

Negroes - Bibliography ✓

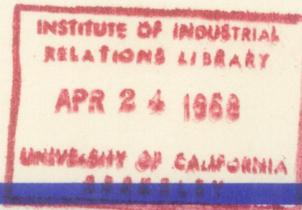
(Departmental Technical Report No. 67-2)

Occupational Status
Orientations of Negro Youth:

Annotated Abstracts of
The Research Literature

by William P. Kuvlesky
and Michael F. Lever

Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology



OCCUPATIONAL STATUS ORIENTATIONS OF NEGRO
YOUTH: ANNOTATED ABSTRACTS OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

William P. Kuvlesky
Assistant Professor

Michael F. Lever
Research Assistant

Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology
Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Although there is widespread recognition of the need for codification and synthesis of findings in the social sciences, support for the considerable investment of time and money required is often difficult to find. Consequently, particular recognition is due the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, particularly to Associate Director Dr. H. O. Kunkel, for providing the support which made this effort possible.*

A number of researchers across the country have given us encouragement and useful assistance in locating and obtaining relevant materials for our efforts. Although it would be impossible to acknowledge all of these men, several are due special recognition. Among these are Lawrence Drabick, Walter Slocum, Archie Haller, Robert Ellis, David Gottlieb, Donald E. Super, Richard Rehberg, William W. Cooley, David V. Tiedeman, and Kenneth Feldman.

Recognition is also due John Pelham for his assistance in locating a number of these reports and developing the original drafts of several of the annotations included here.

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INTRODUCTION¹

American youth are future oriented. Much of their normal daily existence is spent in thinking about and preparing for future adult roles. The attainment of a job is of particular importance as an object of orientations, for it will have an important influence on the attainment of other status goals, social rank, and the overall life satisfaction the individual will experience.²

In contemporary American society, a great amount of freedom is granted the individual in finding his way through a maze of job possibilities. The type of employment finally obtained is thought to be importantly influenced by the motivation and direction provided by occupational aspirations, expectations, and interests

¹This section is a modified and condensed version of the introductory statement given in the first report of this series. William P. Kuvlesky and John Pelham, Occupational Status Orientations of Rural Youth: Annotations and Evaluations of the Research Literature, College Station, Texas: Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University, Departmental Technical Report 66-3, September, 1966.

²For statements on the prime importance of the occupational role see, among others, Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure, New York; Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1953, Chapter 4 and Seymour Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962, p. 97 and p. 228.

formed in adolescence.³ The importance attributed to the occupational orientations of youth as an explanatory variable for subsequent status attainment is evidenced by the extensive research literature on this subject and the increasing amount of attention being currently given to the study of these phenomena.⁴

Several attempts have been made to develop partial theories of the occupational choice process; however, these are often superficial, extremely limited, lacking in empirical verification, or have some combination of all three of these weaknesses.⁵ In evalu-

³Although only a few studies on the relationship of orientations to attainment have been reported, these demonstrate some measure of positive association: R. J. Porter, "Predicting Vocational Plans of High School Senior Boys," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 33 (December, 1954); A. O. Haller and I. W. Miller, The Occupational Aspiration Scale: Theory, Structure, and Correlates, East Lansing: Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station, Technical Bulletin 695, June, 1962, pp. 34-38; and Vernon A. Kohout and John W. M. Rothney, "A Longitudinal Study of Consistency of Vocational Preference," American Educational Research Journal, (January, 1964, pp. 10-21. For a critical evaluation of existing knowledge on this topic and suggestions for future research see William P. Kuvlesky and Robert C. Bealer, "The Relevance of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations for Subsequent Job Attainments," Rural Sociology (Forthcoming, December, 1967).

⁴A listing of over 200 citations has been compiled in earlier report by Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature. Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report 66-1, June, 1966.

⁵For examples of such "theories" see the following: Lee G. Burchinal, Career Choices of Rural Youth in a Changing Society, Minneapolis: Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, N.C.R.P. 142, 1962; Eli Ginzberg, et. al., Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory, New York: Columbia University Press, 1951; Peter Blau, et. al., "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 9 (July, 1955); and John L. Holland, The Psychology of Vocational Choice, Waltham, Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1966.

ating the status of this problem area in a recent publication, Haller and Miller state, "We do not have a valid theory to explain and predict exactly what occupation a person will enter; we may never have."⁶ Perhaps, one reason for this state of affairs is that little has been done to develop the accumulative power inherent in the mass of findings that already exist on occupational aspirations and expectations of youth. An inspection of any research report in this problem area reveals that much of the work done by one professional grouping goes unrecognized by investigators in other disciplines, and investigators in the same discipline often ignore each other's work. This problem is particularly acute in reference to research concerned with Negro youth. There is a definite need for attempts toward codification and synthesis of existing findings in this problem area to provide a firm basis for the development of valid theories.

Objectives

We have been attempting, through the support of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station, to facilitate and stimulate action toward this end. The first stage of our work has been to develop relatively complete and comprehensive listings of research litera-

⁶Haller and Miller, op. cit., p. 5.

ture on status orientations of youth.⁷ This report is the second of a series of reports representing the second stage of this inductively oriented attempt to organize the research in this problem area--the further development of annotated abstracts of selected research reports involving the study of occupational status orientations. The first report in this series focused on studies of rural youth,⁸ and this effort focuses on studies reporting on Negro youth.

The over-all purpose of this series of annotations is to provide systematically organized collections of research dealing with the occupation status orientations of youth as well as evaluations of this research. Hopefully, the series will constitute a basis for inductive generalizations and subsequent improvements of conceptual frameworks in the area. The ultimate goal toward which these efforts are aimed is a comprehensive synthesis of relevant empirical efforts.

The abstracts to be presented are deemed useful in and of themselves--in pointing out areas of conflicting findings, indicating unresearched problems, pointing out weakness in methods, making

⁷We have developed such listings for orientations toward occupation, education, income, family formation and parenthood, and place of residence. Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, op. cit. and Ohlendorf and Kuvlesky, A Bibliography of Literature on Status Aspirations and Expectations: Educational, Residence, Income, and Family Orientations, Texas A&M University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Departmental Information Report 66-7, September, 1966.

