assimilation with very different experiences as their social background.

Several other findings, such as low school mortality among

Mexican-Americans in the North, also seem to have important implications

for the future of this ethnic minority as their numbers increase in the

North.

E. Some Theoretical Implications of the Findings

As with most studies on level of aspiration, the present study reports what a sample of individuals say their level of occupational and

educational aspiration is. It could probably be said that these studies are incomplete unless followed by longitudinal studies which might show the actual achievements of those reporting their social aspiration, and therefore the real significance of the phenomenon of aspiration.

But studies on the level of aspiration, as such, produce data which may be of great significance in and of themselves, for they reveal certain important characteristics of individuals and groups which may be basic for the fuller understanding of social structure and social change.

From this point of view, then, what may be the implications of the findings of this study? For example, what do the findings suggest concerning the possibility and probable patterns and trends of future social mobility of ethnic group? Or what do the findings suggest concerning the immediate or long range effect of the internalization of certain values of the dominant culture on the part of the ethnic group? What seems to be the consequences on minority group structure, and on individual members of minority groups, of the absence of institutionalized patterns of subordination in the system of social relationships with the dominant group? And more explicitly, what may be the expected consequences on previously subordinated groups, which through physical mobility come to experience an increased diversity in their social environment and a consequent increase of social facilities particularly when structural social situations encourage the increased perception of such facilities?

Studies on the level of social aspiration, particularly among members of minority groups, may suggest some tentative answers to such and other similar questions even in the absence of longitudinal studies. Of course, in the present case, the direct implications of the findings must be restricted to Mexican-Americans, and more particularly, to Mexican-Americans living under similar social conditions as those of the sample used in this study.

Concerning the potential social mobility of Mexican-Americans in the North, certain considerations suggest that the findings here be interpreted with special caution. It is the opinion of the writer that, notwithstanding the more favorable social economic conditions which Mexican-Americans experience in the North--which has been amply documented in this study--and notwithstanding the empirical demonstration of the thesis of this study, it should not be hastily concluded that Mexican-Americans in the North are undergoing a fast rate of social mobility or that in the near future they will do so.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the new social experience and greater social facilities which Mexican-Americans have encountered in the North have given them "enough to hope for more." However, this is not sufficient basis to conclude that the only thing for Mexican-Americans to do from now on is to move to the magic North and raise their socioeconomic status in all its dimensions. As mentioned before, certain factors suggest more caution in the interpretation of the findings.

One such factor is the role of the family in the process of achievement of social aspirations. In the process of achievement of social aspiration, and even in the process of development of such social aspiration, the role of the family of orientation has been found to be of great importance. For example, Kahl discovered that youth from families willing and able to support and encourage them had higher level of aspiration. This means that the family has a very important role in the

¹As Robin M. Williams says, "the model American 'has enough to hope for more' and his culture on the whole continually reinforces his ambitions." It is particularly due to this fact that there exists an 'optimistic' aspiration. The paradox in this idea is that individuals or groups that have little aspire or hope for little, while those who have enough, aspire or hope for more. See American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 127.

²Joseph A. Kahl, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>.

process of crystallization of aspirations of young people and functions also as an important supporting structure.

It should be pointed out, however, that family support--economic, moral and otherwise--is not solely a matter of ableness and willingness on the part of the parents. Even when this type of support exists, it may not be sufficient unless the family in general, and the parents in particular, have a sufficient amount of cultural and social know-how¹ so that they may be effective in guiding and helping the aspirations of the young and supporting them to the final achievement of such aspirations.

The observations of the present writer indicate that Mexican-American families do not seem to possess a sufficient amount of such cultural and social know-how. It appears that their acculturation has emphasized mostly those external, more tangible aspects of the culture and has not included many aspects of the style of life of members of the dominant group. Moreover, a related point of great relevance here concerns the apparent communication patterns within Mexican-American families, at least as far as social aspiration is concerned. For example, as shown in Table 7 (pages 72 and 73), the communication between parents and members of the sample seems to be rather poor. If this pattern of communication suggested by the data is actually a fact, it would appear that some dimensions of moral support on the part of the parents may also be lacking.

This is not to say that Mexican-American parents have no interest in the social mobility of their children. Direct observation and also the

¹By cultural and social know-how we mean the general awareness of individuals with respect to available alternatives in society and of the specific mechanical processes to make use of them. For example, concerning educational aspiration, the family might be the source of school names, school locations, social mechanisms to acquire information, school literature such as catalogues, admission forms, etc. This, of course, is part of the style of life.

data here indicate that such interest does exist. But the parents do not seem to be able to communicate this to their children. Whether this is related to personal or social characteristics of the parents or the children, or both, remains an empirical question. The point here is that family support appears to be deficient.

The above considerations suggest two questions which may not be easy to answer at this time. First, how can the findings concerning the high level of social aspiration among Mexican-American youth be explained? and second, to what degree can this high level of aspiration be interpreted as suggesting that Mexican-Americans in the North are in the process of achieving acculturation at a fast rate? At this time, one general hypothesis may be offered as a possible explanation to both these general questions. It should be pointed out, however, that a full discussion of this tentative hypothesis is not intended here.

As amply documented in this study, the educational and socioeconomic achievements of Mexican-Americans in the North are somewhat
impressive. Their pace in the process of acculturation, at least in terms
of the dimensions studied here, appears also to be impressive.
Acculturation, however, involves many other dimensions. Certainly
more than mere social participation, language orientation, and the
acceptance of certain achievement values of the dominant group.

One of these other dimensions of acculturation is identification. It has been suggested that in the acquisition of value patterns, the learning mechanism of identification may be the most important. As Parsons says, "identification means taking over, i.e., internalizing, the values of the model." The relationship is one in which the values become part of the subjective nature of the individual. In the process of acculturation identification is almost in direct opposition to imitation. In imitation

¹Talcott Parsons, <u>The Social System</u> (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 211.

the overt manifestation of the values is evident but there is no inner or subjective basis for this manifestation, there is not "any solidarity attachment."

