ABSTRACT

THE STRUCTURAL CONTEXT OF MOBILITY:
A STUDY OF MIDDLETOWN'S COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

Paula Weinstein Weiss

In investigating the structural components which generate social mobility, we have found that the mother is often the most influential parent in promoting social mobility. She is most influential because of her relative position within the power structure, a position in the eyes of her children, which rivals that of her husband for prestige and esteem, and allows them to identify with her. Her position in the conjugal power structure is greatly enhanced by such factors as her educational and occupational attainment, which is often superior to that of her working class husband. Such differential achievement may cause her and her husband to be dissatisfied with their present social position. Moreover, the warm affectional ties she shares with her offspring also aid in their identification with her. Furthermore, the factor of same-sex identification intensifies her influence with her female offspring. She is thus able to transmit the values that lead to social mobility.

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By

Paula Weinstein Weiss

A THESIS

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Education

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author would like to express her sincere gratitude to Dr. Cole S. Brembeck, Director of the Institute of International Studies at Michigan State University, for his continued interest, encouragement and patience during the course of this study. His warm, human understanding throughout this author's graduate experience has made its completion possible.

I would also like to express my thanks to Dr. Richard Sturgis, Department of Sociology, University of Tennessee for his guidance in the formation of the questionnaire, and help in regard to methodological considerations.

Thanks are also due to Dr. Charles Toto, Department of Education, Sacramento State College, for his critique of this work, and to Mrs. Brigitte Jordan for her guidance on statistical matters.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Professor Melford S. Weiss, Department of Anthropology, Sacramento State College, my husband, for the hours of constant help and for his love and understanding throughout the course of this thesis.

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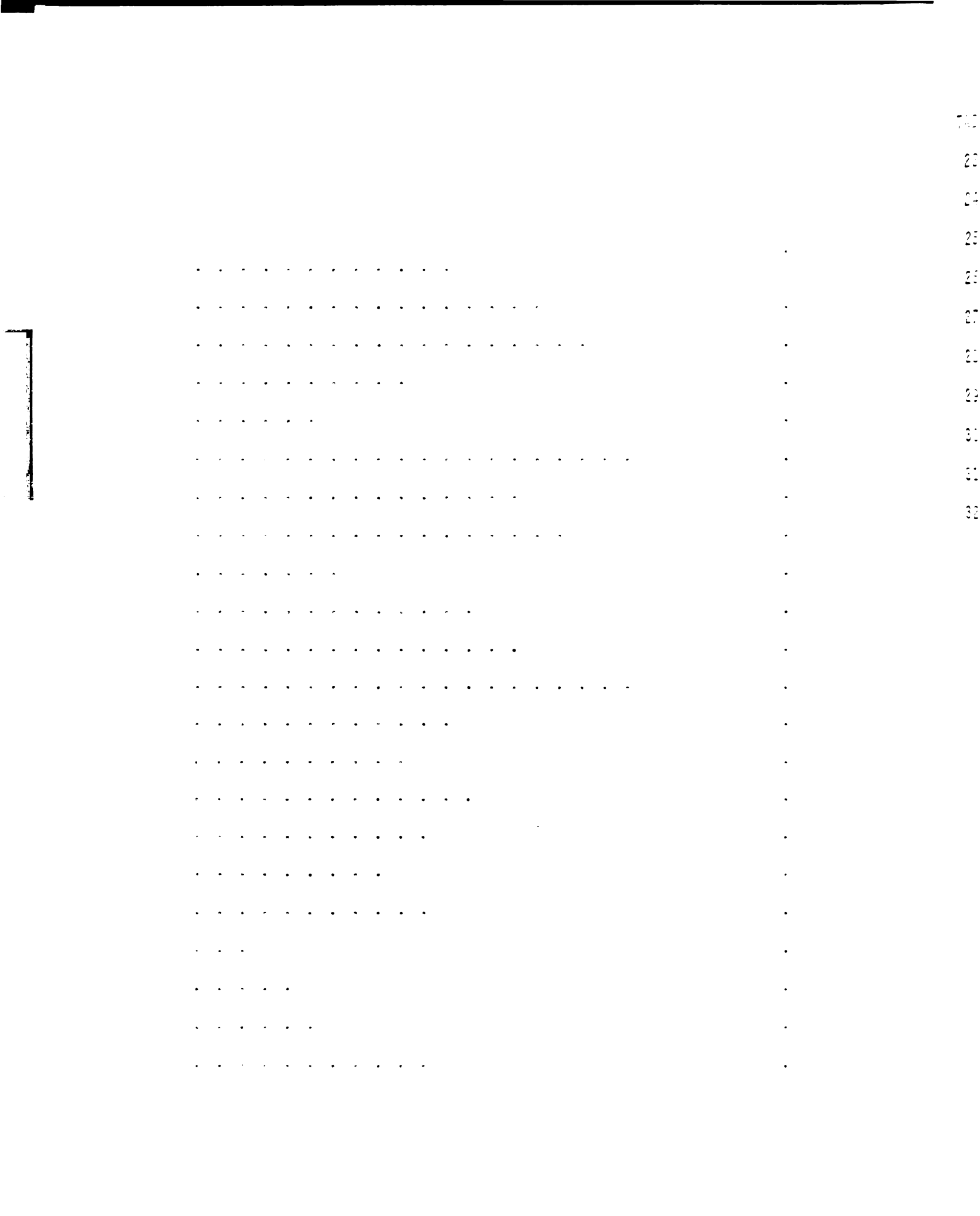

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Lately it has been both fashionable and proper to concern oneself with the problems of womanhood. It has also been popular to direct one's research to the study of ambition and social mobility. I have chosen to combine the two, for the problem of just how a mother affects the development of college aspirations within her offspring has not been adequately explored. Just how effective is a mother and under what situations is she important? Furthermore, unlike previous research which has dealt primarily with sons, I have chosen to focus separately upon both male and female offspring, for the modern female also has aspirations worth considering.

This study, however, is not a mobility study in the strict sense, since the sample is composed entirely of college students and does not include a non-mobile population. Nevertheless, since over 75% of the students come from working class or lower middle-class backgrounds, a study of the structural factors in their family backgrounds should add to our understanding of the processes of mobility. It is therefore the purpose of this study to examine the home situations, and to a lesser extent, the school environment, with the hope of increasing the understanding of what

prompted these students to develop high educational aspirations.

In the early 1950's, social scientists began focusing upon the relationship between social class and the achievement syndrome. It was well known by then that high educational and occupational aspirations were directly related to social class. But it was not until 1953 when Joseph Kahl presented his classic study of the aspirations of "common man" boys that the role of the parents in promoting aspirations in their offspring was established. Kahl demonstrated that of those boys from minor white-collar or skilled labor homes, who had college ability, only 50% chose to attend college. When comparing the college oriented group with the non-college group, Kahl found that the intervening variable for the college bound sons was parental pressure, particularly from the father. These fathers demonstrated feelings of occupational failure and educational deficiency, and stressed values of "getting ahead" in the home (Kahl:1953).

Psychologists, however, approached the problem of achievement motive not so much in terms of social structure and the transmission of values, but concentrated upon child rearing practices and the performance of roles within the home. McClelland (1953) found that high achievement motive was associated with earlier independence training by mothers and by a higher degree of rejection from the fathers. He also observed that paternal dominance in

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particular resulted in lower achievement motive.

If one were to draw any conclusion from these early works about the type of home which produced mobility oriented sons, it would be that it was father centered, but not father dominated. But, one could not make any judgements about how the mother functioned in such a home.

In 1952 Carson McGuire explored the mobility orientations of conforming, mobile and divergent families. It is within the divergent family where different normative values are competing that identification with the "status" seeking parent is germane to social mobility. It is hoped that this research will explain how this identification occurs.

Utilizing the structural approach of McGuire, Allison Davis (1957) noted that mobility oriented children were often the product of mixed-class marriages (McGuire's divergent family).

> The most common type of mixed class marriage is that between a woman from the lower-middle class and a man from the top part of the working class. A lower-middle class woman who marries from the top part of the working class usually begins to try to recoup her original social-class status either by reforming and elevating her husband's behavior to meet lower-middle-class standards or by seeking to train and propel her children toward the status which she once had or toward an even higher status, thus compensating for her error (Davis, 1957:137).

Davis' work adds a great deal of understanding of the psychological mechanisms of mobility and suggests a key role for the mother as a value transmitter.

Lipset and Bendix (1959) further explored the social, structural and psychological conditions for social mobility. Based on past work and from data gathered from

an Oakland, California labor force they concluded that:

> ...the upwardly mobile differ from the non-mobile and the downwardly mobile in having been trained for independence at an earlier time, in having heightened opportunities for interaction with adults while they were children, in having come from a family dominated by the mother rather than the father, in having learned to defer present gratifications in order to achieve later objectives, in having the capacity to deal with others in an instrumental rather than an emotional fashion, and in having higher rates of certain mental disturbances (Lipset and Bendix 1959: 254-255).

They also noted a relationship between feelings of rejection, a relatively unhappy childhood, and social mobility.

Lipset and Bendix's data also reinforce Davis' cross-class marriage hypothesis. Thus, if one were now to hypothesize the theoretical mobility producing family, based on the work discussed so far, we would expect to find a household in which the mother has married downward, and where she now dominates; a small nuclear unit; child rearing practices which stress early independence and the delayed gratification of needs; a somewhat rejecting father; and a generally unhappy home situation. It is the purpose of our study to test some of the aspects of this model and to determine if the families of the most mobile of Middletown's college students exhibit these characteristics.

The work of Lipset and Bendix, however, does not concur precisely with the earlier work of Strodtbeck (1958). Strodtbeck had compared the family relationships of Jewish and Italian boys in a Boston suburb and found that those boys who demonstrated high achievement motive were apt to come from families which were equalitarian rather than

mother or father dominated. Rosen (1959) and Elder (1965) suggested that the authoritarian father may stifle a boy's achievement motive by presenting himself as too great a competitor, and by imposing himself and his will upon his son. McClelland (1961) adds that the domineering father makes decisions for his son resulting in his dependence. While all authors seem to agree that the father who is overbearing in his relationship towards his son and his wife, stifles achievement motive, we have conflicting opinions about just how he actually functions. Kahl reported that while not dominating his family, the father was certainly of prime importance. Strodtbeck stated that an equalitarian or democratic power structure would exist; Lipset and Bendix states that the mother would tend to dominate. Yet, this debate only concerns the effect of the father's relationship to his son. Is it relevant in a discussion of the socially mobile daughter? And furthermore, how does the maternal behavior pattern affect the development of achievement motive in both her sons and daughters?

I therefore would like to present my first hypothesis:

The tendency toward matricentric households will be inversely related to social class: the lower the social class, the greater the tendency for the mother to wield more power.

Ellis and Lane's work on the role of the mother of socially mobile offspring suggested that "...a feature of upward mobility is that the mother's educational or occupational attainments outrank those of the father" (1913: 744). They also suggest that her relatively high level of

achievement may cause the father to be dissatisfied with himself, and that:

> The impetus for mobility has its roots in the nuclear family; but, contrary to Kahl's thesis, it is the mother more often than the father whose reaction to the family's status in life is the catalyst for mobility (Ellis and Lane 1963:755).

Their work therefore substantiates Davis' theoretical perspective.

Turner added: "...ambition was likely to be high... when the education of the mother exceeded that of the father" (1962:410).

Krauss (1964) further explored the nature of the mother's background and found that the mother is particularly important in influencing educational attainment when she holds a non-manual job, or has had some college training, while her husband is employed in manual labor and has only a high school education. He also found that if the mother was employed prior to her marriage, she was more likely to be influential than those mothers who were not employed. Thus the non-manual working mother, or the mother who once attended college may be dissatisfied with the status afforded her by her husband. She takes out her frustrations by directing her ambitions toward her offspring. Furthermore, she has been exposed to a middle class value system, and now transmits these values to her children. Krauss's data further supports the ideas of Davis.

Thus the mother's level of educational and/or occupational attainment is critical to the development of

aspirations in her offspring.