⁸Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit.

explicit points of conceptual confusion and ambiguity, and demonstrating areas of agreement in past findings. At the same time, the abstracts can serve as starting points in selectively grouping available research around specific problem contexts for the purpose of more thorough comparative analysis of research dealing with occupational status orientations of Negro youth.

Given the difference in selective focus, the format and procedures utilized here are generally the same as those developed for the first report on rural youth. Consequently, the abstracting procedures, analytical framework, organization of material, and the indexing procedures will be described only briefly here.

Selection Procedures⁹

As stated above, the research studies included in this report have been selected on the basis of a consideration of occupational status orientations of Negro youth. Occupational status orientations are defined as projections by individuals of potential or probable future positions within the structure of occupational statuses. Such projections may be oriented in terms of desire or in terms of anticipation of attainment. Projections in terms of desire are termed occupational aspirations and projections in terms of anticipation of attainment are called occupational expectations. In other words, an occupational status which an individual desires

⁹The conceptual framework briefly outlined here is developed in detail in Kuvlesky and Pelham, op. cit.

to attain is his occupational aspiration; the occupational status he expects to attain is his occupational expectation. For a given individual, any divergence from his occupational aspiration noted in his occupational expectation is termed anticipatory deflection.¹⁰ For example, a youth desiring to be a doctor but expecting to be a truck-driver and a youth desiring to be a farmer but anticipating work as a lathe operator both demonstrate anticipatory deflection. While anticipatory deflection is most often negative, with expectations having lower prestige than goals, in some cases it may be positive in direction.¹¹ The research efforts abstracted here examine one or more of these categories of phenomena and their reported relationships to other variables.

Abstracting Procedures

The research studies selected were abstracted in reference to several categories of information, as follows:

¹⁰This idea has been developed in more detail in a paper by the senior author of this report, "The Social-Psychological Dimensions of Occupational Mobility," Proceedings of the National Vocational-Technical Seminar on Occupational Mobility and Migration, Raleigh: The Center for Research, Training, and Occupational Education, North Carolina State University at Raleigh, April, 1966, pp. 13-14.

¹¹Several studies that have attempted to measure the magnitude of divergence between goals and expectations for individual cases have found that anticipatory deflection occurs often (for 25 to 50 percent of the cases) and is predominantly negative in direction. For evidence see Nunalee and Drabick (p. 35 of this report), Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf (p. 15 of this report), and Walter L. Slocum, Occupational and Educational Plans of High School Seniors From Farm and Non-Farm Homes, Pullman: Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 564, February, 1956.

1. Bibliographic citation.
2. Location and date of study.
3. Respondents: Number and general characteristics of respondents, including sex, age, race, and residence.
4. Objectives: A statement of the foci of the study which are relevant to an examination of occupational status orientation elements.
5. Results: A selective summary of those findings and conclusions which are relevant in terms of occupational status orientations. Included, in some cases, are observations which were not explicitly reported as findings, but which could be derived from the data presented.
6. Remarks: A critical commentary on the research study, focusing on methods used to indicate and measure orientation elements and an evaluation of the special significance of the findings.

Symbols are used in the annotations to indicate respondent characteristics. The meaning of these are self-evident in reference to sex (M,F) and color or race (W, NW). In reference to place of residence, the following symbols are used: R=rural, U=urban; also, the symbol NM is used for nonmetropolitan area. Age is either indicated in years or, more commonly, by school grade.

Organization of the Report

The annotations are grouped into three sections as follows: Part A includes six studies concerned solely with Negro youth; Part B contains four studies utilizing populations including Negro and white youth but not treating Negro youth separately; and Part C contains fourteen studies making Negro-white comparisons. The abstracts are numbered serially within each part of the report. Each abstract is assigned a letter-number designation; the letter indicating the section of the report in which it is included and the number indicating its serial position in the relevant section.

In addition, we have provided a "Content Index" to facilitate the selective use of the annotations and in the last section of the report we have provided a listing of other more general but relevant references that have not been annotated.

CONTENT INDEX

To facilitate selective use of the abstracts we have included the following content index which provides a location key and a break-down of the pertinent information included in each study. The index consists of a "Locating Key," "Time and Place of Study," "Status Orientations," "Additional Variables Considered," and a residual column titled "Other", the latter including variables not classifiable under any of the previous categories.

The "Locating Key" includes the index number or letter-number designation for each abstract, and the page number of the report in which the abstract is found. "Time and Place of Study" is self-explanatory, except that for studies which did not report the date of the research, a question mark is entered. Following is a list of abbreviations used in the content index, and the meaning of each:

- A - Occupational aspirations
- E - Occupational expectations
- AD - Anticipatory deflection
- Psy - Psychological variables*
- SES - Socio-economic status**
- In - Influentials***
- M - Male
- F - Female
- W - White
- N - Negro
- R - Rural
- U - Urban

*Includes such variables as interests, values, and intelligence.

**Includes such variables as income level, parents' occupational level, parents' educational level, and social class.

***Consists of persons who influence respondents' occupational orientations.

CONTENT INDEX (Con't)

Locating Key Index No.	Page No.	Date and Place of Study		Status Orientations			Additional Variables Considered										
		Date	Place	A	E	AD	Psy	SES	IN	M	F	SEX	W	N	R	U	Other
C-5	29	?	N.C.	X							X	X				X	Age
C-6	30	?	Northwest	X	X			X			X	X				X	
C-7	31	1966	Tex.	X							X	X	X			X	Importance of asp.
C-8	32	54-55	Md.		X		X		X	X	X	X				X	Realism of asp., school attendance
C-9	33	1963	N.C.	X							X	X	X	X		X	Reason for exp.
C-10	34	54-55	Fla.	X			X				X	X	X	X		X	
C-11	35	1963	N.C.	X	X		X				X	X	X	X		X	Congruence of asp. and exp.
C-12	36	58-60	Conn.	X	X			X			X	X	X			X	Mobility asp. regional background
C-13	37	?	N.J.	X	X		X				X	X	X			X	
C-14	38	1962	Fla.	X							X	X	X			X	

ANNOTATED ABSTRACTS

PART A: NEGROES

This section of the report includes six reports of Negro respondents studied alone. All six of these were done in the South and collectively cover a span of years ranging at least from 1954 to 1966. Three of these make rural-urban comparisons; none make comparisons by sex. Two of the studies examine anticipatory deflection, and one examines intensity of aspiration. Two of the studies examine the influence of other persons on respondents' orientations toward jobs.