Now, it might be possible that in the case of Mexican-Americans, the various concrete signs of acculturation to the dominant culture may be more on the basis of imitation than on identification. If such is the case, such an hypothesis might also explain the few particular cases in the sample where the level of aspiration indicated is not only idealistic, but actually too unrealistic, if one is to judge on the bases of the past poor achievement experience of the Mexican-American group and the apparent lack of social and cultural know-how of the average Mexican-American family. From this point of view, it may be supposed that Mexican-Americans in the North respond to the increased diversity of their social environment by going through an "external stage of assimilation" some aspects of which may be manifested in their reported high level of occupational and educational aspiration.

¹Ibid.

²On the other hand, the empirical findings here provide sufficient bases for the suggestion that within the imitation-identification continuum in acculturation, the behavior of Mexican-Americans in the North would appear to be closer to the identification pole than it is true of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. Based on a review of the literature, it may be suggested that the acculturation patterns of Mexican-Americans in the Southwest are more on the basis of imitation rather than on identification with the dominant values. Much of the interactive behavior of the Mexican-American there appears to one of reaction to the action of the dominant group. That is, he reacts to his status of subordination, and is usually on the defensive. Under these social and psychological conditions identification becomes near to impossible. Imitation, however, becomes a "necessary evil" but even that is mostly restricted to the more material aspects of the dominant culture. Social interaction in the North would seem to require or encourage considerably less defensive reaction. Under such social conditions identification with the values of the dominant group may be expected to be more probable.

³William C. Smith, Americans in the Making: The Natural History of the Assimilation of Immigrants (New York: Appleton-Century Inc., 1939), p. 6.

There may be several other considerations which, if explored, might shed further light on the interpretation of the findings of this study, and perhaps also raise more problems. But in the opinion of the writer, the important thing to remember is that there is really not enough quantitative data on Mexican-Americans in the North, and that more complete and significant conclusions concerning their place in the social structure must wait for further studies.

F. Some Problems for Further Research

In the opinion of the writer the present study is only a small contribution to the investigation of the internal dynamics of the Mexican-American ethnic groups who leave the Southwest and migrate to the North. This migration offers opportunities for the study of many important aspects of social and cultural change in directly affecting the social structure of both, the ethnic group itself and the dominant Society. There is no question that many more quantitative studies of this particular ethnic group are needed before more firm conclusions can be reached, and in particular, because as a group, Mexican-Americans have generally resisted acculturation in a somewhat successful way.

Those who have observed this successful resistance of the Mexican-American group to acculturation and assimilation have usually mentioned residential or geographical propinquity of the mother culture as perhaps one of the most important factors explaining this resistance. However, as Mexican-Americans leave the Southwest, this factor, of course, is eliminated, and its elimination may facilitate the control of other variables as further study attempts to understand the susceptibility of this group to the cultural values and ways of the dominant American society.

Based on the above considerations, one problem for further research would be to consider the impact of length of residence in the North on the Mexican-American group. Differentials in levels of aspiration may be associated with length of residence in the North. Also the length of residence variable could be correlated to other important characteristics of the social structure of the ethnic group.

Another problem of research for the further understanding of differentials in level of aspiration might be the study of the impact of relative success or failure in the achievement of given social aspirations, that is, longitudinal studies tracing the achievement of the group in the occupational and educational fields.

It would be also of great importance to determine the general impact of migration to the North on the solidarity of the Mexican-American group. As Warner has indicated, "When the institutions of the new community do not permit or encourage mobility, when the social-class system subordinates the ethnic group, its solidarity is increased." But, as indicated in this study, the North does permit and encourage the social mobility of the Mexican-American, and whatever subordination there is in the social relationships there, it is certainly not institutionalized in the way that it is in the Southwest. The question arises: What is the impact of the social structure changes on the solidarity of the Mexican-American group? Also, changes in the family structure could be studied in their relation to level of aspiration. Evidence from other research has shown that there seems to be a relationship between unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in the family of orientation and high level of aspiration. Are Mexican-American families in the North also

¹Lloyd Warner, op. cit., p. 154. As Warner has suggested, ''Mobility in the larger social system is directly related to the length of residence, if other factors are equal.''

²Ibid., p. 153.

³Russell R. Dynes, op. cit., p. 212.

susceptible to this type of phenomenon? Is there a meaningful or significant relationship between the high level of aspiration of Mexican-Americans in the North and the type of family integration among them?

A related point would be to study the relationship between the type and size of family among Mexican-Americans and their level of aspiration. For example, is the traditional Mexican-American consanguine family changing to the conjugal pattern as migration to the North increases? Are these families becoming smaller, and are these and other family characteristics related to the level of occupational and educational aspiration of Mexican-American youth?

As mentioned before, there is a conceptual differentiation between imitation and identification as factors in the process of acculturation. With respect to the level of aspiration further research could indicate whether the high level of aspiration reported in this study is related more to the identification with the relevant values of the dominant group, or whether they are mostly a partial manifestation of the "external stage of assimilation" which appears to have been already achieved by Mexican-Americans in the North. Closely connected to this point would be the investigation of the meaning of social aspiration to Mexican-Americans. It may be that the meaning of social aspiration varies among ethnic groups, that is, studies on level of aspiration perhaps should not be interpreted from the point of view that for every group professional occupations have a higher prestige and/or more satisfying aspects than technical or other types of occupations. For to do so assumes an absolute standard of evaluation of occupational alternatives for all social groups. This assumption, instead, should become an empirical question in the study of social aspiration among different populations.

The main point here then, is that future research on the level of aspiration among ethnic groups should perhaps consider the relativity of the meaning of the concept. For Lewin and his associates discovered

very early in their studies of level of aspiration that for some individuals the maintenance of the status quo, is, in itself, a type of social aspiration. 1

There might be many other areas for investigation which are related to the level of aspiration of ethnic group, and particularly to Mexican-Americans. Research in these areas would no doubt clarify and augment the findings reported in the present study and would probably answer most or all the questions raised here.

G. Summary of Chapter

This chapter was the conclusion of the study. A summary of the main empirical findings was presented preceded by a re-statement of the main thesis and a re-statement of the theoretical frame of reference which guided the organization of the study design and the analysis of the data.

An important part of this chapter has been the discussion of the theoretical implications of the findings. Some considerations in the interpretation of the reported empirical findings were suggested. The last part of the chapter consisted of a discussion of some possible research problems in the area of level of aspiration among ethnic groups, particularly among Mexican-Americans whose migration to the North appears to be increasing.