My second, and third, hypotheses are then:

The number of incidents of mothers with higher educational and/or occupational attainment than the father, is inversely related to social class: The lower the social class, the greater the mother's relative position.

The degree of dissatisfaction expressed by the parents with their educational and occupational attainments will be inversely related to social class: the lower the social class the greater the dissatisfaction.

It has been noted earlier that the achievement syndrome has been associated with a higher rate of mental disturbances, with a degree of paternal rejection, and with an unhappy childhood (Lipset and Bendix, 1959; McClelland, 1953). Dynes (1956) investigated this affectional pattern between parent and child, finding that:

Evidence obtained in this research essentially supports the relationship between unsatisfactory interpersonal relations in the family of orientation and high aspirational level. The high aspirors stated that they had experienced feelings of rejection more frequently than did those in the lower group (Dynes, 1956:213).

Rushing also came to a similar conclusion: "Evidence supports the hypothesis that a depriving father is associated with females' aspirations" (Rushing, 1964:166).

Such unsatisfactory relationships with the father help to lend credence to the hypothesis that the mother is the transmitter of achievement values. If the relationship with the father is unsatisfactory, it is the understandable that the child would turn to the mother for warmth and solace. Moreover, when the mother is also the primary socializing parent, and has been exposed to middle-class values, her child views values of achievement in terms of a warm,

affectionate relationship, and values of the working class as being depriving. Furthermore, as the child clearly identifies with the "alien" middle-class values (anticipatory socialization), the rift between father and offspring increases. However, Litwok (1960) found that occupational mobility does not have to result in the severing of family ties. Furthermore, Adam's extensive investigation of the relationships between mobility achieving offspring and their parents found that:

> The experience of upward mobility tends to be associated with a close relationship between both sexes and the mother, and often with a close relationship between son and his father (Adams, 1967:370).

This information again assures the importance of the maternal relationship, but does not completely agree with the findings of Dynes and Rushing. Testing the next hypothesis should clarify the debate.

> Those students who have come from the lowest social class, will have experienced the least satisfactory home situations, as demonstrated by feelings of rejection and unhappy childhood; the relationship with the mother will be somewhat closer than with the father.

Adams also notes that:

> Not only is the father's working-class position accompanied by less likelihood of identification with him than with the mother, but conversely, the only categories in which closer affectional ties are expressed with the father than with the mother are males with middle-class fathers. This may indicate the salience to these males of their fathers as role models (Adams, 1967:369).

The importance of sex-identification with an adequate role model cannot be overlooked. One usually expects sons to identify with their fathers and daughters to identify with their mothers. Therefore, the son may feel a closer tie

with his father and view him as more influential in the formation of college goals, as Adams suggests for the middle-class. Conversely, females would identify with their mothers and view her as more influential. Yet if all the postulates for the mobility producing home are true, that is, if we are dealing with a matricentric household, then the father's ability to serve as an adequate role model is seriously hampered, and it becomes reasonable to assume that the son may have difficulty identifying with him. The son turns to his mother who not only provides a warmer relationship for him, but also exposes him to the "proper values."

Therefore, we can postulate that in the lower-class mobility producing home, the son's ability to identify with the father as a role model is challenged by his view of his mother's domination within the power structure. The father simply does not provide an adequate image. At the middle-class level, the father's position within the power structure allows him to provide an adequate masculine image and his influence dominates that of the mother.

The reverse is true for the female. She, of course, identifies with her mother. At the lower social levels, the mother's position within the family power structure strengthens this identification. She clearly is the most influential parent. As one goes up the social class scale, however, the father's position improves and the daughter views him with great respect and values his opinions. The result is often a dual identification, both parents being named as most influential, or a complete reversal, with the

father being named singularly. The next two hypotheses are designed to test these assumptions.

The tendency for the mother to be named the most influential parent in the college making decision will be inversely related to social class: the lower the social class the more influential the mother.

The most influential parent in directing the formation of college aspirations will be determined by the resolution of the conflicting forces of same-sex identification versus mother-father balance of power.

Besides the mother-father relationship and the parent child relationship, there are other factors within the home which influence the formation of achievement motive. Much work has been done to indicate that ordinal position within the family is also related to achievement. The works of Bayer (1966) and Altus (1966) indicate that there is an over representation of first born in the college population. Last born are also likely to attend college. Consequently middle born children are at a disadvantage. Furthermore, family size is also critical. Rosen reports:

Generally, boys from large families tend to have lower achievement motivation than those from small and medium families (Rosen, 1961:349).

He concludes:

In small middle class families, for example, the effect of ordinal position seems to be relatively unimportant: the oldest and youngest child in a two-child, middle class family have almost identical motivation scores, but as the size of the family increases the scores of the oldest child in the middle class become higher than those of the youngest child. However, in the lower class the reverse is true; the youngest child has a higher achievement motivation score on the average than the oldest child (Rosen, 1961:355).

If what Rosen says is true, then the influence of older siblings on lower class students must be considered.

Lipset and Bendix (1959) have speculated that the

amount of adult-child interaction is critical to the formation of achievement motive. In large families this relationship is stymied. Therefore, hypotheses seven and eight state:

> The tendency toward small families will be directly related to social class: the higher the social class the greater the tendency. Nevertheless, even the working class students will come from predominantly small families.

> We should find a predominance of oldest and youngest offspring in our sample.

Other factors external to the nuclear family environment influence the formation of achievement motive. The relationships to other relatives, adults, church and school are important. But most critical is the school environment. Much indeed has been written about the "peer group" or "adolescent subculture." Turner tried to measure the effect of this subculture and found:

> ...youth subculture probably has less effect in modifying the mobility experience than many social scientists suggest, but that the full impact of youth subculture may be experienced in some middle-level neighborhoods (Turner, 1964: 170).

Yet McGill and Coleman report: "...the social system of the high school has more impact on college plans of boys than of girls" (1965:119). Clearly the social system and the peer group do have some effect on college aspirations.

In fact, Ellis and Lane conclude:

> High school peers have a less direct role in the mobility process. Rather than influencing the lower class youth in their college goals, they provide a middle-class learning environment where the mobile individual is exposed to the norms and behavioral traits successful mobility requires" (Ellis and Lane, 1963:156).

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Finally, Kandel and Lesser have recently reported:

> Far from supporting the notion that adolescents are influenced by their peers, more than their parents, these data suggest the opposite: namely, that parents are more influential than peers as regards future life goals" (Kandel and Lesser, 1969:217).

But, according to Ellis and Lane, "The chief source of outside support is the school teacher..." (1963:755). Therefore we must assess the importance of the school environment upon the formation of college aspiration for this study to be complete. The final hypotheses then are:

> The peer group will serve to support the formation of college aspirations.

> The school teacher will be the chief value transmitter outside the home, and her influence will be most critical for working class students.

> The school environment will be more critical for males than females.

There are still other important factors which affect mobility orientation. For example, Italian Catholics have been known to have low achievement motivation, while Jews have been known to have high achievement scores (Strodtbeck, 1958). Racial factors also effect scores. Therefore, ethnicity must be controlled for. And, of course, IQ or ability influences college attendence.

The problem then, of understanding mobility, is multifaceted. There are many influences within the home which lead to the formation of achievement motive; there are external influences. It is hoped that this study will increase the understanding of how both function.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY, THE COMMUNITY AND THE SCHOOL

The research technique of this study employed a questionnaire designed to measure students' feelings about their family, childhood and educational backgrounds. It was also designed to measure the students' perception of their parents' attitudes and interactions, in order to understand the social and structural factors which affected their behavior. The questionnaire was administered to a non-random sample of college students and its responses were subject to content analysis.

During the week of May 8, 1967, I administered the questionnaire (see appendix) to a total of 236 students in sections of introductory anthropology and sociology courses at Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana. The students were told they were to write in their own answers if they found none suitable. They were also assured that they would remain anonymous. I remained to answer possible questions. The entire procedure lasted about forty-five minutes. At a later date I coded the data and it was analyzed with the aid of a computer.

The data was separated on the basis of sex and by the occupational categories of the fathers. These categories were established by the use of Ralph Turner's "prestige-

subcultural classification of occupation" (1964: 245-251). However, for the purposes of this analysis, I chose later to combine Turner's categories. Turner's lowest three groups, unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled labor, compose my "manual laborer," or working class. Turner's groups four through six (lesser white-collar workers; small-business owners, managers, and salesmen; farmers; semiprofessional, public administrators) have been combined to make up my "lower-middle"class. Finally, Turner's categories seven through nine (business agents, managers; professionals; large business owners and officials) combine to form my upper middle class.

For further information concerning the questionnaire and its subsequent coding, see the appendix.

THE COMMUNITY

Muncie, Indiana, the home of Ball State University, is "Middletown" of the famous study by Robert and Helen Lynd (1929; 1937). For the Lynds, "Middletown" represented the typical American community. And, if indeed this assumption is correct, then the information gathered during this investigation may well have repercussions beyond its immediate intent.

In 1929 when Middletown was published, Muncie had a population of some 30,000. By 1937, the time of publication of Middletown In Transition, the population was nearing 50,000. In 1967, thirty years later, the population had only

increased to about 70,000. Other changes in Muncie were also limited. The downtown area was older and decaying, but the Ball brothers' influence was still pervasive. The large automotive factories were still the main industrial employers. The community was still essentially homogenous, and the population of ethnic minorities were small. The political climate was still quite conservative. Public entertainment, apart from that brought in by the college, and business sponsored softball leagues, was quite restricted.

The community was still divided into several sections, with the northwestern part reserved for members of the upper middle class. Yet the physical gap between the different sections was not striking, and did not offset the feeling of homogeneity. The middle class sections were just "newer."

How does this knowledge of "Middletown" reflect upon this study? Even though only 14 percent of the students come from the immediate Muncie area, over 72 percent come from within 100 miles of Muncie. It is not unreasonable to assume then, even if one does consider the 15 percent from urban Indianapolis, that the backgrounds of these students are quite similar. So we can infer from the known backgrounds of the Muncie population, something of the backgrounds of the parents for our entire population.

If one were to place the average age of the parents of our students at 50, a reasonable guess, and subtract the thirty years between the Lynds' last study and this one, then

the fathers of these students would have been around eighteen, the age of high school graduation, when the Lynds completed their research in 1935. Let us look at some of their figures for the Middletown population and compare them to our own.

It is obvious from Table 1 that the educational backgrounds of our sample are not representative of the general population. This is not at all surprising, when one considers that college attendance selects for a middle class background. Yet while some 20.3 percent of our fathers have less than a high school education, 41.5 percent of the fathers in our sample are employed at manual labor. And, while 28.5 percent of the fathers have had at least some college, only 22.9 percent of them rank in the upper middle class. It seems then, that many fathers in our sample had already started their mobility climb educationally and had gone beyond the general population in educational achievement. Yet they were unable to complete that climb occupationally. They may well have directed their frustrations toward their offspring. Table 1 indicates that this differential between general population and students' mothers is even more marked.

THE SCHOOL

Ball State Teacher's College officially became Ball State University in 1965. Yet 168, or 71.2 percent of our sample has indicated they intend to secure a teaching credential. How does this information influence the quality of our study?

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND FOR SAMPLE (1967) AND 1934 "MIDDLETOWN" CENSUS

	Sample Population	Non-High School Grads		High School Grads		Attended[3] College	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Middletown Survey[1]	720[2]	329	45.7	391	54.3	68	9.5
Present Survey Father's	236	48	20.3	176	78.8	67	28.5
Present Survey Mother's	236	35	14.8	198	84.4	75	32.6

1. Middletown survey data derived from Middletown In Transition (Lynd and Lynd, 1937:539, 566-567).

2. 1930 census age 14

3. Figures for college attendance in Middletown survey are based upon college applications.

In 1951 Mulligan reported a strong attraction between the teaching profession and farming and blue collar groups. Pavalko added:

> While aspirants of teaching come from higher socio-economic origins compared to the total sample, girls aspiring to teaching come from higher origins than boys. Teaching appears to be an important avenue of upward mobility among lower status youth who plan to go to college.
> Rural youth planning to go to college select teaching as their occupational choice at twice the rate of their urban counterparts (Pavalko 1965:47)..