A-1

Brazziel, W. F., Jr. "Occupational Choice in the Negro College,"
Personnel and Guidance Journal, 39 (May, 1961), pp. 739-742.

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	170	Selection:	A ten percent sample of
Sex:	M, F		1700 students in the Col-
Age:	College sophomores & seniors		lege of Education of
Residence:	R, U		Southern University. About
Race:	NW		two-thirds of the respond-
			ents were rural residents.

OBJECTIVES: A rural-urban comparison of time (or age) at which the decision to become a teacher was made, personal factors influencing this choice, the relation of this choice to preferred occupation, and an examination of intentions to follow through on this choice after graduation.

RESULTS: Three-fourths of the respondents "chose" teaching as an occupation before entering college and a fourth of them made this decision in elementary school. Rural and urban respondents did not differ significantly in the age at which this decision was made.

Rural and urban respondents were similar in indicating that teachers often (40%) were most influential in influencing this decision, closely followed by parents (25%). Counselors were mentioned infrequently as most influential by either rural or urban respondents.

Approximately half of the urban and rural students were not planning to teach after graduation. This was explained by the fact that for two-thirds of the urban and half the rural respondents teaching was preferred as a second choice to some other job. The most frequent reasons given for entering a program to become a teacher by those desiring this job as a second order choice were employment security, lack of funds, and (for rural) inadequate background for most preferred field.

REMARKS: An implicit assumption is made in this study that enrollment in the teaching curriculum constituted a "choice" or decision to become a teacher. The reported findings seem to clearly demonstrate that this assumption was not correct and that many students selected a program of teacher training even though they never desired or intended to become teachers. The ambiguity and lack of coherence in the report, partly due to the lack of explicit consideration of the critical assumption noted above and its implications, obscure a number of noteworthy findings.

A-2

Kuvlesky, W. P. and M. Lever, "Occupational Goals, Expectations, Anticipatory Goal Deflection Experienced by Negro Girls Residing in Low-Income Rural and Urban Places." Proceedings of the Southwestern Sociological Society meetings, Dallas, Texas, March, 1967.

TEXAS: Houston and three all-rural East Texas counties (Spring, 1966)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	269	Selection:	High school sophomores in three all-rural, low-income East Texas counties and a sample of sophomores from a large all-Negro high school in a low-income ward of Houston.
Sex:	F		
Age:	Sophomores		
Residence:	R, U		
Race:	NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine the relationship between rural-urban residence differences and occupational aspirations, expectations, and anticipatory goal deflection of Negro girls from low-income places.

RESULTS: Both residence groupings generally aspired to high level white-collar occupations. Almost 90 percent of the urban and over 70 percent of the rural girls aspired to either low professional, sales-clerical, or high professional jobs. The notable differences were that proportionately more urban girls desired low-prestige professional jobs, and proportionately more rural girls desired skilled blue-collar jobs. The majority of both rural and urban girls also expected to attain high level white-collar positions. The significant differences were again in the proportions of each grouping expecting low professional and blue-collar positions.

Over 20 percent of both rural and urban girls indicated anticipated deflection from their aspired level of occupation, and most of the deflection was downward for both. Rural girls indicated a higher rate of deflection and downward deflection than urban girls.

REMARKS: The occupational aspirations and expectations were ranked in terms of a modified version of the Census scheme, as well as in dichotomous and trichotomous hierarchies which tended to emphasize the high level goals and expectations of both groupings.

This report is of particular significance because it is one of only two reported studies that give a rural-urban comparison for Negro females (See Middleton and Grigg, p. 34 of this report).

A-3

Kuvlesky, W. P. and G. W. Ohlendorf, "Occupational Status Orientations of Negro Boys." Paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society annual meetings, Miami Beach, August, 1966.*

TEXAS: Houston and three all-rural East Texas counties (Spring, 1966)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	205	Selection:	See Kuvlesky and Lever, p. 14 of this report.
Sex:	M		
Age:	Sophomores		
Residence:	R, U		
Race:	NW		

OBJECTIVES: To explore rural and urban differences among Negro boys on the following aspects of occupational status orientations: goals, expectations, anticipatory deflection, and intensity (strength of desire) of aspiration.

RESULTS: Both residence groupings had high level aspirations and expectations. Urban boys had higher occupational goal and expectation levels than their rural counterparts; however, it was found that rural-urban differences were greater in reference to goals than for expectations. The findings indicated that rural and urban Negro boys experienced similar rates of anticipatory deflection--about one-third of the respondents in each case. But, in reference to high aspirants, rural boys were more likely to be deflected to blue-collar job expectations than urban boys. Urban boys were judged to have stronger desires for their occupational goals than rural Negroes. Intensity of aspiration was not found to be associated with rate or nature of anticipatory deflection.

REMARKS: This study is the first to provide evidence to indicate that Lipset's hypotheses--that urban youth have higher goals than rural youth--may be valid for Negro boys. Furthermore, the findings that rural and urban youth differ more in their goals than expectations would seem to indicate that goal levels may be more highly variable than expectation levels. The relatively high goal levels observed in this study are probably to some extent attributed to the high dropout rates experienced in the schools considered. The study is unique in examining the intensity (strength) of desire associated with occupational goals and is the first to demonstrate rural-urban differences in this respect. At the same time, the instrument used to measure the "intensity" element of aspiration is judged to have serious limitations.

This report includes a review and evaluation of past research on the occupational status orientations of rural and urban Negro boys.

*Copies of this paper will be provided upon request.

A-4

Uzell, O. "Influencers of Occupational Choice," The Personnel and Guidance Journal, 39 (April, 1961), pp. 666-669.