¹K. Lewin, Tamara Dembo, L. Festinger, and P. S. Sears, op. cit.

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APPENDIX A

MAIN SCHEDULE AND CODE

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

SCHEDULE NUMBER I

This is a study about your school and work plans. It will be of great help to Michigan State University. By learning about you we can learn to help others like you.

- 1. Please read each question carefully. Answereach question the best you an-
- 2. If you cannot answer a question, write " I DON'T KNOW."
- 3. If a question does not apply to you, write " DOES NOT APPLY."
- 4. If you do not understand a question please raise your hand and the examiner will help you.
- 5. If you want to give a longer answer please feel free to do so and use the space available.

1.	YOUR NAME 2. HOME ADDRESS
31	YOUR AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY 4. DATE OF BIRTH
5.	IN WHAT STATE WERE YOU BORN? (Day) (Month) (Year)
6.	IN WHAT GRADE ARE YOU IN SCHOOL? Senior (); Junior (); Sophomore ()
	Other (Please name)
7.	HAVE YOU GONE TO SCHOOL IN ANOTHER STATE BESIDE MICHIGAN? Yes () No ()
	(If yes) WHAT STATE? HOW MANY YEARS DID YOU GO TO SCHOOL
	THERE?
8.	WHAT IS YOUR CHURCH PREFERENCE?

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9.	IN THE FOLLOWING LIST CHECK THOSE AC	CTIVITIES IN WHICH YOU PARTICIPATE IN SCHOOL.
	() Spanish Club () Sports () Band-Orchestra () School Newspaper () Choir Singing	() Latin Club () Student Government () Other (Please name)
10.	ARE YOU A MEMBER OF ANY OF THE FOLLO	OWING SCHOOL TEAMS?
	() Football () Basketball () Baseball () Boxing	() Wrestling () Track () Other (Please name)
11.	CHECK THOSE ACTIVITIES IN WHICH YOU	PARTICIPATE WHEN YOU ARE NOT IN SCHOOL.
	() Hunting () Fishing () Camping () Other (Please name)	
12.	CAN YOU DRIVE A CAR? Yes ()	No ()
13.	DO YOU HAVE A CAR OF YOUR OWN?	es () No ()
14.	DO YOU DRIVE YOUR OWN OR ANYONE ELSE	3'S CAR OFTEN? Yes () No ()
15.	WRITE THE NAMES OF THE CLUBS, SOCIAL	L GROUPS, OR ASSOCIATIONS THAT YOU GO TO REGULARLY
•	Name	Are you a member?
	1	Yes () No ()
	2:	Yes () No ()
	3.	Yes () No ()

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(5)	What do yo	ou usually	do on	Sunday a	fternoons	?						-
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18.	ABOUT YOUR CHOICE OF AN OCCUPATION
18	WHAT JOBS OR OCCUPATIONS HAVE YOU THOUGHT ABOUT COING INTO?
	2.
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19.	OF THESE JOBS WHICH ONE DO YOU THINK YOU WILL FOLLOW?
20.	HOW MUCH HAVE YOU THOUGHT ABOUT YOUR JOB PLANS?
	() A great deal () Some, but not very much () Very little
21.	HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW THE JOB OR OCCUPATION YOU WANT TO FOLLOW?
	() You know it well () You have a general knowledge () You do not know much a out it
221	DO YOU THINK THAT THE JOB OR OCCUPATION YOU HAVE CHOSEN IS:
	() Very easy for you () Somewhat easy for you () Somewhat difficult for you () Very difficult for you () You don't know
23.	IN THE OCCUPATION YOU HAVE CHOSEN, DO YOU EXPECT HELP IN GETTING ST. RTED:
	() From your father or mother (If they are in the same type of work () From relatives (If they are in the same type of work) () From friends (If they are in the same type of work) () From no one.
24.	HAS YOUR FATHER EVER TOLD YOU TO FOLLOW HIS OCCUPATION? Yes() No ()
25.	IF YOU WERE ABSOLUTELY FREE TO GO INTO ANY TYPE OF WORK YOU WANTED, WHAT WOULD BE YOUR FIRST CHOICE?
26.	WHAT TYPE OF WORK DOES YOUR FATHER WANT YOU TO DO?
27.	WHAT TYPE OF WORK DOES YOUR NOTHER WANT YOU TO DO?
28.	WHERE WOULD YOU PREFER TO CARRY ON YOUR LIFE'S WORK?
	() In a city () In agmall toum () In the country
29.	HAVE YOU EVER BEE! A MAMBER OF A LABOR UNION?
	() Yes () No

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30.	PLEASE URITE THE JOBS YOU HAVE HAD IN THE PAST. URITE ONLY THOSE JOBS YOU DID FOR MONEY.
	Was this job: Full time Summer job
	1Yes() No () Yes() No ()
	2Yes() No () Yes() No ()
	3Yes() No() Yes() No()
	ABOUT YOUR EDUCATION
31.	PLEASE CHECK THE LAST GRADE THAT YOU COMPLETED IN SCHOOL.
	() 12th. () 9th. () 6th. () 3rd. () 11th. () 8th. () 5th. () 2nd. () 10th. () 7th. () 4th. () 1st.
32.	DO YOU PLAN TO FINISH HIGH SCHOOL?
	() Yes. () No.
331	ID YOU PLAN TO CONTINUE YOUR EDUCATION BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL?
	() Yes () No
	(If yes) What schools have you thought about attending?
	Name of school Location of school
	1
	2s
34•	IF YOU DO NOT PLAN TO STUDY BEYOND HIGH SCHOOL, IS IT BECAUSE:
	 () You do not have enough money? () You do not need any more school for the occupation you have chosen? () Your parents want you to quit going to school? () Another reason? (please explain)
35•	HOW HUCH HAVE YOU THOUGHT ABOUT YOUR EDUCATION?
·	() A great deal () Some, but not very much () Very little
36.	IF YOU COULD, WOULD YOU LIKE TO CO TO COLLEGE? Yes() No()
((If yes) What would you like to study in college?