Moreover, Perrucci states:

> It also appears that the different types of institutions select students from different social and economic origin (Perrucci, 1967:146).

If these reports are valid, it appears then that Ball State University has selected for a certain type of student. We would expect that student to be from a working class or lower middle class rural background. We would not expect to find many upper middle class males, for they would probably have sought a more prestigious university. We would also expect that those students with the best talents would also go elsewhere for Pavalko also reports:

> While aspirants to teaching come from the higher ability levels (based on measured intelligence), teaching attracts a relatively small proportion of the most able boys and half of the least able girls who plan to go to college (Pavalko 1965:47)..

Thus we can conclude that Ball State University functions to provide a mobility channel for aspiring youths of lower and lower middle class backgrounds. There should, however, be some class distinction based on sex, since the girls will have come from slightly higher social origins than boys.

But the ambitions of our students should be somewhat limited, since the most talented and ambitious tend to seek their education elsewhere.

Nevertheless, our sample should be relatively homogeneous with the students sharing similar backgrounds. Educational mobility should prove less of a traumatic experience for Ball Staters than for those students attending the more prestigious universities, for the students will share common values and aspirations with their classmates. Furthermore, the gap between parent and student created by the student's mobility, is apt to be small, since students attending college are merely seeking the level of education now necessary for middle class membership, a college education, as compared to their parents' high school diploma. Thus the discontinuities between home and school will be minimized.

CHAPTER III

THE SAMPLE

We can ascertain from Tables 2 through 6, that the majority of our sample is white and protestant; single, sophomores, age 19 or 20; living with their parents; and from rural communities within 100 miles of Ball State University.

Table 7 verifies our predictions about the social class origins of our sample. The students come from predominantly working and lower middle class backgrounds. Furthermore, as we suspected, more males than females are of working class background. Despite the discrepancy in their backgrounds, Table 8 shows that both males and females come from homes of similar income levels. In fact, the majority of our students come from homes where the income ranges from $5,000 to $15,000 per year. Yet, despite the favorable income range, 13.2 percent of the males and 8.8 percent of the females would be unable to attend college if Ball State were not located in Muncie. The importance of the college's location for males hints that the variables affecting their college attendance are more critical than those of females, for they are already subject to the whimsy of an external factor.

The critical nature of male college attendance is further illustrated by Table 10, page 26. Here we see that

TABLE 2

AGE AND CLASS RANK

CATEGORY	MALES n=76		FEMALES n=160	
1. AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
16 - 19	27	35.5	77	48.1
20 - 23	39	51.3	77	48.1
over 24	10	13.2	6	3.8
2. CLASS RANK				
Freshmen	15	19.7	26	16.3
Sophomore	44	57.9	110	68.7
Junior	12	15.8	19	11.9
Senior	3	4.0	5	3.1
Graduate	2	2.6	0	0.0

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS

	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Single	66	86.8	146	91.3
Married	10	13.2	14	8.7

TABLE 4

RELIGION AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND

CATEGORY	MALE		FEMALE	
RELIGION	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Protestant	60	79.0	141	88.1
Catholic	14	18.4	17	10.6
Jewish	0	0.0	1	0.6
Other	1	1.3	1	0.6
RACE				
White	75	98.7	156	97.5
Negro	1	1.3	2	1.25
Oriental	0	0.0	2	1.25

TABLE 5

PARENTS' ETHNIC AND MARITAL BACKGROUND

	AMERICAN BORN		SAME RELIGION		LIVING TOGETHER	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Father	232	98.3	222	94.1	209	88.6
Mother	231	97.9				

TABLE 6

RESIDENCE

CATEGORY	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. Living with both parents	57	75.0	135	84.4
2. Community size				
Farm	14	18.4	30	18.8
to 2,500	10	13.2	34	21.2
2,500 to 10,000	11	14.5	25	15.6
10,000 to 100,000	27	35.5	48	30.0
over 100,000	14	18.4	23	14.4
3. Distance from Ball State				
100 miles or less	57	75.0	114	71.3
101-250	12	15.8	40	25.0
over 250	6	7.9	6	3.7

TABLE 7

FATHER'S OCCUPATION

LEVEL	OCCUPATION*	MALE		FEMALE	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	Unskilled laborer	2	2.6	4	2.5
2	Semi-skilled laborer	11	14.5	15	9.4
3	Skilled laborer	24	31.6	42	26.3
	Subtotal 1 - 3	37	48.7	61	38.2
4	Lesser white-collar	1	1.3	7	4.4
5	Small-business, owner, manager, salesman, farmer	15	19.7	49	30.6
6	Semi-professional and public administrator	4	5.3	5	3.1
	Subtotal 4 - 6	20	26.3	61	38.1
7	Business agent and manager	12	15.8	25	15.6
8	Professional	4	5.3	10	6.3
9	Large business owner and official	1	1.3	2	1.3
	Subtotal 7 - 9	17	22.4	37	23.2

* From Turner, 1964: 247-251

TABLE 8

PARENTS' INCOME

CATEGORY	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Below 3,000	0	0.0	1	0.6
3,001 - 5,000	5	6.6	12	7.5
5,001 - 7,500	16	21.1	29	18.1
7,501 - 10,000	18	12.7	41	25.6
10,001 - 15,000	21	27.6	39	24.4
15,001 - 20,000	10	13.2	21	13.3
above 20,000	4	5.3	11	6.9

TABLE 9

RESIDENCE AND BALL STATE ATTENDANCE

	MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Could not attend college if school were not located in Muncie	10	13.2	14	8.8

TABLE 10

AGE AT COLLEGE DECISION

	MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 - 13	22	29.0	67	41.9
14 - 16	36	47.4	80	50.0
17 - 20	16	21.1	12	7.5
20 and over	2	2.6	1	0.6

TABLE 11

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE

CATEGORY	MALES		FEMALES	
1. Grade School	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Excellent	23	30.3	58	36.3
Good	32	42.1	79	49.4
Average	16	21.1	22	13.8
Poorly	5	6.6	1	0.6
2. High School				
Excellent	5	6.6	38	23.8
Good	28	36.8	85	53.1
Average	37	48.7	36	22.5
Poorly	6	7.9	0	0.0

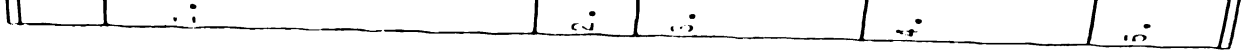


TABLE 12

AMBITIONS

CATEGORY	MALE		FEMALE	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1. College Major				
education	5	6.6	56	35.0
science-math	10	13.2	8	5.0
humanities	9	11.8	23	14.4
social science	33	43.4	30	18.8
business	11	14.5	0	0.0
nursing	0	0.0	5	3.1
other	5	6.6	33	20.6
undecided	3	4.0	4	2.5
2. Teaching Credential	43	56.6	125	78.1
3. Career Choice				
professional	52	68.4	139	86.9
business	12	15.8	1	0.6
semi-professional	8	10.5	14	8.8
4. Graduate School				
yes	44	57.9	95	59.4
no	10	13.2	19	11.9
undecided	22	30.0	46	28.8
5. Seeks ambition in spouse	27	35.5	99	61.9

TABLE 13

REASONS FOR CAREER CHOICE

REASON	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Aesthetic	28	36.8	92	57.5
Money	27	35.5	35	21.9
Both	15	19.7	20	12.5

TABLE 14

REASONS FOR ATTENDING COLLEGE

REASON	MALES		FEMALES	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Aesthetic	3	4.0	17	10.6
Getting ahead	63	82.9	105	65.6
The thing to do	5	6.6	14	8.8
Parents	4	5.3	22	13.8

males make the college decision at a much later age than their female counterparts. Table 11, page 27, shows too, that although the early academic record of our females is only slightly better than that of our males, by high school this gap has greatly widened. Therefore, male students, at the critical age of college decision, are only achieving moderate academic success. This must make their decision even more difficult and dependent upon the right combination of events.

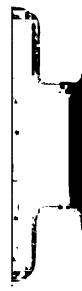
Table 12, page 28, is concerned with the ambitions of our students. We can see that 78.1 percent of the females, as opposed to 56.6 percent of the males in our sample, are striving towards a teaching career. Table 12 also indicated that nearly 60 percent of the students have already decided to attend graduate school. This is not surprising when one realizes that some graduate school is required for the life teaching credential.

Item 5 of Table 12 suggests that our girls are much more concerned with finding an ambitious spouse. Again, if one remembers that girls derive their status through marriage, their concern is understandable.

Yet, Tables 13 and 14, page 29, show us that career choice and college attendance are much more dependent upon the need to get ahead, for males, than for females. In fact, for both sexes, college attendance is seen predominently as the means of achieving social mobility.

Our sample then, homogenous in nature, originates from

largely working class and lower middle class origins. The students are attending a state teacher's college in "Middletown," the typical American city, and seeking the American ideal of social mobility through educational achievement. Now let us see what caused them to have their great expectations.



CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Mirra Komarovsky investigated marital power patterns in her book Blue Collar Marriage (1962). She observed that:

> Glenton society is clearly no matriarchy; husband-dominated marriages are twice as frequent as those dominated by women. But neither is this a patriarchial group. In about one-half of the marriages the wives enjoy as powerful a position as their husbands (Komarovsky, 1962:223).

The results of this study, shown in Table 15, page 33, confirm Komarovsky's observation, support the work of Strodtbeck (1958), and challenge the conclusions of Lipset and Bendix (1959). It appears that even among the lowest social class in our study, the mothers' positions within the power structure is only occasionally perceived as dominant, and that marriages tend to be perceived as either equalitarian in nature, or slightly patriarchial. Thus it appears that hypothesis one: The tendency toward matricentric households will be inversely related to social class: the lower the social class, the greater the tendency for the mother to wield power; is of limited value. The matricentric household appears to exist in only 13.5 percent of the families of working class males and in 16.4 percent of the families of working class females.

Nevertheless, it appears that the lower the social class the greater the incidents of dominant mothers. For

TABLE 15

TABLE 15

PARENTAL POWER STRUCTURE

SOCIAL CLASS	44.Who wears pants			45. Budget			46. Yielding		
MALES	Mo.	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo*
(1-3) n=37	13.5	40.5	46.0	35.1	27.0	37.8	54.1	24.3	16.2
(4-6) n=20	15.0	40.0	45.0	25.0	25.0	50.0	60.0	25.0	15.0
(7-9) Prot. n=10	10.0	40.0	50.0	20.0	40.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	40.0
(7-9) Cath. n=7	14.3	71.0	14.3	14.3	57.1	28.6	71.0	14.3	0.0
FEMALES									
(1-3) n=61	16.4	27.9	55.7	32.8	26.2	41.0	57.4	29.5	9.8
(4-6) n=61	11.5	42.6	44.3	34.4	13.1	50.8	54.1	24.6	14.8
(7-9) Prot. n=27	0.0	44.5	55.5	18.5	11.1	70.4	55.5	25.9	7.2
(7-9) Cath. n=10	10.0	50.0	40.0	30.0	30.0	40.0	30.0	50.0	20.0

* Write-in response

TABLE 15 (cont'd)

TABLE 15 (cont'd)

SOCIAL CLASS	44. Decisions					49. Discipline			50. Mother's Ambitions		
MALES	Mo	Consl. Mo	Bo	Consl. Fa	Fa	Mo	Fa	Bo*	Mo**	Fa	Bo
(1-3) n=37	13.5	2.7	48.7	24.3	10.8	51.4	32.4	16.2	16.2	43.2	37.8
(4-6) n=20	5.0	0.0	45.0	20.0	30.0	45.0	45.0	10.0	25.0	40.0	25.0
(7-9) Prot. n=10	0.0	0.0	20.0	60.0	20.0	30.0	50.0	20.0	0.0	50.0	40.0
(7-9) Cath. n=7	0.0	14.3	14.3	42.8	28.6	28.6	28.6	42.8	14.3	42.8	28.6
FEMALES											
(1-3) n=61	11.5	9.8	35.2	39.3	8.2	54.1	19.5	26.2	21.3	27.9	47.5
(4-6) n=61	6.6	6.6	39.3	34.3	11.4	52.5	21.3	26.2	21.3	39.3	37.7
(7-9) Prot. n=27	7.2	7.2	37.3	37.3	11.1	40.8	29.6	29.6	11.1	25.9	51.9
(7-9) Cath. n=10	0.0	0.0	40.0	50.0	10.0	40.0	30.0	30.0	20.0	20.0	60.0

* Write-in response
**Access importance of mother on father's achievements

both males and females the working class mother is more important in areas of discipline, budgeting and decision making than her middle class counterpart. In fact, in the area of discipline, the downward trend of mother's importance is obvious. However, when this trend was tested at the 0.05 level (Chi Square), the trend did not prove independent of sex. This is understandable. The mother is more responsible for disciplining her daughters than her sons. The view of authority is also dependent upon the sex of the student. Fathers are viewed as being slightly stronger by sons than by daughters.