NORTH CAROLINA: Eastern part (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.: 301 Selection: A proportionate random sample drawn
Sex: M from 14 urban high schools.
Age: Seniors
Residence: U
Race: NW

OBJECTIVES: To determine to what extent stated role models influence occupational aspirations of Negro boys.

RESULTS: About three-fourths of the respondents knowing occupational models for their aspired occupations reported being influenced by them in their occupational choice. Other important influences were the mass media and persons in occupations other than those selected by respondents.

REMARKS: Several weaknesses in the report severely limit the utility of the findings given. Because the indicator used to elicit responses was not reported, it cannot be determined whether or not responses were aspirations or expectations. Occupations reported (about sixty) were not grouped, but simply listed along with a frequency distribution of responses.

A-5

Uzell, O. "Occupational Aspirations of Negro Male High School Students," Sociology and Social Research, 45 (January, 1961), pp. 202-204.

NORTH CAROLINA: Eastern part (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.: 301 Selection: See Uzell, p. 16 of this report.
Sex: M
Age: Seniors
Residence: U
Race: NW

OBJECTIVES: To examine relationships of SES (parents' educational status and fathers' occupational status), respondents' success in school, and expected occupation to occupational aspiration levels.

RESULTS: Parents' educational status and fathers' occupational status were positively related to level of occupational aspiration of subjects as was respondents' success in school. However, only the relationships with parents' educational status and success in school were judged to be statistically significant.

REMARKS: Parents' educational status and success in school were not defined, and no data were presented. Fathers' occupational status levels were apparently determined by North-Hatt prestige scores with breaking points between the highest, middle and lowest thirds.

Although respondents were classified as upward, downward, and nonmobile (in terms of aspiration level as related to fathers' occupational status) and it was stated that mobility classes were compared on the basis of relevant social background characteristics, no relevant data or detailed findings are presented.

Instruments used to elicit aspiration and expectation levels were not reported.

A-6

Waters, E. W. "Vocational Aspirations, Intelligence, Problems and Socio-Economic Status of Rural Negro High School Seniors on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Their Implications For Vocational Guidance," Journal of Negro Education, 23 (1954), pp. 502-505.

MARYLAND (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	288	Selection:	Approximately 50 percent of all
Sex:	M, F		seniors in nine high schools on
Age:	Seniors		the "Eastern Shore".
Residence:	R		
Race:	NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine how interests, abilities, SES, problems, and available guidance were related to vocational aspirations.

RESULTS: It was reported that: (1) there was a wide discrepancy between stated and measured (Kuder Preference Record) interests for boys and girls; (2) measured abilities (IQ and Reading) were associated in a positive manner to occupational "aspirations"; (3) pupils' occupational choices indicated that schools are not providing guidance, type of training, or courses needed by students.

REMARKS: The report is totally lacking in data or even references to general statistics to substantiate reported findings. Although relationships were reported to exist, no evidence is given of the magnitude of associations or statistical significance. The indicator of "aspiration" or "choice" is not made explicitly. A number of findings are reported (see #3 above) that could not easily have evolved from the limited number of variables considered.

PART B: NEGROES AND WHITES, NOT COMPARED

This section consists four studies which include both Negro and white respondents, but do not treat Negroes separately. Three of these studies were done in the South and one in Missouri over a ten-year period of time ranging from 1953 to 1963. Only one makes a rural-urban comparison. One of the few studies focusing on occupational orientations of adults is included here. Three of the studies have male respondents only; the other does not make a comparison by sex. Two of the studies examine the influence of other persons on respondents' orientations.

B-1

Bennett, W. S., Jr. and N. P. Gist. "Class and Family Influences on Student Aspirations," Social Forces, 43 (December, 1964), pp. 167-173.

MISSOURI: Kansas City (1960-1961)

RESPONDENTS

No.: 873	Selection: Most students in 9th and 12th
Sex: M, F	grades of four Kansas City high
Age: Grades 9, 12	schools selected from neither
Residence: U	the most wealthy nor the most
Race: W, NW	impoverished school districts.

OBJECTIVES: To determine differences in occupational aspirations and expectations for a mixed sample of white and Negro students by social class. Also, to determine the extent of maternal influence on occupational choice, by race and class.

RESULTS: For both whites and Negroes, there were no statistically significant differences in levels of aspiration or expectation between classes (upper, middle, lower). However, consistent percentage differences exist in the expected direction in both cases. The percentage of high aspirants ranged from 73% of the upper class to 59% of the lower class. The range in high level expectations was slightly greater (74% to 45%). Few respondents of any social class had low level orientations.

It was determined from aggregate comparisons that the relationship of aspirations and expectations varied directly by social class. The aspiration and expectation levels of the upper class grouping did not differ. However, the middle class and lower class both had observably lower levels of expectation than aspiration--the lower class had the highest rate of incongruence.

Significantly greater maternal than paternal influence on occupational choice was noted for only middle and lower class white respondents.

REMARKS: Social class is determined by occupation of father classified into three broad categories on the basis of the Reissman revision of the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale. Levels of aspiration and expectation were apparently determined on the same basis, although this was not stated explicitly. Instruments used to determine aspirations and expectations involved a projection to age 30.

The study appears to offer evidence to indicate that aspirations, expectations, and anticipatory deflection are related to social class; however, the lack of racial comparisons makes it impossible to determine whether this relationship exists for both Negroes and whites.

B-2

Drabick, L. W. The Vocational Agriculture Student and His Peers.
 Raleigh: North Carolina State, Departments of Agricultural
 Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No.
 1, August, 1963. (Mimeographed).

NORTH CAROLINA (Spring, 1963)

RESPONDENTS

No.: 425	Selection: Twelve white and eleven
Sex: M	Negro schools were selected
Age: Seniors	as representative of the non-
Residence: NM	metropolitan Economic Areas
Curriculum: Vo.-Ag., "other"	of the state. Sample schools
Race: W, NW	were selected on the basis of
	approximation to the average
	size school in their area.

OBJECTIVES: To determine what differences exist between occupational aspiration and expectation levels of vocational agriculture students as compared with "other" students.