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37.	HOW HARD ARE HIGH SCHOOL STUDIES FOR YOU?
	() Very hard () Somewhat hard () Somewhat easy () Very easy
38.	DO YOU LIKE SCHOOL?
	() Yes, I like school very much () I like school some () No, I don't like school
39.	WHAT DO YOU LIKE MOST ABOUT SCHOOL?
	() The studies () The friends you make () The teachers you have () The sports () Other (Please name)
40.	WHAT DO YOU LIKE LEAST ABOUT SCHOOL?
41.	DO YOU CONSIDER YOURSELF (as compared to most students)
	() A good student () An average student () A below average student
42.	OF ALL THE SUBJECTS YOU TAKE IN SCHOOL, WHICH ONE DO YOU LIKE THE MOST?
	A DOUTH TOUTH DA DELING
1.0	ABOUT YOUR PARENTS
43.	ARE YOUR PARENTS () Both living together () Both dead () Father is dead () Mother is dead () Divorced () Separated
妣.	DOES YOUR MOTHER
	() Have a full time job outside the home () Have a part-time job outside the home () Have no job outside the home
45.	WHAT IS THE OCCUPATION OF YOUR FATHER (If father retired or dead, what WAS his occupation) Please write what he does, not where he works)

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46.	HOW DOES YOUR FATHER CONSIDER HIS OCCUPATION?
	() Very satisfactory () Good enough () Not very good
47.	DOES YOUR FATHER DO THE SAME TYPE OF WORK ALL YEAR AROUND?
	() Yes () No
48.	DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS, DID YOUR FATHER WORK
	() Six months () Five months () Four months () Three months () Two months () One month () Did not work
49.	HOW MANY DIFFERENT JOBS DID YOUR FATHER HAVE LAST YEAR?
	() Only one () Two () Three or more
50.	WHAT WAS THE OCCUPATION OF YOUR FATHER'S FATHER?
51.	WHAT WAS THE OCCUPATION OF YOUR MOTHER'S FATHER?
52.	WHERE WAS YOUR FATHER BORN?
	(City) (State) (Country)
53.	WHERE WAS YOUR MOTHER BORN? (City) (State) (Country)
54.	HOW MANY YEARS DID YOUR FATHER GO TO SCHOOL?
	() Less than three years () He finished High School () From three to five years () He went to technical or business school () From six to eight years () He went to college (Name) () From nine to eleven years () Other (Please name)
55.	HOW MANY YEARS DID YOUR FATHER GO TO SCHOOL?
	() Less than three years () He finished High School () From three to five years () He went to technical or business school () From mine to eleven years () He went to college (Name) () Other (Please name)
56.	DO YOU THINK THAT THE EDUCATION OF YOUR FATHER IS
	() Very satisfactory () Good enough () Not your good

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<i>5</i> 7.	IS YOUR FATHER COMPLETELY SATISFIED WITH HIS EDUCA	ATION	?				
	() Yes () No						
58.	DO YOUR PARENTS WANT YOU TO						
	() Quit High School now and go to work () Finish High School, then go to work () Continue Education beyond High School () Other (Please explain)				······································		
59.	DO YOU WISH YOUR FATHER HAD A BETTER JOB?						
	() Yes () No						
	ABOUT YOUR HOUSE						
60.	IS YOUR HOME:						
	() Rented () Owned						
61.	HOW MANY ROOMS DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR HOUSE? (Do not include basements, bathrooms, porches, cl	losets	, hal	ls)			
62.	HOW MANY PERSONS LIVE IN YOUR HOUSE?	-					
63.	HOW MANY OLDER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?						
64.	HOW MANY YOUNGER BROTHERS AND SISTERS DO YOU HAVE?	? <u> </u>					
65.	THE CONSTRUCTION OF YOUR HOUSE IS						
	() Brick () Painted frame () Unpainted frame () Trailer () Other (Please describe)			<u></u>		en e	
66,	THE TYPE OF REFRIGERATOR IN YOUR HOUSE IS						
	() Mechanical (gas or electric) () Ice box () None						
67.	DO YOU HAVE A POWER MACHINE?	()	Yes	()	No		
68.	DO YOU HAVE A DEEP FREEZE LOCKER AT YOUR HOUSE?	()	Yes	()	No		
69.	DO YOU TAKE A DAILY NEWSPAPER?	()	Yes	()	No		
70.	DO YOU HAVE A RADIO?	()	Yes	()	No		
71.	DO YOU HAVE A TELEVISION SET?	()	Yes	()	No		
72.	DO YOUR PARENTS HAVE A CAR? (Other than a truck)				No		
73.	DO YOU HAVE A TELEPHONE?	()	Yes	()	No		

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ABOUT YOUR KNOWLEDGE OF LANGUAGES

74.	WHEN YOUR PARENTS SPEAK TO YOU, WHAT LANGUAGE DO THEY USUALLY USE?
	() English () Spanish
75.	WHEN YOU SPEAK TO YOUR PARENTS, WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USUALLY USE?
	() English () Spanish
76.	IN WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOUR FATHER AND MOTHER SPEAK TO ONE ANOTHER?
	() English () Spanish
77.	IF YOU LIVE WITH SOMEONE OTHER THAN YOUR PARENTS, IN WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK TO THEM?
	() English () Spanish
78.	AFTER SCHOOL, WHEN YOU ARE WITH FRIENDS YOUR OWN AGE, WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU USUALLY USE?
	() English () Spanish
79.	WHAT LANGUAGE DO YOU THINK YOU SPEAK BEST?
	() English () Spanish
80.	WHEN YOU DREAM, DO YOU DREAM IN
	() English () Spanish () Both
81.	WHEN SOMEONE SPEAKS TO YOU IN ENGLISH DO YOU UNDERSTAND
	() with no difficulty () with some difficulty () with great difficulty
82.	WHEN SOMEONE SPEAKS TO YOU IN SPANISH DO YOU UNDERSTAND
	() with no difficulty () with some difficulty () with great difficulty
83.	DO YOU ATTEND CHURCH SERVICES THAT ARE CONDUCTED MOSTLY IN
	() English () Spanish
84.	DO YOU IN YOUR HOME LISTEN TO RADIO PROGRAMS IN SPANISH?
	() Yes () No
85.	DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR HOME SPANISH MUSIC IN RECORDS?
	() Yes

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86.	DO YOU RECEIVE IN YOUR HOME MEWSPAPERS OR MAGAZINES IN SPANISH?
	() Yes () No
87.	WHEN SPANISH MOVIES ARE SHOWN IN LANSING, DO YOU GO SEE THEM?
	() always () sometimes () never
88.	IN WHAT LANGUAGE CAN YOU WRITE BEST?
	() Chanish () English () Both the same
89.	WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOU KNOW OR SING MORE POPULAR SONGS IN
	() Spanish () English
90.	DO YOUR FIVE BEST FRIENDS SPEAK MOSTLY
	() Spanish () English () Both

Occupational and Educational Levels of Aspiration of Mexican-American Youth

CODING KEY FOR MAIN SCHEDULE

Card l. Main Schedule

Column No.