Father's importance also appears related to social class, with the father being strongest for the middle class sons and upper middle class daughters.

In trying to derive a pattern of marital authority based on social class, Komarovsky concludes:

> In the population at large, the relationship between socio-economic status of the husband and his conjugal power appears to be cuvilinear-at the very bottom of the pyramid there exists, perhaps because of the relatively larger proportion of Negroes, a matriarchy by default. The power of the husband rises in the low blue-collar and declines in the high blue-collar classes. With ascending class status, the husband's power rises again because once more he appears to outstrip his wife in resources for the exercise of power (Komarovsky, 1962:234).

Thus, in conclusion our data seems to suggest that hypothesis one, which is linear, may be better replaced with one which is curvilinear, as suggested by Komarovsky. In the working class the mother's position within the power structure, while not dominant, appears to rival that of her husband. In the middle class, the father appears to be

TABLE 16

PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

SOCIAL CLASS	15. FATHER				17. MOTHER			
MALES	Less H.S. Grad.	H.S. Grad.	H.S. +	College Grad.+	Less H.S. Grad.	H.S. Grad.	H.S. +	College Grad.+
(1-3) n=37	21.6	56.8	16.2	0.0	18.9	56.8	16.2	5.4
(4-6) n=20	20.0	45.0	30.0	5.0	15.0	60.0	20.0	5.0
(7-9) n=17	0.0	41.2	29.4	29.2	5.9	41.2	47.1	5.9
FEMALES								
(1-3) n=61	36.1	54.1	6.6	3.3	31.2	50.8	14.8	3.3
(4-6) n=61	21.3	55.7	21.3	1.6	8.2	52.5	26.2	13.1
(7-9) n=37	2.7	35.1	16.2	46.0	0.0	46.0	37.8	16.2

TABLE 16 (cont'd)

SOCIAL CLASS	RELATIVE POSITION		
MALES	Mother Higher	Same	Father Higher
(1-3) n=37	24.3	51.4	18.9
(4-6) n=20	20.0	60.0	20.0
(7-9) n=17	17.7	47.1	35.3
FEMALES			
(1-3) n=61	24.6	62.3	13.1
(4-6) n=61	39.3	42.6	18.0
(7-9) n=37	13.5	29.7	56.8

stronger; particularly to his sons. Finally, in the upper middle class, while the father is clearly more powerful, the areas of mutual decision are again increased.

Hypothesis two states: The number of incidents of mothers with higher educational and/or occupational attainments than the father is inversely related to social class: the lower the social class, the greater the mother's relative position.

From Table 16, Parental Educational Levels, (pages 36-37) we can see that the majority of the parents in our sample have graduated from high school. We can also see that the number of incidents of mothers having a greater educational attainment than fathers, is related to social class. For males this relationship is inverse, as hypothesized. However, 39.3 percent of lower-middle class mothers have greater academic achievement than fathers. This finding seems to disagree with hypothesis two. The mothers we are apparently dealing with are high school graduates, for only 8.2 percent of these mothers, as opposed to 21.3 percent of their spouses, have not completed high school. Furthermore, 29.9 percent have gone on to college, as opposed to 22.9 percent of their husbands. Since Ellis and Lane (1963) have indicated that such educational discrepancies are associated with high aspirations, we can expect the mother to be a particularly important influence upon our middle class females, as well as upon those students from the working class.

TABLE 17

DIFFERENTIAL EDUCATION AND POWER

CATEGORY	44.Who wears Pants			45. Budget			46. Yielding			47. Decisions		
MALES	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo
Mother higher n=16	12.5	25.0	62.5	25.0	37.5	37.5	56.3	25.0	12.5	12.5	31.3	56.3
Same n=41	14.6	48.8	36.6	34.2	19.5	43.9	46.3	26.8	22.0	14.6	51.2	34.2
Father higher n=17	17.7	41.2	41.2	29.4	47.1	23.5	64.7	23.5	11.8	11.8	52.9	35.3
FEMALES												
Mother higher n=44	20.5	27.3	50.0	40.9	9.1	50.0	52.3	36.4	6.8	31.8	34.1	34.1
Same n=75	10.7	37.3	52.0	32.0	25.3	42.7	54.7	26.7	13.3	12.0	40.7	37.3
Father higher n=41	4.9	48.8	46.3	19.5	17.1	61.0	53.7	22.0	14.6	7.3	56.1	34.6

* write-in response

TABLE 17 (cont'd)

CATEGORY	49. Discipline			50. Mother's Ambition			48. Most Influential Parent			
MALES	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo*	Ne*
Mother higher n=16	56.3	18.8	25.0	12.5	31.5	50.0	43.8	37.5	6.3	6.3
Same n=41	46.3	41.5	12.2	14.6	29.3	48.8	31.7	36.6	19.5	9.8
Father higher n=17	35.3	41.2	23.5	23.5	35.5	29.4	35.3	47.1	5.9	11.8
FEMALES										
Mother higher n=44	59.1	11.4	29.5	20.5	34.1	40.9	56.8	27.3	13.6	2.3
Same n=75	54.7	21.3	24.0	22.7	38.7	36.0	40.0	21.3	32.0	5.3
Father higher n=41	34.2	36.6	29.3	12.2	39.0	43.9	29.3	36.6	31.7	0.0

* write-in response

Just how does differential education affect the mother's position within the power structure and her importance with her children? To answer this question the data was broken down by sex into three categories; mothers with higher education, parents with the same achievement, and fathers with higher attainments. The results are shown on Table 17, pages 39-40.

Despite the differential perception of authority by males and females, it is obvious that the mother's position in the home is greatly enhanced when she has a higher educational attainment than her husband. Furthermore, her influence upon her child's college decision is significantly greater than that of mothers whose education ranks equal to or below that of their spouses.

Hypothesis two is also concerned with the differential occupational levels. Table 18, page 42, deals with the occupations of mothers before and after marriage. One striking difference that is immediately apparent is the fact that mothers of sons are employed to a lesser degree than mothers of daughters. This holds true, both before and after marriage. Why this should be the case is not clear. But it again suggests that the type of home that our male and female students come from is different, and that the institution itself is making a selection. It should also be noted that Krauss (1964) stated that mothers who were employed prior to marriage were more likely to be influential than those not employed. Therefore we can expect mothers of daughters to

TABLE 18

MOTHERS' OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

SOCIAL CLASS	18. BEFORE MARRIAGE				19. AFTER MARRIAGE			
MALES	(1-3)	(4-6)	(7-9)	not employed*	(1-3)	(4-6)	(7-9)	not employed*
(1-3) n=37	13.5	27.0	8.1	48.7	24.3	18.9	0.0	54.1
(4-6) n=20	10.0	40.0	5.0	45.0	0.0	35.0	5.0	60.0
(7-9) n=17	0.0	64.7	0.0	35.3	5.8	47.1	0.0	47.1
FEMALES								
(1-3) n=61	26.2	44.3	3.3	26.2	24.6	36.1	3.3	34.4
(4-6) n=61	21.3	39.4	8.2	31.2	8.2	39.4	8.2	44.3
(7-9) n=37	16.2	59.5	5.4	18.9	5.4	29.7	13.5	51.4

*Only a total of 16.1 percent of all mothers had never been employed

be more influential than those of sons. But it is also possible that if the students in our sample had been tested for achievement motive, females would rate higher than males.

From Table 18 we can also see that 35.1 percent of working class male mothers and 47.6 percent of working class female mothers had a higher occupational level before marriage. After marriage, the figures drop to 18.9 percent and 39.4 percent respectively. These figures compare with 38 percent for the American population (Barth and Watson, 1967: 393). Thus it appears from Table 18 that at least part of hypothesis two is confirmed.

The comparisons in this study have been made primarily on the base of social class. Social class is a definition derived by social scientists. It is usually based upon some prestige ranking of occupations. Certain social classes are supposed to demonstrate certain subcultural traits. Yet, because the definition of social class separates one group from another, one gets the impression that we are dealing with clearly defined and rigid social units. This is not true. Other factors besides the husbands' occupation affect the life style of the family. Education is not measured within a social class framework. And we can see from Table 16, pages 36-37, that some 15 percent of working class fathers have attended college. Furthermore, social class definitions do not take into consideration educational and occupational achievements of wives. When husband and wife background conflict, we invent terms to explain them; we speak of divergent families, or cross-class marriages. But

we do not redefine social class. Yet these "divergent" families comprise over one-fourth of our working class population.

In an attempt to derive a class ranking which includes both occupational and educational status, I have devised the educational-occupational scale. A value of one to nine, as indicated in the Turner scale, was given for occupational status. A value of one to seven was given for educational attainment. The lowest score possible then, is two, and the highest score is sixteen. On an individual basis, a score from two to seven was ranked as the (1-3) social group; eight to eleven was equivalent to the (4-6) social group; and twelve to sixteen was equivalent to the (7-9) social group. Similarly the scores could be totaled to derive a composite social class picture of a family.

This scale however, has several serious disadvantages. For example, one problem would be the ranking occupationally of a never-employed woman. (This was solved by ranking her as a four. But even if she were a high school graduate, and thus earned a score of eight, she would not be considered to outrank her working class husband.) And more important, the composite score of both parents tended to result in the bunching of most of our families in the four to six range, leaving little room for meaningful comparisons. Perhaps this bunching of families into the middle class reflects what is actually happening in society today.

Nevertheless, in an attempt to test hypothesis two, the

TABLE 19

COMPARATIVE EDUCATIONAL-OCCUPATIONAL LEVELS OF PARENTS*

SOCIAL CLASS	MOTHER			FATHER			RELATIVE POSITION		
MALES	(1-3)**	(4-6)	(7-9)	(1-3)	(4-6)	(7-9)	Mo Higher +	Same	Father Higher
(1-3) n=37	40.5	48.6	8.1	81.1	16.2	0.0	27.0	70.3	0.0
(4-6) n=20	15.0	80.0	5.0	15.0	85.0	0.0	10.0	85.0	5.0
(7-9) n=17	5.9	88.2	5.9	0.0	35.3	64.7	0.0	41.2	58.8
FEMALES									
(1-3) n=61	47.5	50.8	1.6	90.2	9.8	0.0	36.1	62.3	1.6
(4-6) n=61	21.3	68.9	9.7	18.0	82.0	0.0	14.8	72.1	13.1
(7-9) n=37	10.8	70.3	18.9	0.0	35.1	64.9	0.0	54.1	46.0

* Scale derived from sum of values designated for educational and occupational attainments, Education 1-7 score, occupation 1-9 score

** (1-3) working class; (4-6) middle class; (7-9) upper class

\+ Unemployed mothers would not outrank working class husbands unless they had actually achieved higher status educationally

educational-occupational rankings of parents were compared. We can see from Table 19, page 45, that the percentage of mothers outranking fathers steadily decreases as social class increases. This trend is significant at the 0.05 level (Chi Square), and is independent of sex. Hypothesis two is thus upheld.