RESULTS: For both Negro and white students, "other" students had higher levels of both job aspiration and expectation than vo.-ag. students and for all students, fewer mentioned high prestige occupations (70+) as expectations than as aspirations. A very large proportion of both races (whites-50% and Negroes-80%) named expected first jobs that had higher prestige scores than their father's job.

The report also indicates that most of the respondents thought that their "occupational plans" were determined by themselves. The findings indicated that no particular type of person was perceived by the students to have a great influence on this decision; however, parents were viewed by the students to be in agreement with their decisions.

REMARKS: Adequate data for a racial comparison exists but is not used. Inspection of the tables indicate that significant and meaningful differences may exist between the white and Negro students. For instance, in reference to both aspirations and expectations the Negro-"other student" class had a larger proportion of high prestige (70+) responses and fewer low prestige responses than the corresponding white grouping. Also a much higher proportion of Negroes aspired to jobs having higher prestige scores than their fathers' current one. A wealth of information on racial comparisons could be obtained from the extensive detailed data presented.

B-3

Payne, R. "Development of Occupational and Migration Expectations and Choices Among Urban, Small Town, and Rural Adolescent Boys," Rural Sociology, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 117-125.

GEORGIA: Hall County (1953)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	413	Selection:	Sample includes all 8th and 12th grade students in all county schools present on the day the questionnaire was administered.
Sex:	M		Hall is one of the state's larger and more prosperous counties and is located in a diversified agricultural area.
Age:	Grades 8, 12		
Residence:	R, U		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To study the relationship between levels of occupational expectations and place of residence and socio-economic status.

RESULTS: Occupational expectations were named by a greater proportion of urban than rural boys (69 and 57 percent, respectively). Within the upper socio-economic group, urban boys were much more likely than rural boys to expect occupations at levels above their fathers' occupations. Findings indicate only a slight association between socio-economic level and the presence of occupational expectations.

When expectations were compared with "choices," it was found that only one in eight students named different occupations--in these cases, expectations were of higher average rank than choices.

REMARKS: Negro-white comparisons are not given. The frequency of indication of expectation reported in this study is much lower than those observed in other similar efforts. Also, the low proportion of cases demonstrating differences between the two orientation phenomena and the finding that expectations tended to be higher when a difference existed is highly unusual. The validity of these observations is impossible to determine because no information was given on the indicators used for "choice" and "expectations."

B-4

Taylor, L. and C. W. Glasgow. Occupations and Low-Income Rural People: A Southern Regional Study. Baton Rouge: Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, Southern Co-operative Series Bulletin 90, December, 1963.

ALABAMA, FLORIDA, NORTH CAROLINA, KENTUCKY, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, TENNESSEE, TEXAS (1961)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	1074	Selection:	A stratified probability sample
Sex:	M		of the employed male household
Age:	Adults		heads in low-income rural areas
Residence:	R		of the South.
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine the occupational aspirations and expectations of men for themselves and their children, by their present jobs.

RESULTS: In all instances, except for clerical-sales workers, the men listed their present job as the type of work most liked. Those indicating most satisfaction were craftsmen--more than two-thirds giving this as the kind of work liked most. Much the same trend is noted when the men were asked what type of job they expected in five years. However, more clerical and sales workers expected to be engaged in this type of position than had expressed a desire for it. For those men in the lower status jobs, mobility out of their low positions was neither desired nor expected.

An overwhelming tendency was observed for the men to want their sons to have higher prestige occupations than their own present job.

REMARKS: Although Negro-white comparisons are not given, this study is valuable because it is one of the few that have investigated the occupational aspirations and expectations of adults. Of particular significance is the finding that men filling low prestige positions indicated a lack of desire or expectation for higher level jobs. This observation of adult orientations, when compared with findings of most youth studies, would appear to indicate that occupational status orientation levels decline with the transition from adolescence to adult status.

PART C: NEGRO-WHITE COMPARISONS

The final section of the report includes fourteen studies which provide racial comparisons. The studies were done in at least eleven different states and, taken collectively, these represent most major regions of the U. S. The studies cover a period of time ranging from at least 1944 to 1966. Ten of these reports make comparison by sex, six make comparisons in terms of some indicator of SES, four examine the relationship between intelligence and occupational orientations, two relate size of family with occupational orientations, and one study makes rural-urban comparisons. Also, two of the studies examine persons influential with regard to respondents' occupational orientations.

C-1

Antonovsky, A. and M. J. Lerner. "Occupational Aspirations of Lower Class Negro and White Youth," Social Problems, 7 (Fall, 1959), pp. 132-138.

NEW YORK: An upstate city of 50,000 (1957)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	125	Selection:	The sample included all Negro and a sample of white youth who entered two junior high schools within a three-year period.
Sex:	M, F		These schools served the poorest areas of the city.
Age:	16-20 years		
Residence:	U		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine levels of occupational aspiration and expectation of white and Negro youth of low economic status.

RESULTS: More Negroes than whites had high levels of aspiration (within the professional, semi-professional and executive categories). The differences were much greater between the two racial groupings of girls than for boys.

On an aggregate basis expectation levels were lower than aspiration levels for all race-sex groupings. Both white boys and girls demonstrated almost twice the rate of anticipatory deflection as their Negro counterparts. About two-thirds of the Negro youth of both sexes had both high aspirations and expectations as compared with only one-third of the white boys and twenty percent of the white girls.

REMARKS: Of particular significance is the finding that white youth had much lower levels of aspiration and expectation and higher rates of anticipatory deflection than Negro youth. A possible explanation for this unusual observation is given by the authors. A large number of white youth who had attended the school during the three-year period considered had moved away. The authors feel that these students probably had higher levels of status orientation than their counterparts who remained.

The stimulus questions used to obtain responses indicating aspirations and expectations included a time dimension specification of ten years.

C-2

Davis, D. A.; N. Hagan; and J. Stroug. "Occupational Choice of Twelve-Year-Olds," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 40 (March, 1962), pp. 628-629.

MICHIGAN: Muskegan Heights School District (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	116	Selection:	All 6th graders in three elementary schools: One all-white school in a medium socio-economic locality, one all-Negro school, and one mixed school in a low socio-economic locality.
Sex:	M, F		
Age:	6th grade (11-16 yrs.)		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To explore the relationship of sex, race, socio-economic status of neighborhood and IQ to maturity of occupational choice.

