DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 042 535 RC 004 582

AUTHOR Picou, J. Steven: Hernandez, Pedro F. भगामा । Perceived Sources of Personal aid and Influence for the Occupational Aspirations of Black High School Seniors: A Rural-Urban Comparison. INSTITUTION Louisiana State Univ., Baton Rouge. Agricultural Experiment Station. SPONS AGENCY Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. PUB DATE Feb 70 NOTE 19p.: Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Rural Sociology Section (Memphis, Tennessee, Febuary 1970) EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-\$0.25 HC-\$1.05

DESCRIPTORS

Counseling Effectiveness, Lower Class Students, *Negro Students, *Occupational Aspiration, *Parent Influence, *Rural Urban Differences, Seniors,

Socioeconomic Status, *Teacher Influence

IDENTIFIERS *Louisiana

ABSTRACT

Rural and urban seniors from all-plack high schools in Louisiana were given group-administered questionnaires to determine the influence of 5 primary contacts on the formation of occupational aspirations of youth. The 5 primary contacts generally acknowledged to have some influence were parents, relatives, friends, teachers, and quidance counselors. The 264 respondents were classified by residence (rural or urban) and by sex. The Kruskal-wallis one-way analysis of variance was used to determine significant variations among the student categories. Parents were found to be the most helpful and influential for all categories of students. Teachers were second in influence but were more influential to rural students than to urban students, as were quidance counselors. Relatives were rated more influential by urban students than were quidance counselors. The influence of friends was not significant except for rural males. It was concluded that a general theory of occupational choice cannot be formed until explanations for the differential influence of primary contacts are provided. (JH)



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PERCEIVED SOURCES OF PERSONAL 'ID AND INFLUENCE FOR THE OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF BLACK HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS:

A RURAL-URBAN COMPARISON*

By

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Introduction

The last two decades have witnessed the accumulation of an extensive amount of empirical research on the occupational status orientations of youth by social scientists throughout the world. 1 primary focal point of many of these research ventures has been the delineation of relevant variables that affect variations in levels of occupational aspirations and expectations of high school youth. Research findings indicate that occupational status orientations are significantly affected by such independent variables as socio-economic status, race, income, intelligence and residence. However, relatively little empirical research has been conducted on the influence of personal contacts on the occupational status orientations of adolescents. Because of the apparent absence of research specifically designed to ascertain tho relative effects various "primary-contacts" have on occupational decisions made by rural and urban black youth, this paper will attempt to provide information in this general area. Specifically, we will focus on the aid and influence exerted by five "primary-contacts" on the occupational aspirations of rural and urban black high school males and females.

*Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Rural Sociology Section, Memphis, Tennessee, February, 1970. Field work for this study was sponsored jointly by the United States Department of Agriculture, Project S-61, and the Louisiana State University Agricultural Experiment Station.

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The authors would like to acknowledge the aid and assistance of George S. Tracy, Louisiana State University and Thomas M. Carter, University of Wisconsin, in the statistical analysis of the data.



Conceptual Frame of Reference and Review of Relevant Literature

The conceptual framework utilized in this study was first suggested by Paul Lazarsfeld in 1931 when he noted that a constructive approach to the phenomenon of "occupational choice" would entail research designed to find out "how" occupations are filled rather than "why" they are filled. This perspective was employed by Ginzberg and his associates and subsequently lead to the formulation of the "developmental model" of occupational choice. Basically, this model views occupational choice as a process, developing over time, which can be categorized into three distinct stages—"fantasy," "tentative," and "realistic." During the final stage of choice development, the realistic, the youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age experiences a crystalization, specification, definition and commitment to an occupational goal.

Throughout the occupational selection process, different dimensions of choice are distingishable. Kuvlesky and Bealer have recently pointed out that it is important for researchers to analytically differentiate between the occupational aspirations and occupational expectations of youth. Occupational aspirations refer to that occupation which an individual "wishes or desires to enter as his life's work." On the other hand, occupational expectations refer to the job that an individual "expects or anticipates entering as his life's work." An occupational aspiration is desired by the individual, while an occupational expectation may or may not be desired by the individual.

Numerous factors interact to engender the development of particular occupational desires and plans. It has been thoroughly demonstrated that occupational decisions made by youth are contingent upon a dynamic, interacting array of biological, psychological, cultural and structural factors. Furthermore, as more theoretically oriented researchers in this area have noted, the factors of differential socialization and direct interpersonal contacts aid and exert considerable influence on occupational decisions.

Rodgers and Musgrave have both noted the importance of primary and secondary socialization in orienting youth toward acceptable occupational goals and roles. Direct face to face "primary-contacts" are one means, in the socialization process, of affecting the orientations of youth. These "primary-contacts" can be seen as serving as "economic role-models" for youth, or as sources of encouragement on a direct interactional level for the acceptance of particular occupational roles.