- 1.1-2 Card Identification
 - 01- (card punched 01)
- 1.3-4 Person Identification
 - 0-1- first person
 - 02 second person

:

- 1.5 Age
 - 0- 15 years old
 - 1- 15 years and six months
 - 2- 16 years old
 - 3- 16 years and six months
 - 4- 17 years old
 - 5- 17 years and six months
 - 6-18 years old
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.6 State of birth
 - 0- Texas
 - l- Michigan
 - 2- Other state in U.S.
 - 3- Mexico
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.7 Grade in school
 - 0- seventh
 - l- eighth
 - 2- ninth
 - 3-tenth
 - 4- eleventh
 - 5- twelfth
 - 6- Out of school
 - Y- N.A.

```
1.8 Attendance to school in other states
     l- Yes, in Texas
     2- Yes, in other state
     3- Yes, in Mexico
     4- No
     Y- N.A.
1.9
     Years attending school in another state
     0- all school in Michigan
     1- One year
     2- Two years
     Y- N.A.
1.10 Church preference
     0- Catholic
     1- Protestant sect (Nazarene, Jehova Witness, etc.)
     2- Protestant church (Methodist, Baptist, etc.)
     3- Other
     Y- N.A.
1.11 Number of extracurricular activities
     0- none
     1- one
     2- two
     Y- N.A.
1.12 Membership in school teams
     0- none
     1- one
     2- two
     Y- N.A.
1.13 Participation in outdoor activities out of school
     0- none
     l- one
     2- two
     Y- N.A.
1.14 Automobile driving knowledge
```

1- yes 2- no

```
1.15 Automobile ownership
     l- yes
     0- no
1.16 Automobile driving activity
     l- yes
     0 - no
1.17 Social clubs attendance
     0- none
     1- one
     2- two
     Y- N.A.
1.18 Social clubs membership
     0- member of none
     1- member of one
     Y- N.A.
1.19 Social interaction of Ego during Saturday mornings
     6- Works for pay outside his home; has personal contact with
         out-group
     3- Stays home watching T.V., listening to radio, etc.
     1- Has personal contact with in-group; studies at home
     0- Relaxes at home, sleeps, etc.
     Y-.N.A.
1.20 Social interaction of Ego during Saturday afternoon
     (see 1.19)
1.21 Social interaction of Ego during Saturday evening
     (see 1.19)
1.22 Social interaction of Ego during Sunday morning
     (see 1.19)
1.23 Social interaction of Ego during Sunday afternoon
     (see 1.19)
1.24 Social interaction of Ego during Sunday evening
     (see 1.19)
1.25 Social interaction of Ego daily, after school
     (see 1.19)
1.26-27 First index of social participation (sum of cols.
      1.11 through 1.18 and column 52)
     00- 0 points (low social participation)
     01-1 point
```

99-99 points (high social participation)

```
1.28-29 Second index of social participation (sum of cols.
           1.19 through 1.25)
     00-0 points
     01-1 point
     99- 99 points
1.30-31 (blank columns)
1.32 Relationship of Ego to best friends
     0- none related
     1- one related
     2- two related
     Y- N.A.
1.33 Number of different occupational choices
     0- none
     1- one
     2- two
     Y- N.A.
1.34-35 North-Hatt occupational choice prestige score
        (highest choice, from questions 18, 19, and 25)
     34- thirty-four
     96- ninety-six
     YY- N.A.
1.36-37 North-Hatt occupational choice prestige score
        (Lowest choice, see 1.34-35)
1.38-39 North-Hatt occupational prestige score
        (Final choice, see 1.34-35)
1.40-41 North-Hatt occupational prestige score
        (Free-choice, see 1.34-35)
1.42-44 North-Hatt mean occupational prestige score
        (Mean score from all different choices in questions
        18, 19, and 25)
     340- thirty-four point, zero
     960- ninety-six point, zero
```

1.45	Amount of thought regarding occupational choice 2- A great deal 1- Some, but not very much 0- Very little Y- N.A.
1.46	Amount of knowledge regarding occupational choice 2- "you know it well" 1- "you have a general knowledge" 0- "you don't know much about it" Y- N.A.
1.47	Self estimate of ability for chosen occupation 2- "very easy for you" 1- "somewhat easy (difficult) for you" 0- "very difficult for you" Y- N.A.
1.48	Type of work father wants Ego to have 1- labor work 2- skilled, semi-skilled 4- professional Y- N.A.
1.49	Type of work mother wants Ego to have (See 1.48)
1.50	Index of family influence in choosing occupation (sum of scores from columns 48 and 49) 2- influenced to labor work 4- influenced to skilled, semi-skilled work 8- influenced to professional work 3- conflicting influence 5- """ " " 6- """ " " Y- N.A. to either or both questions
1.51	(blank column)
1.52	Previous work experience 0- has never worked 1- has worked in the farms 3- has worked in city (on one job only) 5- has worked in city (and also in farms) 8- has worked in city (two jobs) 9- has worked in city (three or more jobs) Y- N.A.