RESULTS: About 60 percent of the respondents made choices classified by two judges as tentative (choices made in terms of the interests, capacities, and values of the individual). The remaining respondents made fantasy choices (defined as those derived from simple needs and impulses.)

There was little difference in rates of tentative choice by school, indicating that race and socio-economic nature of neighborhood were of little importance in influencing maturity of choice. Sex of respondent, IQ, and retardation were reported to have influenced maturity of choice. Almost twice as many girls (70%) as boys (40%) made relatively mature choices. More children with IQ's over 100 (65%) made tentative choices as compared with those having lower IQ's (40%). Students having reading retardation had a higher percentage of fantasy choices (over 50%) as compared with the total sample.

REMARKS: The instrument used was a written statement by respondents indicating their choice of job when they grew up and the reasons for it. The judges classified choices as tentative or fantasy according to Ginzberg's definitions of these terms.

Analysis of data was superficial and no tests of statistical significance were reported. Cross-tabulations of frequency of tentative choice by the selected independent variables could have easily been done and would have provided greater insight into the determination of nature of choice. The wide variation in age of respondents may have influenced the results.

C-3

Gist, N. P. and W. S. Bennett, Jr. "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, 42 (October, 1963), pp. 40-48.

MISSOURI: Kansas City (1960-1961)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	873	Selection:	See Bennett and Gist, p. 20
Sex:	M, F		of this report.
Age:	Grades 9, 12		
Residence:	U		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To determine whether or not differences exist between white and Negro students in respect to occupational aspirations and expectations and to determine to what extent maternal encouragement influences occupational aspirations.

RESULTS: No meaningful racial differences were noted between occupational aspirations for either sex. This held true even when differences in recorded IQ and social class of origin were controlled. Both white and Negro students demonstrated considerable uniformity between aspirations and expectations. However, relative to level of father's job, Negro respondents demonstrated higher level mobility aspirations than whites--a similar difference was observed in reference to the parent's mobility aspirations for their child. Controls for social class origin diminish the magnitude of racial differences in mobility aspirations.

A disproportionately high percentage of Negroes reported the mother or other female as the "most influential" in occupational decisions, both white and nonwhite mothers had higher aspirations and more influence over students' occupational decisions of the students than did fathers.

For both races females' job aspirations for future husbands exceeded the respective male grouping's aspiration levels--this difference was greater for Negroes.

REMARKS: The instruments used to determine aspiration and expectation were unambiguous, and a time dimension (projection to 30 years of age) was included. Occupational responses were classified in terms of Reissman's revision of the North-Hatt occupational prestige scale.

A relatively unique finding of special interest reported in this study was that job aspirations females held for future husbands were generally higher than the aspiration levels held by the males.

C-4

Gottlieb, D. "Goal Aspirations and Goal Fulfillment: Differences Between Deprived and Affluent American Adolescents," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 34 (October, 1964), pp. 934-941.

SOUTH, MID-WEST, NORTH (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	(not given)	Selection:	All students from two Negro and two white high schools in two Southern communities (one small and one large). A twenty-five percent random sample of Negro and white students from a large midwestern community and a similar sample of students from a Negro high school in a very large Northern city.
Sex:	M, F		
Age:	HS students		
Residence:	R, U		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To compare Negro and white youth on their occupational goals.

FINDINGS: Negro youth from all social classes and from all schools were less likely than white students to select occupations which require graduate or professional training. The occupational "preferences" of Negro youth center about those jobs requiring either a four-year college degree or less than four years of college.

REMARKS: This report has limited research utility because of a total lack of reported data--particularly in offering evidence as to the degree and significance of the associations reported.

C-6

Holloway, R. G. and J. V. Berreman. "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Male Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, 2 (Fall, 1959), pp. 56-60.

PACIFIC NORTHWESTERN CITY (no date)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	313	Selection:	Grades 6, 7, and 8 in three schools
Sex:	M		chosen to yield a final sample of
Age:	Grades 6-8		approximately half whites and half
Residence:	U		Negroes.
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To test Stephenson's hypothesis (see p. 37 of this report) that SES influences occupational expectations to a greater extent than aspirations - the lower the SES the greater the difference between aspiration and expectation.

RESULTS: The data presented indicated that white youth had generally higher aspiration and expectation levels than Negroes. The authors of this report conclude that their findings on occupational aspirations and expectations do not support Stephenson's hypothesis. Although white middle class occupational aspirations were found to be significantly higher than those of any other race-class grouping, plans were not found to differ significantly from aspirations for any of the four race-class groupings considered. The findings also indicated that while the middle class white boys had much higher aspirations than lower class white youth, no significant class-linked differences existed among Negro boys.

REMARKS: The conclusions drawn from the comparative analysis is somewhat tenuous because of the small number of respondents involved in most race-SES groupings, particularly in reference to the Negro-middle class grouping. Also the authors have a tendency to rely too heavily on statistical evaluation of chi-square values in interpreting their data. A case in point is the conclusion that aspirations and plans do not differ for any of the race-SES groupings. A close examination of their data indicates that proportional differences in the expected direction existed between aspirations and plans for three of the four groupings considered; however, due to the small N's in conjunction with the use of chi-square tests these differences were judged not to be significant. Consequently, the study would seem to offer some support for the contention that, in general, occupational expectations are lower than aspirations.

It should be noted that an analysis of educational status orientations included in this report were interpreted as supporting Stephenson's hypothesis that expectations are influenced to a greater extent than aspirations by SES.

C-7

Kuvlesky, W. P. and W. K. Upham, "Social Ambitions of Teenage Boys Living in an Economically Depressed Area of the South: A Racial Comparison." Paper presented at the Southern Sociological Society meetings, Atlanta, Georgia, March, 1967.*

TEXAS: Three All-Rural East Texas Counties (1966)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	251	Selection:	All male high school sophomores attending school on a given day
Sex:	M		in three, all-rural, low-income
Age:	Sophomores		East Texas counties. About 40
Residence:	R		percent Negro.
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To evaluate the proposition that low-income rural Negro and white youth have similar levels of occupational aspiration and to determine whether they differ in the importance they assign to their occupational aspirations relative to other goals.