Hypothesis three states: The degree of dissatisfaction expressed by the parents with their educational and occupational attainments will be inversely related to social class: the lower the social class the greater the dissatisfaction. Questions forty, forty-one, and forty-two, were designed to measure parents' feelings about their education as perceived by their offspring. Table 20, page 47, illustrates the results of these questions. We can see from this table that more than half of all male fathers felt that their education was insufficient, regardless of social class. The predicted trend is not present. However, the trend is quite clear in the case of girls' fathers. The difference in feelings seems to be accounted for when one looks at Table 16, pages 36-37, again. We are reminded that 46.0 percent of girls' fathers as opposed to 29.3 percent of boys' fathers in the (7-9) social class are college graduates. Furthermore, 30.0 percent of the fathers, males (4-6) have failed to complete their college education, as opposed to 21.3 percent of the fathers of females (4-6). We are dealing with self-made men who feel limited by their lack of education. The differences in feelings between male and female fathers again

TABLE 20

PARENTS' FEELINGS ABOUT THEIR EDUCATION

SOCIAL CLASS	40. Father		41. Mother about Father		42. Mother	
MALES	Suff.	Insuff.	Suff.	Insuff.	Suff.	Insuff.
(1-3) n=37	43.2	54.1	78.4	18.9	56.8	40.5
(4-6) n=20	45.0	55.0	70.0	30.0	65.0	35.0
(7-9) n=17	41.2	52.9	58.8	35.3	52.9	47.1
FEMALES						
(1-3) n=61	42.6	52.5	55.7	42.6	50.8	47.5
(4-6) n=61	47.5	45.9	63.9	27.9	54.1	42.6
(7-9) n=37	64.9	32.4	89.2	8.1	54.1	46.0

points out the diversity in our male and female sample.

It is also interesting to note that when the mother has a higher educational ranking than the father, the father's feelings of dissatisfaction with his own education rise to over sixty percent for both fathers of sons and daughters. It appears that the theory of Allison Davis is substantiated.

Mothers, however, are perceived as being much more satisfied with their spouses' educational attainment. But, mothers of daughters (42.6 percent) are more dissatisfied with their husbands than mothers of sons (18.9 percent). This discrepancy may be accounted for by the differential perception of male and female students. Sons may be reluctant to view their mothers as being dissatisfied with their fathers. But it is also possible the difference is real. In that case, the data again suggests that there may be some differential achievement motive between males and females. Furthermore, the data suggests that female mothers are stronger in their feelings and perhaps may wield more power. Table 15, pages 33-34, confirms this suspicion.

The difference in feelings between fathers and mothers about the fathers' education may be accounted for by the fact that the father provides an adequate income despite his educational disadvantage.

Finally, mothers' feelings about her own education, as perceived by her offspring, do not seem to follow any pattern. And, it seems that even if the mother is satisfied with her spouse's educational attainment, she may not be satisfied with her own.

TABLE 21

SATISFACTION WITH FATHER'S OCCUPATION

SOCIAL CLASS	28. Father			39. Mother			43. Student	
MALES	Comp. satisf.	Fairly satisf.	Unsat.	Comp. satisf.	Fairly satisf.	Unsat.	Unsat.	Satisf.
(1-3) n=37	24.3	24.3	48.7	32.4	29.7	35.1	56.8	37.8
(4-6) n=20	50.0	25.0	25.0	35.0	50.0	15.0	45.0	55.0
(7-9) n=17	35.3	52.9	11.7	35.3	41.2	23.5	41.2	52.9
FEMALES								
(1-3) n=61	24.6	42.6	31.6	26.2	36.1	37.7	50.8	49.2
(4-6) n=61	47.5	32.8	19.7	39.3	37.7	21.3	32.8	67.2
(7-9) n=37	43.2	40.5	13.5	48.7	35.1	16.2	18.8	81.1

The second part of hypothesis three deals with the perceived feelings of dissatisfaction with the father's occupation. From Table 21, page 49, we can see that dissatisfaction with father's job appears to be inversely related to social class. The exception here is with mother's feelings for males (7-9). This may be, in part, due to the number of traveling salesmen who leave wives at home. It should also be noted that boys appear more sensitive to the nature of their father's occupation than do girls.

Thus, it appears there is some support for hypothesis three. There seems to be a relationship between social class and feelings of job satisfaction. But, feelings concerning educational achievement are more complicated. Therefore, any conclusions regarding hypothesis three are at best limited.

Our next hypothesis is concerned with the emotional climate within the home. From Table 22, page 51, we can tell that the majority of students feel that their parents are happily married, and that the percent of happily married parents is directly related to social class. The lower the social class, the lower the percentage of happily married couples. We can also see that for males, close family ties are inversely related to social class. But for females, this pattern does not hold. We can also see that most of the marriages are compatible. Thus it seems that for an overwhelming majority of our students the emotional climate is stable.

We can further see from Table 23, pages 53-54, that the

TABLE 22

PERCEIVED MARITAL HAPPINESS

SOCIAL CLASS	51. Parental Compatibility					52. Happily Married		53. Tight Knit Family	
MALES	Poor	Okay	Ave.	Very Well	Div./ Sep.	Yes	No	Yes	No
(1-3) n=37	5.4	10.8	27.0	48.7	5.4	83.8	13.5	64.9	35.1
(4-6) n=20	0.0	30.0	25.0	45.0	0.0	95.0	5.0	75.0	25.0
(7-9) n=17	0.0	35.3	29.4	35.3	0.0	76.5*	23.5*	82.4	17.7
FEMALES									
(1-3) n=61	6.6	18.0	39.3	34.4	1.6	82.0	16.4	73.8	26.2
(4-6) n=61	1.6	11.5	37.7	44.3	4.9	86.9	13.1	67.2	32.8
(7-9) n=37	0.0	21.6	29.7	43.2	5.4	89.2	10.8	73.0	27.0

* 23.5 % represents 4 - all of whom are Catholic. All protestant parents are happily married.

majority of the students in our sample, regardless of social class, feel they have experienced happy childhoods. These results conflict with the findings of Ellis and Lane (1967), Lipset and Bendix (1959), Rushing (1964) and Dynes (1956), and support the work of Litwak (1960) and Adams (1967). How can we explain this contradiction? We believe that the explanation lies within the nature of our sample. Ellis and Lane (1967) did their research at Stanford University, an expensive private institution. In fact, they were hard pressed to find a sufficient number of working class students, and had to select specifically for them. It is no wonder then that the disparity they found between student and their families was great. There was a great difference between the working class homes of these mobile students, and the environment of their college. But, as we have said before, Ball State University tends to provide a continuous environment for its students. Its population stems from similar backgrounds, and as we have seen too, the educational, occupational and income variation of student's parents is not great. Our students have not had to disassociate themselves (anticipatory socialization) from their backgrounds in order to prepare for entrance into the middle class. Thus the majority of our students' close family ties are maintained and childhoods have been happy.

However, hypothesis four states: Those students who have come from the lowest social class will have experienced the least satisfactory home situations, as demonstrated by feelings of rejection and unhappy childhood; the relationship

TABLE 23

STUDENT-PARENT RELATIONSHIPS

SOCIAL CLASS	55. Happy Childhood			56.Father-Closeness			58.Father Rejection		
MALES	Very Happy	Happy	Un-happy	Very Close	Somewhat close	not close	Never	Rarely	Rejected
(1-3) n=37	29.7	24.3	46.0	18.9	54.1	24.3	32.4	24.3	40.6
(4-6) n=20	25.0	60.0	15.0	35.0	55.0	10.0	45.0	40.0	15.0
(7-9) n=17									
Prot.n=10	30.0	60.0	10.0	20.0	70.0	10.0	30.0	70.0	0.0
Cath.n=7	0.0	57.1	42.9	42.9	28.5	28.5	57.1	28.5	14.3
FEMALES									
(1-3) n=61	39.3	32.8	26.2	37.3	44.3	16.3	45.9	32.8	19.7
(4-6) n=61	47.5	32.8	19.7	29.5	54.1	16.4	62.3	23.0	14.8
(7-9) n=37									
Prot.n=27	48.2	33.3	18.5	29.6	63.0	7.2	33.3	51.9	14.7
Cath.n=10	30.0	40.0	30.0	20.0	60.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	40.0

TABLE 23 (cont'd)

SOCIAL CLASS	57. Mother-Closeness			59. Mother-Rejection			54. Domination			
MALES	Very Close	Somewhat close	not close	Never	Rarely	Rejec-ted	No	Mo	Fa	Bo
(1-3) n=37	48.7	37.8	10.8	37.8	46.0	13.5	81.1	8.1	10.8	0.0
(4-6) n=20	55.0	45.0	0.0	55.0	35.0	10.0	90.0	10.0	0.0	0.0
(7-9) n=17										
Prot.n=10	40.0	50.0	10.0	30.0	70.0	0.0	80.0	10.0	0.0	10.0
Cath.n=7	57.1	28.5	14.3	42.9	42.9	14.3	57.1	42.9	0.0	0.0
FEMALES										
(1-3) n=61	52.5	36.1	11.4	54.1	29.5	14.8	67.2	24.6	6.6	1.6
(4-6) n=61	59.0	29.5	11.5	63.9	14.8	21.3	85.3	9.8	3.3	1.6
(7-9) n=37										
Prot.n=27	48.2	44.5	7.2	48.2	44.5	7.2	74.1	18.5	3.7	3.7
Cath.n=10	70.0	30.0	0.0	70.0	20.0	10.0	70.0	20.0	10.0	0.0

with the mother will be somewhat closer than with the father.

From Table 23, pages 53-54, we can clearly see that the second premise of our hypothesis is correct. In all cases the children feel closer to their mothers than to their fathers. We can also see that working class males feel least close to their fathers. This relationship does not appear to hold for females.

The relationship between student and mother, while closer than that between student and father, again appears to be related to social class. The lower class males and females do not feel as close to their mothers as are their middle class counterparts.

Feelings of rejection also seem to be related to social class. Working class males have felt rejected by their fathers in 40.6 percent of the cases sampled. For females, this approaches 20 percent.

We can also see that feelings of rejection by the mother are less frequent than rejection by the father. However, contrary to the predicted pattern 21.3 percent of middle class (4-6) daughters have felt rejected by their mothers. This degree of rejection correlates with the low point for these females of the sense of close knit family. This discrepancy can be explained if one remembers that it is precisely this group in which the number of mothers with the greater educational attainment than fathers, is the greatest.

We believe these mothers are pressuring their daughters to complete their education and not make the same mistake

they made. And, they are using the withdrawal of love, to do it. To emphasize just how much daughters of mothers with higher education than fathers are interested in getting ahead, we need only note that some 70 percent, higher than any other female response, list ambition as a desirable characteristic for a spouse.

There thus seems to be pressure points of rejection. For males, rejection is greatest by working class fathers, and for females, rejection is greatest by middle class mothers.

Response 54 deals with feelings of domination by parents. Almost 25 percent of working class females feel they are dominated by their mothers. To a lesser extent upper middle class females also seem plagued by this feeling. The low feelings of mother-domination felt by middle class females, may be due to the fact that they have incorporated their mother's values to a greater extent.

But, a real peculiarity exists in mother-domination for Catholic males (7-9). We shall deal with this problem later.

In summary then, it appears that contrary to many previous findings, in our sample most childhoods are happy. Furthermore, the relationship between mother and child is somewhat closer than between father and child. It also appears that hypothesis four is substantiated. Working class students are not as close to their parents, and have experienced a greater degree of rejection, than those from the middle class.

The original design of this thesis was to ascertain the relative importance of the mother in influencing the formation of college aspirations in her offspring. The next hypothesis is meant to measure that importance and relate it to social class. Hypothesis five states: The tendency for the mother to be named the most influential parent in the college making decision will be inversely related to social class: the lower the social class the more influential the mother. Response 48 on Table 24, pages 62-63, supports this hypothesis. For Protestant youth, the mother's importance in affecting the formation of college aspirations is inversely related to social class. This trend is significant at the 0.05 level (Chi Square) and is independent of sex. Furthermore, for Protestant girls, the mother is always more important than the father. But for Protestant males, only amongst the working class does mother's importance equal that of the father's.