1.53 Plans to finish High School 1- Yes 0- No Y- N.A. 1.54 Plans to continue education beyond High School l- Yes, college 2- Yes, but not college 0- No Y- N.A. 1.55 (blank column) 1.56 Ego's concern about his education l- "a great deal" 0- "some, little" Y- N.A. 1.57 Desire to attend college l- Yes 0- No Y- N.A. 1.58 Ego's conception of college curriculum 1- definite, accurate conception 0- indefinite, vague or inaccurate conception Y- N.A. 1.59 Ego's subjective estimate of the difficulty of school work. 0- "studies are very hard" l- "studies are somewhat hard" 2- "studies are somwhat easy" 3- "studies are very easy" Y- N.A. 1.60 Ego's satisfaction with school 2- "I like school very much" l- "I like school some" o- "I don't like school" 1.61 (blank column)

1.62 (blank column)

- 1.63 Ego's self appraisal as a student
 - 2- "a good student"
 - 1- "an average student"
 - 0- "a below average student"
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.64-66 (blank columns)
- 1.67 Completeness of Ego's family
 - 1- Complete (both parents living together)
 - 0- Incomplete (death, separation, divorce)
- 1.68 (blank column)
- 1.69-70 North-Hatt occupational prestige score of father's occupation (score for highest if more than one)
 - 34- thirty-four
 - 96- ninety-six
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.71 Father's satisfaction with his occupation
 - 2- very satisfactory
 - l- good enough
 - 0- not very good
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.72 Father's occupational stability ("Does your father do the same type of work all year around?")
 - 1- yes
 - 0- no
- 1.73 Father's occupational stability ("During last six months, did your father work:")
 - 3- six months
 - 20 four, five months
 - 1- two, three months
 - 0- one month, or did not work
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.74 Father's occupational stability (number of jobs during past year)
 - 2- one
 - 1- two
 - 0- three or more
 - Y- N.A.

- 1.75-76 (data from these columns moved to card 2 cols. 60-61)
 Index of father's occupational stability (sum of scores from columns 72, 73, 74)
 - 06- six points (high occupational stability)
 - 05- five points
 - 00- zero points (low occupational stability)
 - YY- N.A.
- 1.77 Place of birth of Ego's parents
 - 0- both parents born in U.S.
 - 1- both parents born in Mexico
 - 2- father born in U.S.; mother in Mexico
 - 3- mother born in U.S.; father in Mexico
 - Y- N.A.
- 1.78-79 Father's educational status
 - 00-less than three years
 - 04- from three to five years
 - 06- from six to eight years
 - 08- from nine to eleven years
 - 10- finished High School
 - 12- attended technical school
 - 14- 1-3 years of college
 - 16- college graduate
 - YY- N.A.
- 1.80 (blank column)
- Card 2. Main schedule, cont'd.
- 2.1-2 card identification
 - 01- card 0.1
 - 02- card 0.2 (this card punched 02)
- 2.3-4 person identification
 - 01- first person
 - 02- second person
 - nn- nn person
- 2.5-6 Mother's educational status (see 1.78-79)

2.7-8 (data from these columns moved to 2.55-56)

Parental educational status (sum of scores of columns

1.78-79 and 2.5-6)

00- zero points

94- four points

:

32- thirty-two points

YY- N.A. to either or both questions

- 2.9 (blank column)
- 2.10 (blank column)
- 2.11 Parental desire for Ego's educational mobility.

(Parents want Ego to:)

- 0- quit High School now and go to work
- 1- finish High School, then go to work
- 2- Continue education beyond High School
- Y- N.A.
- 2.12 (blank column)
- 2.13 House ownership
 - 3- rented
 - 6- owned
 - Y- N.A.
- 2.14 Room-person ratio
 - 3- below 1.00
 - 5- 100 to 199
 - 7- 2.00 and up
 - Y- N.A.
- 2.15 House construction
 - 5- brick
 - 3- trailer, unpainted frame, etc.
 - Y- N.A.
- 2.16 Refrigeration facilities
 - 8- gas or electric refrigerator
 - 6- ice box
 - 3- none
 - Y- N.A.

```
2.17 Power washer
     6- yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.18 Deep-freezer
     6- yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.19 Newspaper
     6- yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.20 Radio
     6-yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.21 Television
     6-yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.22 Automobile
     6- yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.23 Telephone
     6- yes
     3- no
     Y- N.A.
2.24-25 SES Index (sum of scores from columns 2.13
        through 2.23)
     00- zero points
     33- thirty-three points
     99- ninety-nine points
2.26-27 Composite SES Index (sum of columns 2.7-8, parental education;
        2.24-25, simple SES Index; and 1.75-76, fathers occupational
        stability)
     00- zero points
     01- one point
```

99- ninety-nine points

- 2.28 Parents' preference of language when talking to Ego
 - 4- English
 - 2- both
 - 0- Spanish
 - Y- N.A.
- 2.29 Ego's preference of language when talking to parents
 - 4- English
 - 2- both
 - 0- Spanish
 - Y-N.A.
- 2.30 Parents' preference of language when talking to one another (see 2.28 and 2.29)
- 2.31 Ego's use of language, if living with other than parents)
 (see 2.28)
 X- if not applicable
- 2.32 Ego's preference of language with friends his own age (see 2.28)
- 2.33 Ego's own evaluation of language he speaks best (see 2.28)
- 2.34 Ego's "use" of language when dreaming (see 2.28)
- 2.35 Ego's ability to understand spoken English
 - 4- with no difficulty
 - 2- with some difficulty
 - 0- with great difficulty
 - Y- N.A.
- 2.36 Ego's ability to understand spoken Spanish
 - 0- with no difficulty
 - 2- with some difficulty
 - 4- with great difficulty
- 2.37 Ego's exposure to language usage in church activities (see 2.28)
- 2.38 Ego's exposure to Spanish language in radio programs
 - 4- no
 - 0-yes
 - Y- N.A.

```
2.39 Ego's exposure to Spanish language in recorded music at home
     4- no
     0-yes
     Y- N.A.
2.40 Ego's exposure to Spanish language through newspapers
     magazines, etc., at home
     4- no
     0-yes
     Y- N.A.
2.41 Ego's exposure to Spanish language through attendance to movies
     in Spanish
     4- never or seldom (once-twice a year)
     2- sometimes (three-five a year)
     0- at least once a week
     Y- N.A.
2.42 Ego's knowledge and ability to use language in writing
     4- English
     2- both
     0- Spanish
     Y- N.A.
2.43 Ego's knowledge and/or use of language in singing
     (see 2.42)
2.44 Ego's exposure to language in social interaction with best friends
     (see 2.42)
2.45-46 Index of usage of English-Spanish languages (sum of scores from
        columns 29, 31, 32, and 34)
     00- zero points (high Spanish language usage)
     02- two points
      16- sixteen points (high English language usage)
2.47-48 Index of knowledge of English-Spanish languages
        (sum of scores from columns 33, 35, 36, 42, and 43)
     00- zero points
      20- twenty points
```