RESULTS: Although most respondents of both races had high goals, the Negro boys generally had somewhat lower levels of occupational aspiration than the white youth. The proportions of Negroes having very high, high, and intermediate levels were slightly but consistently lower than those for whites. Proportionately three times as many Negroes as whites had low levels of aspiration.

Both Negroes and whites ranked their occupational goals second in importance to educational goals, and above income and residence goals, respectively. The mean ranking of educational goals was higher for Negroes than for whites, while the mean ranking for occupational goals of Negroes was lower than for whites.

REMARKS: This study is particularly noteworthy in that it is unique in exploring the rank order of importance of occupational goals relative to others.

It should be noted that the elimination of high school dropouts from the study probably influenced the high level of aspiration generally observed.

*Copies of this paper will be provided upon request.

C-8

Lockwood, W. V. "Realism of Vocational Preference," Personnel and Guidance Journal, 37, No. 2 (October, 1958), pp. 98-106.

MARYLAND: Baltimore (1954, 1955)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	508	Selection:	A combined stratified random sample
Sex:	M, F		of two graduating classes from two
Age:	Seniors		Negro and seven white high schools,
Residence:	U		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine relationships between realism of vocational preference and rental district of residence, race, sex, school attendance, parental occupation, number of siblings, and IQ.

RESULTS: Based on a ten point "realism" scale, judges rated 95 percent of the students' responses as realistic (4-10 points). Thirty-seven percent of the students indicated under-aspiration in that their choices were judged to be below their capabilities (over 5 points).

IQ was the only variable judged to be significantly related to realism of preference. A direct relationship was observed in this case.

REMARKS: The indicator used for "vocational preference" appears to indicate long-run expectations rather than aspirations. This probably explains the high level of realism observed. The realism scores were based on the opinions of judges as to the conformity of the respondent's occupational preference with his chances of attaining it as judged by sex, physical condition, vocational preferences, age, IQ, scholastic average, hobbies, interests, skills, work experience, school adjustment, and extracurricular activities. It is pointed out in the study that the relationship between IQ and realism of occupational preference may be questioned because IQ was one of the criteria, and perhaps one of the most important, which was used to determine level of realism.

C-9

Matthews, R. G. and L. W. Drabick. Reasons for Selection of Expected Occupations: By Race and Sex. Raleigh: North Carolina State, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No. 7, November, 1965 (mimeographed).

NORTH CAROLINA (Spring, 1963)

RESPONDENTS

No.: 985 Selection: See Drabick, p. 21 of this report.
 Sex: M, F
 Age: Seniors
 Residence: NM
 Race: W, NW

OBJECTIVES: To discover whether reasons given for selection of expected occupations differ by race and sex.

RESULTS: Significant differences were reported to exist in reasons for selection of expected occupations between males and females and between Negroes and whites. Negroes as compared to whites had higher proportions of responses indicating "altruism" and fewer indicating "reward" and females differed from males in a similar way. The authors conclude that there are "significant differences" between the reasons Negroes and whites have for selecting their occupations and reach a similar conclusion for males and females.

REMARKS: The reported findings and conclusions are misleading--they overlook the fact that a clear majority of all sex-race types indicate "general interest" as their reason for selection. While there are clear differences in the proportions indicating other reasons, these involved a minority of respondents in each case.

C-10

Middleton, R. and C. M. Grigg. "Rural-Urban Differences in Aspirations." *Rural Sociology*, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 347-354.

FLORIDA (1954-1955)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	2,183	Selection:	Twenty percent stratified sample
Sex:	M, F		of public high school seniors in
Age:	Seniors	Florida:	stratified by geographic
Residence:	R, U		region and size of high school.
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine rural and urban differences in occupational "aspirations" controlling on sex, race, and intelligence.

RESULTS: The data presented indicated that while youth generally had higher level (white-collar) aspirations than Negro youth for every sex-residence type racial comparison except rural boys. Approximately two-thirds of the rural youth and three-fourths of the urban youth aspired to white-collar occupations. Rural boys of both races had significantly lower aspiration levels than all other respondent groupings--only about half the rural boys desired white-collar jobs. The author concludes that significant rural-urban differences in occupational aspirations exist for only white males. He proposes that explanation for the lack of expected differences between rural and urban Negro males may be their assumed high number of dropouts (not included in the study).

REMARKS: This study is of particular importance because it is one of only two that have tested the applicability of Lipset's hypothesis for Negro youth. The finding that rural-urban differences do not exist for Negro boys is of particular significance in that it constitutes one of two cases contradicting Lipset's proposition as it applies to males. The report is judged to be misleading because: the stimulus question used for "aspirations" actually indicated expectations and the gross dichotomy ("white-collar," "blue-collar") used to indicate level of aspiration does not clearly indicate meaningful "levels" of aspiration. The inclusive nature of the two categories used probably hides a number of differences that might have been observed by the use of a greater number of "level" categories. As an example, the fact that many rural boys indicated expectations for farming (blue-collar) probably explains their unique low level of expectation using the Middleton-Grigg criteria.

C-11

Nunalee, T. H., III and L. W. Drabick. Occupational Desires and Expectations of North Carolina High School Seniors. Raleigh: North Carolina State, Departments of Agricultural Education and Rural Sociology, Educational Research Series No. 3, (June, 1965).

NORTH CAROLINA (Spring, 1963)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	949	Selection:	See Drabick, p. 21
Sex:	M, F		of this report.
Age:	Seniors		
Residence:	NM ("town", "country")		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To examine occupational goal and expectation levels (using NH prestige scores) of youth by sex, race, intelligence, father's occupational prestige, parents' educational levels, number of siblings, and place of residence.

RESULTS: Approximately half of the respondents of both sexes were judged to have indicated occupations of similar prestige for aspirations and expectations. The bulk of the remainder indicated goals to be higher than expectations. Whites, of both sexes, demonstrated less congruence between aspirations and expectations than Negroes. This difference was greater for females than males. Slightly more females than males had expectations of higher prestige than aspirations.