There exists a peculiarity in our data and this has made it necessary to distinguish between Catholic and Protestant youth. Originally this distinction was not made because the total number of Catholic men and women in our sample is only about 13 percent. But when the data was analyzed it was found that more than one third of the (7-9) men were Catholic and that Catholic responses differed from those of Protestants. Similarly, the distribution of Catholic females was again high in the (7-9) female group. It again became necessary to distinguish them from the

Protestants.

The breakdown of Catholics by social class is as follows:

Catholics

	Number	Percent
Total Population, n-236	31	13.1
Males, n-76	14	18.4
Females, n-160	17	10.6
Males: (1-3) n-37	6	16.2
(4-6) n-20	1	5.0
(7-9) n-17	7	41.1
Females:		
(1-3) n-61	4	6.6
(4-6) n-61	3	4.9
(7-9) n-37	10	27.0

One cannot help wonder as to why Ball State has an over-representation of upper middle class Catholic youth. It is possible that either overt or covert discrimination at more prestigious institutions may be the cause. In any event, this may be a topic for further research.

Just how do Catholics differ from the Protestant population?

On a national level, Catholic men tend to have higher n achievement scores than Protestant men (Veroff, Feld Girin, 1962:216).

We have no way of ascertaining if this is true for our sample. But we would like to point to some of the differences found between upper-middle class Catholic and Protestant students.

In the realm of strength in the power structure, (Table 15, page 33, Table 24, pages 62-63), we can see that Catholic fathers appear more powerful than their Protestant counterparts. However, there is a direct conflict in response 46, yielding, where 71.0 percent of the males report the mother yielding to the father while 50 percent of the females report the father yielding. I cannot explain this conflict. From Table 22, page 51, we learn that all the unhappy male marriages are Catholic. This may be due to Catholic non-divorce laws. Table 23, pages 53-54, tells us that Catholic students have less happy childhoods than their Protestant counterparts. Furthermore, Catholic males and females are not as close to their fathers and have felt a greater degree of rejection from them. This is especially true for the females. The Catholics' relationship to mothers also differs from that of the Protestant, for they are closer to their mothers. Boys have experienced slightly more rejection from their mothers than Protestant men, and Catholic women. Catholic women have felt rejected by their mothers less frequently than Protestant women. But, perhaps the most interesting fact is that some 42.9 percent of the men have said their mothers have tried to dominate them. This startling fact is compounded when one sees that 71.0 percent of Catholic (7-9) men, as opposed to 20 percent for Protestants, name their mother as the most influential parent in promoting their college ambitions. Even more surprising is the fact that Catholic females name their

fathers 50 percent of the time, while their Protestant peers name him only 25.9 percent of the time. When this is added to feeling of rejection felt by sons from mothers and daughters from fathers, one gets the impression that there is an unusual cross-sex relationship functioning here, perhaps Oedipal in nature. This would certainly make a fascinating future investigation.

Matthew Besdine (1969) has reported about a particular type of mother, the Jocasta mother, who is talented, yet frustrated. She takes out her frustrations by directing herself toward the education and development of her son. This type of mothering, Besidine reports, has resulted in the development of creative genius. It has also produced extremely unhappy sons who are often maladjusted sexually. We cannot help but picture our Catholic mother, often left alone by a traveling husband, dominated by him, and frustrated by her lack of education and position, devoting herself to her son's future. But then, this is speculation.

Perhaps it is the male-priest image that draws females to their father; perhaps the virgin-mother image draws sons to their mothers. But, whatever the nature of the bond, it does seem to exist. And Catholic upper-middle class youth do differ from Protestants.

Hypothesis six states: The most influential parent in directing the formation of college aspirations will be determined by the resolution of the conflicting forces of same-sex identification versus mother-father power balance.

This hypothesis assumes that males tend to identify with their fathers and that females would similarly identify with their mothers. But, the intervening variable in this successful identification with the same-sex parent is the strength and competence the father demonstrates in performing his masculine role. Mussen, Conger and Kagan report:

> Those boys with the greatest preference for masculine activities (high male identification) perceived the father as more punitive, more threatening, more powerful, and more nurturant than boys low in masculine interests. Thus, other things being equal, it appears that the child identifies with the same-sex parent when that parent is perceived as strong, competent, and nurturant (1963:272).

When the father is not clearly dominant, which is more likely to occur in the working class, both sons and daughters are apt to identify and respond to the desires of the mother.

> When both parents are perceived as nurturant, powerful, and competent, the child will identify with both of them to some degree (Mussen, Conger, Kagan, 1963:268).

When the father presents the dominant image, a characteristic of the middle classes, the child, both male and female, is likely to identify with the father. In fact, Mussen, Conger, and Kagan report:

> The lack of a clear-cut identification of girls with mothers is taken to reflect that girls perceive the father as more powerful than the mother, and are therefore, more ambivalent (i.e., unsure) about choosing the mother as a model for identification than are the boys about choosing the father (1963:273).

While our study was not specifically designed to measure sex-identification, it does indicate which parent the child deems more influential (question 48). If we take this question to be an indicator of sex identification, and correlate it with the questions on authority and parental

TABLE 24

AUTHORITY PATTERNS AND PARENTAL INFLUENCE

SOCIAL CLASS	47. Decisions					49. Discipline			48. Influence on College Decision			
MALES	Mo	Consult Mo	Bo	Consult Fa	Fa	Mo	Fa	Bo	Mo	Fa	Bo*	Ne*
(1-3) n=37	13.5	2.7	48.7	24.3	10.8	51.4	32.4	16.2	35.1	35.1	16.2	13.5
(4-6) n=20	5.0	0.0	45.0	20.0	30.0	45.0	45.0	10.0	30.0	50.0	15.0	5.0
(7-9) n=10 Prot.	0.0	0.0	20.0	60.0	20.0	30.0	50.0	20.0	20.0	50.0	20.0	10.0
(7-9) n=7 Cath.	0.0	14.3	14.3	42.8	28.6	28.6	28.6	42.8	71.0	14.3	0.0	14.3
FEMALES												
(1-3) n=61	11.5	9.0	35.2	39.3	8.2	54.1	19.5	26.2	49.2	29.5	19.7	1.6
(4-6) n=61	6.6	6.6	39.3	34.4	11.5	52.5	21.3	26.2	42.6	21.3	29.5	3.3
(7-9) n=27 Prot.	7.2	7.2	37.3	37.3	11.1	40.8	29.6	29.6	29.6	25.9	44.5	0.0
(7-9) n=10 Cath.	0.0	0.0	40.0	50.0	10.0	40.0	30.0	30.0	20.0	50.0	10.0	20.0

* write-in response

TABLE 24 (cont'd)

SOCIAL CLASS	56. Father Closeness			57. Mother Closeness		
MALES	Very Close	Somewhat close	Not Close	Very Close	Somewhat close	Not Close
(1-3) n=37	18.8	54.1	24.3	48.7	37.8	10.8
(4-6) n=20	35.0	55.0	10.0	55.0	45.0	0.0
(7-9) n=10 Prot.	20.0	70.0	10.0	40.0	50.0	10.0
(7-9) n=7 Cath.	42.9	28.5	28.5	57.1	28.5	14.3
FEMALES						
(1-3) n=61	37.3	44.3	16.3	52.5	36.1	11.4
(4-6) n=61	29.5	54.1	16.4	59.0	29.5	11.5
(7-9) n=27 Prot.	29.6	63.0	7.2	48.2	44.5	7.2
(7-9) n=10 Cath.	20.0	60.0	20.0	70.0	30.0	0.0

warmth (Table 24, pages 62-63), we can clearly see that hypothesis six is supported. Where the mother's position is strongest, her influence is increased [males (1-3), females (1-6)]. Because of same-sex identification however, she has a stronger influence upon her daughters. Where the father's competence is great, and is reinforced by same-sex identification, his influence upon his offspring is increased. (Males 4-9). And finally, when the father's competence is great, but not reinforced by same-sex identification and the mother also presents an impressive image, both parents are considered to be influential [females (7-9)].

The relationship between authority and the most influential parent is more strikingly demonstrated in Table 25, which does not distinguish by social class.

TABLE 25

DECISION MAKING AND THE MOST INFLUENTIAL PARENT

PARENT NAMED MOST INFLUENTIAL		MOTHER	FATHER	BOTH
Males:	Mother	11.5	38.5	50.0
	Father	10.0	70.0	20.0
	Both	9.1	27.3	63.6
Females:	Mother	29.9	37.3	32.8
	Father	6.0	67.4	27.9
	Both	7.0	41.9	51.2

Despite how much we talk about a strong mother in the

parent power relationship, we are really talking about slightly stronger or equal mother. In most of these households, as we said before, we are not dealing with a matricentric situation. The father is also strong. He is providing an adequate role model. But what happens when he fails to do so, when the situation is clearly matricentric? In our sample there are sixteen individuals who are 24 or older,--over-age for a normal college population. Of these over-aged students, 10 are males and six are females. There are only two graduate students, both males. Of the remaining eight male students, four, 50 percent, name their mother as the exclusive decision maker in the family. (See Table 26, page 66). Furthermore, 50 percent of the females name their mother as the decision maker. Not one over-aged student names the father as the exclusive decision maker. In view of the statistics for the rest of the population, these figures are startling. It is quite apparent that the adequate functioning of the father as a role model is vital for the normal development of college aspirations. This is particularly critical for males because:

> When the same-sex parent is regarded unfavorably (e.g. weak, unskilled, unloved, alcoholic) and the social environment tells the child he is 'just like his father,' the child will develop an identification with the model's negative qualities as well as with some of his rewarding, desirable characteristics (Mussen, Conger, Kagan, 1962:271).

Without an adequate concept of self, it is readily understandable why the child has had difficulty in getting to college.

The implications of these findings are particularly

TABLE 26

AVERAGE STUDENTS AND MATRICENTRISM

RESPONSE	MALES n=8		FEMALES n=6	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
47. Decision-Making				
Mother	4	50.0	2	33.3
Consult, but mo.	0	0.0	1	16.7
Both	1	12.5	3	50.0
Consult, but Fa.	3	37.5	0	0.0
Father	0	0.0	0	0.0
43. Who wears the pants				
Mother	3	37.5	3	50.0
Father	4	50.0	2	33.3
Both	1	12.5	1	16.7

important in understanding the Negro male and his low aspirations. Negro families have long histories of being matricentric (Parker and Kleiner, 1966; Gist and Bennett, 1963, 1964). Without an adequate male model, black youth have difficulty making it in the aggressive, competitive, academic world.

Apart from values and role playing, how much support does the college aspiring youth receive from his parents? We can see from Table 27, page 68, that working class males receive the least financial support. Lack of money is probably the reason, but then, why do 72.1 percent of working class females receive financial support?

We can also see from Table 28, page 69, that the parents of working class males are least interested in their sons' academic performance. Table 29, page 69, also tells us that the parents of working class males, particularly the father, are least interested in reading. Thus it is the working class male who has the greatest difficulty in fulfilling his college aspirations.

Hypothesis seven states: The tendency toward small families will be directly related to social class: the higher the social class the greater the tendency. Nevertheless, even the working class students will come from predominantly small families.