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2.49-50 Index of exposure to English-Spanish languages
(sum of scores from columns 28, 30, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, and 44)
00- zero points
:
nn- nn points
2.51-53 Composite Index of Ego's usage, knowledge of, and exposure
to English-Spanish languages (sum of scores from columns
2.45-46, 2.47-48, and 2.49-50)
```

000- zero points
010- ten points
:
nnn- nnn points

- 2.55-56 (data from 2.7-8)
- 2.60-61 (data from 1.75-76)

Arturo De Hoyos Department of Sociology and Anthropology Michigan State University

APPENDIX B

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCALE AND CODE

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:

Alternative	Score
1	7
2	4
3	8
4	2
5	9
6	0
7	6
8	3
9	5
10	1

The total score is the sum of the scores for each of the eight questions.

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YOUR NAME	
	•
	OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION SCALE
	QUESTIONS CONCERNS YOUR INTEREST IN DIFFERENT KINDS OF JOBS. THERE ISTIONS. 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 QUE	STION CAREFULLY. THEY ARE ALL DIFFERENT.
ANSWER EACH O	ONE THE BEST YOU CAN. DON'T OMIT ANY.
	Of the jobs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are REALLY SURE YOU CAN GET when your SCHOOLING IS OVER?
	1.1Lawyer
	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
	1.7Sociologist
	1.8Policeman
	1.9 County agricultural agent
	1.10 Filling station attendent

drestion 5.	•	FREE TO CHOOSE ANY of them you wished when your SCHOOLING
	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.		obs listed in this question which is the BEST ONE you are RE 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 GIE would for choose if

you were IS OVER?	FREE TO CHOOSE AMY of them you wished when your SCHOOLING
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
	obs listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are JRE-YOU CAN HAVE by the time you are 3 YEARS JLD?
5.1	Civil engineer
5.2	Bookkeeper .
5.3	Minister or 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.		bs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose to you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them d?
	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.	•	os listed in this question, which is the BEST ONE you are RE 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.	_	bs listed in this question, which ONE would you choose to you are 30 YEARS OLD, if you were FREE TO HAVE ANY of them d?
	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

APPENDIX C

THE M.S.U. WORK-BELIEFS CHECK LIST AND CODE (Value-Orientation Index)

SCORING KEY (Tentative) 1957-1960

MSU Work Beliefs Check-List

- 1. Underlined responses are scored one point; all others are scored zero points.
- 2. There is a score for each sub-area, six scores in all:

1.1	The only purpose of working is to make money.	Agree	Disagree
1.2	I believe a man needs to work in order to feel that he has a real place in the world.	Agree	Disagree
1.3	I feel sorry for people whose jobs require that they take orders from others.	Agree	Disagree
1.4	Every man should have a job that gives him a steady income.	Agree	Disagree
1.5	The happiest men are those who work only when they need money.	Agree	Disagree
1.6	Doing a good job day in and day out is one of the most satisfying experiences a man can have.	Agree	Disagree
1.7	A regular job is good for one.	Agree	Disagree
1.8	I feel sorry for rich people who never learn how good it is to have a steady job.	Agree	Disagr ee
2.1	I don't like people who are always right on time for every appointment they have.	Agree	Disagree
2.2	I feel sorry for people who have to do the same thing every day at the same time.	Agree	Disagree
2.3	I don't like to have to make appointments.	Agree	Disagree
2.4	I believe that promptness is a virtue.	Agree	Disagree
2.5	I usually schedule my activities.	Agree	Disagree
2.6	I'd rather let things happen in their own way rather than scheduling them by a clock.	Agree	Disagree
2.7	It makes me feel bad to be late for an appointment.	Agree	Disagree
2.8	I expect people who have appointments with me to be right on time.	Agree	Disagree

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3.1	I would be unhappy living away from my relatives.	Agree	Disagree
3.2	I hope to move away from here within the next few years.	Agree	Disagree
3.3	People who can't leave their hometowns are hard for me to understand.	Agree	Disagree
3.4	A man's first loyalty should be to his home community.	Agree	Disagree
3.5	When a boy becomes a man, he should leave home.	Agree	Disagree
3.6	I like to see new things and meet new people.	Agree	Disagree
4.1	I like to try new things.	Agree	Disagree
4.2	On the whole, the old ways of doing things are the best.	Agree	Disagree
4:3	Life would be boring without new experiences.	Agree	Disagree
4.4	I like people who are willing to change.	Agree	Disagree
4.5	On the whole, most changes make things worse;	Agree	Disagree
4.6	The happiest people are those who do things the way their parents did.	Agree	Disagree
4.7	New things are usually better than old things.	Agree	Disagree
5.1	I believe that a person can get anything he wants if he's willing to work for it.	Agree	Disagree
5.2	Man should not work too hard, for his fortune is in the hands of God.	Agree	Disagree
5.3	A man shouldn't work too hard because it won't do him any good unless luck is with him.	Agree	Disagree
5•4	With a little luck I believe I can do almost anything I really want to do.	Agree	Disagree
5.5	A person shouldn't hope for much in this life.	Agree	Disagree
5.6	If a man can't better himself it's his own fault.	Agree	Disagree
5.7	Practically everything I try to do turns out well for me.	Agree	Disagree
5.8	I usually fail when I try something important.	Agree	Disagree
6.1	I would rather work than go to school.	Agree	Disagree
6.2	Money is made to spend, not to save.	Agree	Disagree