Because of the number of variables involved, it is impossible to report all or even most of the specific findings. The authors conclude in reference to "background" factors that, "In many cases the differences were not statistically significant. However, in most cases the differences seemed to have direction and meaning."

REMARKS: This report is of particular value because it is one of the few that examines the relationship of occupational aspiration and expectation levels for individual cases. (Most reports rely on comparisons of aggregate profiles.) The report is lacking in that it does not give an indication of aspiration and expectation levels--simply the difference between levels. It should also be noted that in many cases, even when differences were evaluated to be statistically significant, they were rather slight.

C-12

Sprey, J. "Sex Differences in Occupational Choice Patterns Among Negro Adolescents," Social Problems, 10 (Summer, 1962), pp. 11-22.

CONNECTICUT and PENNSYLVANIA: New Haven and Harrisburg (1958, 1960)

RESPONDENTS

No.: 2,596 Selection: All 9th graders in the two cities
 Sex: M, F involved.
 Age: Grade 9
 Residence: U
 Race: W, NW

OBJECTIVES: To compare levels of occupational aspiration and expectation of white and Negro students by sex, parental occupational level, and (for Negroes) by regional background.

RESULTS: The data presented indicates that Negro and white girls had similar aspiration levels but that white boys had higher goal levels than Negro boys. For those with white-collar parents, about two-thirds of the Negro girls and whites of both sexes, and two-fifths of the Negro boys aspired above the parents' occupational level. For those with parents in skilled occupations, about two-fifths of the Negro boys, two-thirds of the white boys, and 80-90 percent of the girls of both races aspired above the parents' level. For those with parents in the lower manual occupations, about four-fifths of the Negro girls and whites of both sexes, and two-thirds of the Negro boys had aspirations above the parents' level.

Expectations of attaining occupations at a higher level than parents were indicated by about half the boys and about two-thirds the girls of both races who had aspirations above the level of parent's occupation. Proportionately fewer Negro boys of Southern origins had levels of aspiration and expectation above the level of parental occupational position as compared with Negro boys of Northern origins.

REMARKS: Levels of aspiration and expectation, as well as parent's occupational level, were measured by the seven point Hollingshead scale, collapsed into three classes: white collar; skilled manual; and lower manual. The data was presented in terms of percentage of students aspiring above the parent's occupational level rather than being arranged in discrete rankings which would have permitted a more extensive analysis.

A particularly noteworthy finding was that regional origins apparently influenced level of mobility orientation held by Negro boys.

C-13

Stephenson, R. M. "Mobility Orientation and Stratification of 1,000 Ninth Graders," American Sociological Review, 22, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 204-212.

NEW JERSEY: Four semi-industrial, medium-sized communities.

RESPONDENTS

No.: 1,000	Selection: Drawn from schools in four semi-
Sex: M, F	industrial, medium-sized communities.
Age: Grade 9	The schools drew from a representa-
Residence: U	tive cross-section of their com-
Race: W, NW	munities.

OBJECTIVES: To examine differences in aspiration and expectation levels between white and nonwhite youth by SES as indicated by father's job (skilled workers and foreman, semiskilled workers and unskilled workers).

RESULTS: About 60 percent of both whites and Negro students had aspirations in the highest two levels of the six level Edwards scale of occupational categories (I-professionals; II-owners, managers, and officials; III-clerks and kindred workers; IV-skilled workers and foremen; V-semiskilled; VI-unskilled). Whites tended to have higher expectation levels than Negroes: almost twice as many whites as Negroes anticipated employment in the two highest level job categories. Deflection from high level aspirations to lower level expectations was observed to occur twice as frequently for whites as for Negroes.

The findings indicate a progressive lowering of both aspiration and expectation with a lowering in SES. However, the authors conclude that the variation by SES is greater for expectations than aspirations.

REMARKS: The instrument for measuring aspiration was ambiguous with respect to the time dimension. That for expectation elicited "intended" occupation at termination of schooling. The short-range time specification in the expectation instrument coupled with a lack of specification of a time dimension for aspirations probably markedly influenced the extent of observed differences between levels of aspiration and expectation. Had comparable instruments been used for both status projections, the differences probably would be less.

Differences were not subjected to statistical tests.

C-14

Youmans, E. G.; S. E. Grigsby; and H. C. King. After High School What: Highlights of a Study of Career Plans of Negro and White Rural Youth in Three Florida Counties. Gainesville: University of Florida, Cooperative Extension Service, (1965).

FLORIDA: Three northern counties (1962)

RESPONDENTS

No.:	411	Selection:	Students attending five Negro and six white schools in three low-income rural counties.
Sex:	M, F		
Age:	Seniors		
Residence:	R		
Race:	W, NW		

OBJECTIVES: To determine white-Negro differences by sex in occupational aspirations, persons influencing "plans for life work," and maternal influence on occupational goals.

RESULTS: A majority of Negroes and whites of both sexes wanted to become professionals. Racial differences noted for males were: more Negroes than whites wanted to be skilled workers (18%-8%), more whites than Negroes wanted to become professionals (61%-52%), and farmers (14%-2%). More Negro girls wanted to become professionals and fewer wanted clerical jobs as compared with white females. The findings appear to indicate that Negro boys had lower aspirations than white boys but that this situation was just the opposite for racial difference among girls.

Well over half of each race-sex type indicated that their parents had the greatest influence on their "plans" for "life work" and all but white males considered the mother to be more influential than the father. Teachers and ministers were indicated to have the "greatest influence" for only a minor portion of all types except Negro males (20% indicated teachers had greatest influence). The report also indicates a marked correlation between the youth's goals and their mother's aspirations for them for every race-sex type. Most youth considered high school education of occupational value.

REMARKS: This publication does not report statistical evaluation of differences. However, the wealth of information provided could be useful to researchers willing to carry out additional operations on the data.

It is of importance to note that this study demonstrates that high school students from severely economically deprived areas maintain relatively high level aspirations. An observation that was supported by a more recent Texas study.

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