The data concerning family size is shown in Table 30, page 70. We can see from the data that the above hypothesis appears correct for males, but not for females (Protestant). We can also see that the largest Protestant families are

TABLE 27

PARENTAL SUPPORT FOR COLLEGE AMBITIONS

SOCIAL CLASS	31. MOTHER			32. FATHER			33. Finan. Support
MALES	Insisted	Wanted	Non-support	Insisted	Wanted	Non-support	Yes
(1-3) n=37	10.8	75.7	13.5	5.4	78.4	16.2	59.5
(4-6) n=20	15.0	70.0	15.0	15.0	70.0	15.0	85.0
(7-9) n=17	5.9	82.4	11.8	17.7	76.5	0.0	82.4
FEMALES							
(1-3) n=61	4.9	86.9	8.2	9.8	80.3	9.8	72.1
(4-6) n=61	3.3	91.8	4.9	4.9	86.9	6.6	75.4
(7-9) n=61	10.8	83.4	5.4	10.8	81.1	5.4	89.2

TABLE 28

PARENTAL INTEREST IN SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

SOCIAL CLASS	34, INTEREST			35. PUNISHMENT			
MALES	Very	Int.	Not Int.	No	Fa	Mo	Bo*
(1-3) n=37	48.7	37.8	10.8	70.3	18.9	2.7	5.4
(4-6) n=20	65.0	30.0	5.0	80.0	5.0	10.0	5.0
(7-9) n=17	88.2	11.8	0.0	88.2	5.9	0.0	5.9
FEMALES							
(1-3) n=61	75.5	18.0	4.9	91.8	1.6	1.6	3.3
(4-6) n=61	72.1	24.6	3.3	91.8	0.0	1.6	6.6
(7-9) n=37	81.1	16.2	2.7	81.1	8.1	2.7	8.1

* write-in response

TABLE 29

PARENTS AS READERS*

SOCIAL CLASS	36. MOTHER	37. FATHER
MALES	Yes	Yes
(1-3) n=37	62.2	40.5
(4-6) n=20	65.0	55.0
(7-9) n=17	76.5	76.5
FEMALES		
(1-3) n=61	60.7	60.7
(4-6) n=61	65.6	45.9
(7-9) n=37	64.9	59.5

*Questions 36,37

TABLE 30

FAMILY SIZE AND ORDINAL POSITION

SOCIAL CLASS	60. FAMILY SIZE						64. BIRTH ORDER		
MALES	1	2	3	4	5 or more	1st	Middle	Youngest	Only
(1-3) n=37	8.1	27.0	19.0	16.2	29.7	40.5	24.3	27.0	8.1
(4-6) n=20	0.0	35.0	35.0	25.0	5.0	35.0	45.0	20.0	0.0
(7-9) n=10 Prot.	10.0	10.0	60.0	20.0	0.0	50.0	30.0	10.0	10.0
(7-9) n=7 Cath.	14.3	28.6	14.3	0.0	42.8	28.6	28.6	28.6	14.3
FEMALES									
(1-3) n=61	9.8	32.8	27.9	14.8	14.8	41.0	32.8	16.4	9.8
(4-6) n=61	11.5	37.7	21.3	16.4	13.1	31.2	26.2	31.2	11.5
(7-9) n=20 Prot.	14.4	25.9	14.4	26.4	18.5	40.8	22.2	22.2	14.4
(7-9) n=10 Cath.	20.0	20.0	20.0	10.0	30.0	50.0	10.0	20.0	20.0

TABLE 31

THE TOTAL ENVIRONMENT

SOCIAL CLASS	62. THE PEER GROUP			65. OTHER INFLUENCES				
MALES	decisive	reinforce	nonsup-portive	parents	sibs	teachers & peers	family & school	other
(1-3) n=37	16.2	56.8	27.0	5.4	5.4	13.5	59.5	16.2
(4-6) n=20	15.0	70.0	15.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	70.0	15.0
(7-9) n=17	5.9	70.6	23.5	11.7	0.0	17.6	64.7*	5.9
FEMALES								
(1-3) n=61	6.6	70.5	19.7	3.3	0.0	6.6	68.9	19.7
(4-6) n=61	11.5	68.9	18.0	13.1	0.0	8.2	60.7	18.0
(7-9) n=37	8.1	78.4	13.5	13.5	0.0	2.7	67.6	16.2

* 6 students checked all categories

TABLE 31 (cont'd)

TABLE 31 (cont'd)

SOCIAL CLASS	64. MOST IMPORTANT PERSON FOR COLLEGE DECISION							
MALES	parents	father	mother	siblings	relatives	friends	teachers	others
(1-3) n=37	18.9	5.4	8.1	8.1	0.0	16.2	29.7	8.1
(4-6) n=20	25.0	35.0	5.0	5.0	0.0	5.0	15.0	10.0
(7-9) n=17	11.8	29.4	23.5	0.0	0.0	17.7	11.8	5.9
FEMALES								
(1-3) n=61	23.0	18.0	9.8	6.6	1.6	8.2	19.7	6.6
(4-6) n=61	29.5	3.3	14.8	16.4	4.9	13.1	16.4	1.6
(7-9) n=37	35.1	24.3	16.2	5.4	0.0	0.0	10.8	5.4

those of working class males. It thus appears that hypothesis seven is only partly upheld.

Hypothesis eight states: We should find a predominance of oldest and youngest offspring in our sample. Table 30 also lists the ordinal position of birth of our college students. We can see that the majority of the students are either oldest or youngest and hypothesis eight appears valid. The working classes seem to have an over-representation of first born, as do the upper-middle class. But (4-6) males appear to have an over-representation of middle born students.

Hypothesis nine states: The peer group will serve to support the formation of college aspirations. From Table 31, pages 71-72, we see that the peer group does appear to support the aspirations of our youth. However, it is least supportive for working class males. It also appears that the peer group is only occasionally the decisive factor for promoting college attendance.

In assessing other external influences, Table 31 tells us that the individual outside the home who is most important in affecting the college aspirations of our youth, is the school teacher. Furthermore, her influence is most important, nearly 30 percent, upon the working class male. This information can be most valuable to teachers who are working with capable boys from the working class. The teacher should be made aware that her influence may be critical in the crystalization of college aspirations for her male working class students. She should know that when she encounters such capable youth in her classroom, the extra attention she


SE
(1
(4
(7
FE
(1
(4
(7

TABLE 32

SCHOOL VERSUS HOME ENVIRONMENT

SOCIAL CLASS	FAMILY	SCHOOL	OTHER
MALES			
(1-3) n=37	40.5	45.9	8.1
(4-6) n=20	70.0	20.0	10.0
(7-9) n=17	64.7	29.5	5.9
FEMALES			
(1-3) n=61	59.0	27.9	6.6
(4-6) n=61	68.9	29.5	1.6
(7-9) n=37	81.0	10.8	5.4

may devote to such a student may be the difference between social mobility and frustration. Furthermore, teachers should be complimented for the help they have given their students.

It thus appears that hypothesis ten is substantiated. The school teacher will be the chief value transmitter outside the home and her influence will be most critical for working class students.

Our final hypothesis was designed to assess the relative importance of the school and home environment upon the students' formation of college aspirations. It states: The school environment will be more critical for males than females. Table 32, page 74, shows the combined percentage for home versus school responses on question 64. We learn from this table that in only the case of working class males is the school environment perceived as more important than the home environment. It thus appears that it is the working class males' decision to attend college that is most arduous. He makes his decision at a later age than his female counterpart (Table 10, page 26); he receives less support at home for that decision both emotionally and financially; he may lack an adequate male model from which to develop his own self-image; and he is more dependent upon the external factors that school may or may not supply.

It also appears from Table 32, that hypothesis eleven is substantiated. Males do seem to be more susceptible to the influence that the school environment offers, than do females.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was designed to add to the understanding of the various structural components within the home environment that have led to the formation of college aspirations in a particular sample of college students. Because of the large percentage of working class students in our sample, it was hoped that it would also contribute to the understanding of the processes of social mobility.

Because the process of social mobility is extremely complex and involves many diverse variables, there still remains much to be done. Nevertheless, we believe that this study does show that the working class mother is extremely important in the development of college aspirations in her offspring, and that her role is often more important than that of her spouse. We have found that her importance as perceived by her children is directly related to social class and independent of the sex of her offspring.

But, within the context of social class, there appears to be various subcultural factors which are functioning.

The first factor is the father-mother balance of power. We have observed that the mother's position is perceived strongest in the lower social classes. But, contrary to previous research, we have found that matricentrism is

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rarely the case. In fact, our data strongly suggest that matricentrism may result in the frustration of college aspirations.

Another factor which is related to social class is the mother's relative educational and occupational status. We have observed that the mother's advantage in these areas is inversely related to social class. We have also seen that when the mother has an educational advantage, her position within the father-mother power structure is greatly improved. Furthermore, her influence upon her children is also increased.

Another factor which affects the formation of college aspirations of youth is feelings of dissatisfaction with a certain life style transmitted by parents to their children. We have observed that fathers' dissatisfaction appears to be inversely related to their social class. But mothers' feelings do not follow any pattern. Therefore, we have been unable to arrive at any definite conclusions regarding this matter. This is perhaps an area for further research. Nevertheless, the students' rejection of their fathers' occupation appears to be inversely related to social class and is particularly acute for those students of working class origin.

The emotional climate within the home is another significant factor in the formation of college aspirations. We have found that contrary to previous research, the majority

of the homes that our students come from are perceived as stable and happy. But, it is the working class student who feels least close to his parents and experiences the greatest degree of rejection. This rejection is particularly acute for the working class male. We have also learned that students feel closer to their mothers than to their fathers.

We have observed that there is a definite relationship between the mother-father power structure and the same-sex identification. We believe that how a child perceives the relative position of his parents within this power structure, determines how completely same-sex identification will be, and which parent will carry the most influence with the child. We have noticed that Catholics differ from Protestants, and appear to have an unusual cross-sex parent relationship.

We have tried to ascertain the importance of family size and ordinal position, but have not come to any definite conclusions on this matter.

Finally, we have tried to measure the importance of the school environment and have found that it is critical for the formation of college aspiration of working class males.

In summary then, we would like to propose the following schematic representation.

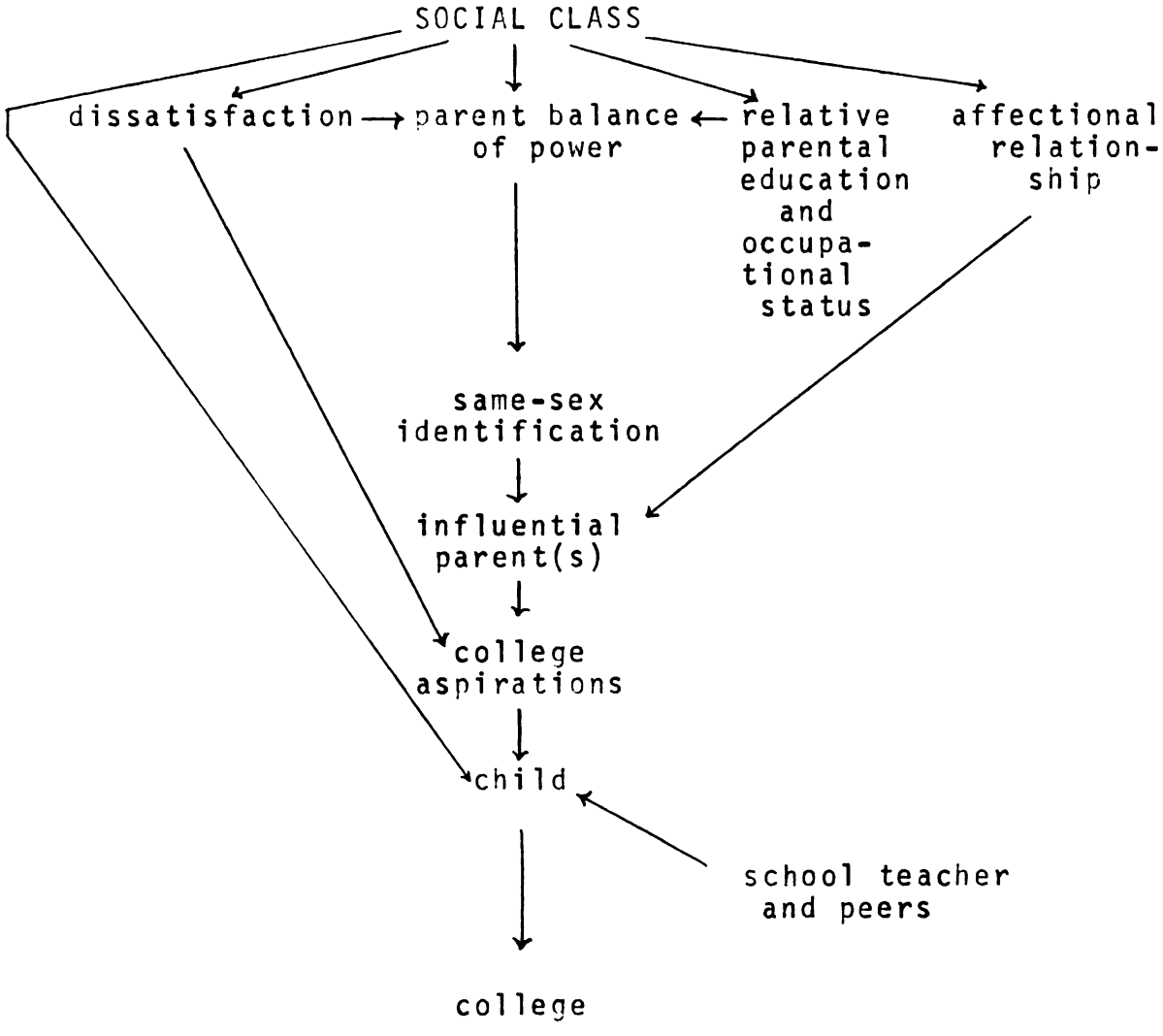

FIGURE 1

MOBILITY PRODUCING FORCES

In conclusion, for the working class student, the mother is often the most influential parent in promoting social mobility. She is most influential because of her relative position within the power structure, a position in the eyes of her children which rivals that of her husband for prestige and esteem, and allows them to identify with her. Her position in the conjugal power structure is greatly enhanced by such factors as her educational and occupational attainment, which is often superior to that of her working class husband. Such differential achievement may cause her and her husband to be dissatisfied with their present social position. Moreover, the warm affectional ties she shares with her offspring also aid in their identification with her. Furthermore, the factor of same-sex identification intensifies her influence with her female offspring. She is thus able to transmit the values that lead to social mobility.