6.3	I think there's something wrong with people who go to school for years when they could be out earning a living.	Agree	Disagree

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0.4	one gains more in the long run if he studies than if he gets a job.	Agree	Disagree
6.5	The more school a person gets the better off he is.	Agree	Disagree
6.6	Generally speaking, things one works hard for are the best.	Agree	Disagree
6.7	When I get a little extra money I usually spend it.	Agree	Disagree

APPENDIX D

CORRELATION MATRICES

CORRELATION MATRIX OF VARIABLES RELEVANT TO TEST OF HYPOTHESES*

		1	2	3	4	Ŋ	9	7	œ	6	10	
Educational Aspiration (Realistic)	 	00.	31	38	40	7.2	07	31	12	24	4.2	
Educational Aspiration (Idealistic) 2	27		1.00	21	13	37	23	34	37	38	51	
Social Participation	~			1.00	50	52	23	30	14	25	1.00 $\overline{50}$ 52 23 $\underline{30}$ 14 25 43	
Socio-economic status	_44				1.00	53	33	23	80	17	33	
Language orientation						1.00	33	5 6	18	24	41	
Value-orientation 6							1.00	24	52	27	28	
OAS (Realistic)								1.00	89	65	30	
OAS (Idealistic)									1.00	91	97	
OAS (Total Index)										1,00	31	
School Adjustment										•	00.1	

Coefficients underlined are for the eleven All correlations are positive. p < .05 with one-tailed test. tested hypotheses. $r \ge .19 =$ * Decimals have been omitted.

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CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE EIGHT ITEMS OF THE OAS*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1.00	37	55	43	36	31	44	29
2		1.00	31	33	22	28	56	18
3			1.00	37	21	25	55	19
4				1.00	25	34	30	27
5					1.00	17	38	19
6						1.00	29	16
7							1.00	31
8								1.00

^{*}Decimals omitted. All coefficients are positive. The OAS was used as index for occupational aspiration. See actual instrument in Appendix B. The eight items correspond to the eight questions which make up the scale.

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX*

	-	7	3	4	5	9	7	8	6	10	11	12	13
l. House ownership	1.00	28	19	23	30	59	24	25	17	97	14	23	38
2. Room-person ratio		1.00	50	34	31	28	39	40	34	42	25	12	25
3. Type of house construction			1.00	27	22	15	28	20	17	13	18	25	38
1. Refrigeration facilities				1.00	21	97	16	13	18	10	11	15	23
5. Power-washer facilities					1.00	59	31	25	19	13	60	24	27
6. Deep-freeze facilities						1.00	34	21	23	44	10	59	43
7. Newspaper							1.00	27	20	40	14	18	21
8. Radio								1.00	27	16	08	15	17
9. Television									1.00	28	21	10	19
0. Automobile										1,00	14	16	03
l. Telephone											1.00	90	11
2. Father's occupational stability	ity											1.00	24
3. Parental educational status													1.00

 * Decimals omitted. All coefficients are positive.

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE SOCIAL PARTICIPATION INDEX*

				It	Items			
	-	2	2 3	4	5	9	7 8	8
1. Number of extracurricular activities. 1.00 20 26 09	1.00	20	78	60	01	01 -11	38	27
2. Membership in school ball teams		1,00	1.00 46	90	03 -15	- 15	56	26
3. Participation in other activities			1.00	20	24	17	30	59
4. Automobile driving knowledge				1.00	14	46	14	12
5. Automobile ownership					1.00	31	21	19
6. Automobile driving activity						1.00	60	20
7. Social club attendance							1.00	96
8. Social club membership								1.00

 * Decimals have been omitted. All coefficients are positive except where indicated.

Identification of Items of the Language Orientation Index Shown on Opposite Page

- Parents' preference of language when talking to Ego
- Ego's preference of language when talking to parents
- Parents' preference of language when talking to one another
 - Ego's preference of language with friends his own age
 - Ego's own evaluation of language he speaks best
 - Ego's "use" of language when dreaming
- Ego's ability to understand spoken English
- Ego's ability to understand spoken Spanish
- Ego's exposure to language usage in church activities
- Ego's exposure to Spanish language in radio programs
- Ego's exposure to Spanish language in recorded music at home

11. 10.

- Ego's exposure to Spanish language in newspapers or magazines at home Ego's exposure to Spanish language in Spanish movies
- Ego's knowledge and ability to use language in writing
 - Ego's knowledge and use of language in singing
- Ego's exposure to language in social interaction with best friends

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR LANGUAGE ORIENTATION INDEX*

	16	27	35	14	44	42	48	17	27	27	21	12	15	36	07	40	,
	15	20	24	12	40	52	44	42	20	03	25	11	15	35	30	1.00	
	14	16	13	02	30	24	45	60	70	05	12	10	15	19	1.00		
	13	35	59	01	67	32	51	01	45	21	31	11	53	1.00			
	12	34	16	14	23	18	45	17	27	60	30	20	1.00				
		25	17	10	60	08	05	20	11	23	10	1.00					
	10	15	15	13	21	60	30	13	80	15	1.00						
	6	30	35	02	17	04	21	01	22	1.00							
1101113	8	49	40	30	87	34	38	10	1.00								
17	7	11	17	90	90	30	25	1.00									
	9	25	31	20	99	46	1.00										
	5	97	33	60	54	1.00											
	4	24	39	14	1.00												
	3	43	33	1.00													
	2	62 43	1.00														
		1.00															
										_	_	11	•				

See identification of items presented on * Decimals have been omitted. All coefficients are positive. facing page.

CORRELATION MATRIX OF SIX BELIEF-VALUE AREAS CONSTITUTING THE VALUE-ORIENTATION INDEX*

•		In	Index Areas	reas			Index Total
	7	7	3	4	5	9	7
l. Belief that work has intrinsic/instrumental value	1.00	1.00 50 -28	-28	45	23	40	89
2. Positive/negative evaluation of structured time		1.00	-21	38	19	45	89
3. Positive/negative evaluation of physical mobility			1.00	11	03	-11	90
4. Positive/negative evaluation of change				1.00	35	36	7.2
5. Belief in internal/external determination of events					1.00	43	99
6. Positive/negative evaluation of deferred gratification						1.00	7.2
7. Sum total of index							1.00
						1	

* All decimals have been omitted. Coefficients are positive except where indicated. Item number seven is the index total correlated with every one of the six areas of the index.