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APPENDIX I

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire was originally designed to ascertain the degree of importance of the mother in influencing the college aspirations of her offspring. It was also designed to consider the other factors related to mobility, discussed in the introduction.

Part I, 1 to 14, was designed to establish the general background of the student.

Part II, 15 to 20, was designed to measure the educational and occupational levels of the parents. Mother's occupation was coded on the same scale as the father's (p.13). The relative education of the parents when compared, was also coded.

Part III, 21 to 30, was designed to measure the ambitions of the students. Questions twenty-four and twenty-five were primarily coded in terms of aesthetic or monetary interests. Question thirty was coded for ambition as a desirable characteristic in a spouse.

Part IV, 31 to 37, was designed to establish parental interest and support of educational aspirations.

Part V, 38 to 43, was intended to establish the dissatisfaction of the parents with their present station in life.

Part VI, 44 to 51, was designed to measure the power structure within the home and the degree of influence exerted upon the child by each parent. Questions 49 and 50 received a great number of write-in responses and the categories (both) and (neither) were added in the coding.

Part VII, 52 to 59, was intended to measure the degree of happiness within the home.

Part VIII, questions 60 and 61, was designed to measure the importance of siblings, ordinal position, and family size.

Finally, Part IX, questions 62 to 64, was designed to measure the importance of outside influences, particularly the school environment. Responses to question 69 were grouped in several categories, i.e., family, family and school, school, peers, teachers, etc.

The student response to the questionnaire appeared honest and frank. In fact, many students volunteered extremely personal and uncalled for information. One boy was apparently so carried away by the questions regarding his parents and his feelings toward them that he scribbled, "I refuse to indicate the intelligence of my parents for I feel that they know more than I suspect." And, when asked about being rejected by his father, he scribbled in big capital letters, "ALL THE TIME," and for his mother, "NEVER." One woman confessed her great resentment toward a father and a deceased husband because they had curbed her educational ambitions. Because this questionnaire elicited such frank responses, I believe that it was an effective instrument.

DEAR STUDENT:

This questionnaire has been designed in an attempt to arrive at a better understanding of the factors that influence individuals to seek a college education. Please read the questions carefully and answer them to the best of your ability. Many of the questions concern the relationship between your mother and father and their relationship to you. Others are concerned with what you and your parents are thinking. Should your parents be deceased, answer the questions as you feel they would have felt. If you have any questions please ask the instructor. If you feel any particular question is irrelevant to your situation please circle it. Please print your answers clearly. While we are asking you for your name you are to be reassured that you will remain completely anonymous.

We thank you for your cooperation.

Name:_____

Home Address:_____ city or county_____

state_____

PART I

General Information

1. Age:_____

2. Sex: ( ) male ( ) female

3. Marital Status:

( ) single ( ) separated

( ) married ( ) divorced

( ) engaged ( ) widowed

4. My church preference is:_____

5. My race is:_____

6. My parents' church preference is:_____

7. Was your father born in the United States?

( ) yes ( ) no

If no, where?_____

9. My parents are:

( ) both living together ( ) mother dead

( ) both dead ( ) divorced

( ) father dead ( ) separated

10. I make my regular home with:

( ) both parents ( ) friends

( ) mother ( ) myself

( ) father ( ) remarried mother

( ) grandparents ( ) remarried father

( ) uncle or aunt ( ) other

( ) spouse

11. I come from a:

( ) farm

( ) rural area, but not a farm

( ) village, under 2,500

( ) town, 2,501-10,000

( ) city, 10,001-100,000

( ) city, over 100,000

12. Class rank:

( ) freshman ( ) senior

( ) sophomore ( ) graduate

( ) junior

13. My home town is approximately _____ miles from Ball State.

14. Do you feel that you would be able to attend college if Ball State was not located in Muncie?

( ) yes ( ) no

PART II

Parental Backgrounds

15. Father's educational attainment (check highest level achieved):

( ) less than 8 grades
( ) completed 8 grades
( ) some high school (9-11 grades)
( ) graduated from High School
( ) business or trade school
( ) some college (1-3½ years)
( ) graduated from college
( ) holder of an advanced degree (M.A.,PhD.,M.D.,etc.)
( ) don't know

16. My father's occupation is (or was, if dead or retired): Indicate specifically what your father's title is, the kind of work he does, and the place of his employment.

_____

_____

_____

If your father is a farmer, indicate if he is:

( ) owner ( ) renter ( ) laborer

The number of acres my father operates is:_____

17. Education of your mother (check highest level attained):

( ) less than 8 grades
( ) completed 8 grades
( ) some high school (9-11 grades)
( ) graduated from High School
( ) some college work, including normal and nursing school
( ) graduated from college
( ) holds an advanced degree
( ) don't know

18. What was your mother's occupation before marriage?

_____

19. Is your mother presently employed? If yes, indicate what her occupation is and where she is employed.
( ) yes ( ) no

_____
Occupation and employer

20. Please indicate to the best of your knowledge the approximate income, from all sources, of your family (parents).

( ) below 3,000 dollars
( ) $3001 to $5000
( ) $5001 to $7,500
( ) $7,501 to $10,000
( ) $10,001 to $15,000
( ) $15,001 to $20,000
( ) above $20,001

PART III

Ambitions

21. College major:_____

22. Are you planning to obtain a teaching certificate?

( ) yes ( ) no

23. What kind of career do you plan to pursue? (Girls, if you are not planning a career, please indicate. Give reasons in question 36.)

_____

24. List five reasons for your choice.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

25. List five reasons why you decided to attend college.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

26. Do you plan to go on to graduate school?

( ) yes ( ) no ( ) undecided

27. Please indicate how well you performed in elementary school:

( ) excellently ( ) average

( ) good ( ) poorly

28. In high school I did:

( ) excellently (A's) ( ) average

( ) B work ( ) poorly

29.

30.

31

32

33

34

35

36.

37.

29. Please indicate the earliest age at which you seriously thought about attending college._____

30. List five of the most important characteristics you would consider, when choosing your future spouse.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PART IV

Parental support

31. How did your mother feel about your going to college before you attended?
( ) insisted that I go ( ) was indifferent

( ) wanted me to go ( ) didn't want me to go

32. How did your father feel about your going to college before you attended?
( ) insisted that I go ( ) was indifferent

( ) wanted me to go ( ) didn't want me to go

33. Please indicate how you are financing your college education (scholarship, GI Bill, loan, parents, part-time work, etc.). List all sources.

_____

_____

34. Please indicate the amount of interest your parents have exhibited in how well you are doing in school.
( ) very interested

( ) interested, but tolerent

( ) don't care, as long as I pass

( ) not interested

35. Did your parents punish you if you received poor grades?
( ) yes ( ) no
If yes, who did the punishing? ( ) father ( ) mother

36. Do you consider your father to be a "reader"?
( ) yes ( ) no

37. Do you consider your mother to be a "reader"?
( ) yes ( ) no

PART V

Parental Satisfaction

38. My father considers his occupation to be:

( ) completely satisfactory

( ) fairly satisfactory

( ) adequate

( ) not very satisfactory

( ) very unsatisfactory

39. My mother considers my father's occupation to be:

( ) completely satisfactory

( ) fairly satisfactory

( ) adequate

( ) not very satisfactory

( ) very unsatisfactory

40. My father thinks that the amount of education he attained is:

( ) sufficient ( ) insufficient

41. My mother thinks that the amount of my father's educational attainment is:

( ) sufficient ( ) insufficient

42. My mother thinks that her own educational attainment is:

( ) sufficient ( ) insufficient

43. I often wish my father had a better job.

( ) true ( ) false

PART VI

Power Structure

44. Who wears the pants in your family?

( ) mother ( ) father ( ) they share responsibilities

45. Which parent assumes budgetary responsibility?

( ) mother ( ) father ( ) both

46. If there was a disagreement between your mother and your father, who would usually give in?

( ) mother ( ) father

47. Who makes important decisions in your home?

( ) mother

( ) father

( ) about equal

( ) they consult, but father's opinion usually holds

( ) they consult, but mother's opinion usually holds

48. Which parent has been more influential in helping you decide to attend college?

( ) mother ( ) father

49. When you were younger, and even now, which parent acted as your disciplinarian?

( ) mother ( ) father

50. My father wouldn't be where he is today if it wasn't for my mother.

( ) true ( ) false ( ) mother helped, but Dad could have made it alone

PART VII

Happiness

51. My parents have always gotten along:

( ) very poorly; they have frequent disagreements

( ) they have disagreements, but they get along okay

( ) they're an average couple; they quarrel occasionally

( ) they get along very well; they quarrel rarely

( ) my parents are separated or divorced

52. Do you consider your parents to be happily married?

( ) yes ( ) no

53. I consider my family to be a tight knit group.

( ) yes ( ) no

54. Has either parent tried to dominate you?

( ) yes ( ) no
If yes, ( ) mother ( ) father

55. I describe my childhood as being:

( ) very happy
( ) happy
( ) average
( ) somewhat unhappy
( ) very unhappy

56. My father and I have always:

( ) been very close
( ) been somewhat close
( ) tolerated each other
( ) disagreed
( ) I have resented him

57. My mother and I have always:

( ) been very close
( ) been somewhat close
( ) tolerated each other
( ) disagreed
( ) I have resented her

58. How frequently have you felt that you were not wanted by your father?

( ) very often
( ) frequently
( ) sometimes
( ) rarely
( ) never

59. How frequently have you felt you were not wanted by your mother?

( ) very often
( ) rarely

60.

61.

62.

63.

64.

( ) frequently ( ) never

( ) sometimes

PART VIII

Family size - birth position

60. In my family there are: (circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 more children (include yourself).

61. I was the _____child to be born. (Indicate the position of your birth.)

PART IX

External Influences

62. Please indicate yes or no, if the persons listed below have been important in helping you decide to come to college:

father	( ) yes	( ) no
mother	( ) yes	( ) no
siblings	( ) yes	( ) no
other relatives	( ) yes	( ) no
adult club leaders	( ) yes	( ) no
school friends	( ) yes	( ) no
persons connected with the church	( ) yes	( ) no
school teachers	( ) yes	( ) no
any other persons not already listed	( ) yes	( ) no

63. From the above list, indicate the one category or person who has been most important:_____

64. The group of kids you hung around with in high school: (check one)

( ) made me decide to seek a college education

( ) reinforced my college ambitions

( ) made me feel like an outcast because I wanted to go to college

( ) were indifferent to my plans for college