Cohen has noted that mobility aspirations of youth are induced by "a long-term socialization process involving alternative patterns of motivational sources, general attitudes and timing and techniques of encouragement by the parent." Kahl, McKinley, II Gist and Bennett, 12 and Dyerl3 have all found that occupational decisions made by youth are strongly influenced by contacts with parents. Studies by Alexander and Cambell and Krauss have found that educational aspirations and plans are affected by communication among high school students and the nature of one's peer group associations. Furthermore, Haller and Butterworth, in an



empirical investigation in 1960, found some support for the contention that interaction with peers influence levels of occupational aspirations of youth. 16

In a recent study on the perceived influence of various groups on the educational and occupational plans of rural Iowa youth, Hartman found that college-oriented youth perceived more overall influence on their educational plans than did non-college oriented youth. 17 Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that rural youth perceive more influence for the formation of educational plans than occupational plans. Parents were found to exert the most influence on the occupational plans of the respondents, while guidance counselors were acknowledged as influentual by significantly more college oriented rural youth than non-college oriented rural youth.

These studies lend empirical support to theorists in the area of occupational choice who have noted that family and peer group influences affect the occupation decisions of youth. However, it should also be pointed out that some authors contend that disadvantaged youth, particularly lower-class blacks, suffer from inadequate primary and secondary socialization in childhood. For example, Deutsch posits that lower class children lack opportunities "to use the adult as a source of information, correction and reality testing involved in problem-solving and the absorption of new knowledge." 18 Inferences of this nature demonstrate that additional empirical information is needed on the relative influence "primary-contacts" have on occupational choices made by black youth.

This brief review of previous research indicates that relatively little information exists on the influence or "helpfulness" of various "primary-contacts" for the formation of occupational goals of rural and urban black youth. It should be noted from the conceptual framework presented above that the high school youth is viewed as an active decision-maker, whose occupational orientations are beginning to crystalize into specific choices. These orientations can be analytically differentiated into desired occupational goals and expected occupational attainments. Furthermore, these occupational orientations are affected by primary and secondary socialization, both of which often occur through direct interpersonal contacts. Thus, the primary objective of this paper is an evaluation of the relative influence of five primary-contacts--parents, friends, relatives, teachers and guidance counselors -- on the occupational aspirations of black youth. Particular emphasis is placed on variations found according to sex and residence.

Methodology

The data for this study were obtained from group-administered questionaires presented to 264 male and female black high-school seniors. The rural sample consisted of 157 students attending small, all-black high schools located in four non-metropolitan parishes in the state of



Louisiana. All seniors attending classes the day interviews were administered were included in the rural sample and no attempt was made by the researchers to contact absentees at a later date. By sex, there were 67 males and 90 females. All of the rural data were collected in the spring of 1968.

The urban sample was drawn from two large all-black high schools located in the immediate Baton Rouge metropolitan area. A twenty per cent random sample of senior home rooms from both of these schools was selected. A table of random numbers was utilized in the selection of homerooms. A total of 107 respondents were included in the urban sample which was drawn in January, 1969. Group-administered questionaires, similiar to those previously given to the rural youth, were presented to all seniors present in the selected homerooms the day interviews were conducted. By sex there were 42 males and 65 females in the urban sample.

The data for analysis were obtained from a question on the research instrument which asked the students to indicate "how helpful" each of the following people were in aiding the formation of their occupational goals:

- 1. Parents
- 2. Relatives other than parents
- 3. Friends
- 4. Teachers
- 5. High school counselor

Each of the people listed above was rated by the respondents as being "very helpful," of "some help," or of "no help" in their formation of occupational goals.19

A factorial design for the two independent variables, sex and residence, was utilized to classify all respondents. These two independent variables were dichotomized as follows: sex, male and female; residence, rural and urban. All responses were then ranked in terms of degree of helpfulness. The response "very helpful" was given the highest rank and the remaining responses were ordered accordingly. This procedure allowed for an ordinal measurement of the dependent variable "helpfulness" between the following four categorized groups- urban males, urban females, rural males and rural females. The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was utilized to determine the existence of any significant variations between the groups of categorized respondents. If an overall significant difference was found to exist between groups, the Mann-Whitney U-test was employed to isolate significant main and interaction effects.

Background Characteristics of the Respondents

The majority of the rural and urban black youths interviewed came from families of low socio-economic status. It was found that approximately 7 out of every 10 major money earners in the respondents families were either unemployed or held low-status occupations 22 (Table 1). The families of the respondents were also characterized by relatively



high rates of instability. Table 2 indicates that 46 per cent of the urban respondents and 39 per cent of the rural respondents were members of broken families. Furthermore, there was a high incidence of working mothers in the families of the youth included in this study. Sixty-five per cent of the mothers in the rural sample and 55 per cent of the respondents' mothers in the rural sample were employed on either a full or part time basis (Table 3).

From the above findings it is apparent that the vast majority of the students included in this study come from relatively under-privileged homes. Moreover, the high incidence of incomplete family systems and working mothers points to the possible existence of unstable family backgrounds. In addition, it should be noted that both rural and urban respondents reflect similiar disadvantaged background characteristics, indicating that neither sample is characterized by any marked social advantages.

FINDINGS

Helpfulness of Parents

Overall, parents were found to be important sources of influence for the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents. Substantial proportions of all subsamples were found to acknowledge parents as being "very helpful." Approximately 41 per cent of the urban males, 51 per cent of the urban females, 58 per cent of the rural males and 55 per cent of the rural females responded in this manner (Table 4). Proportionately more urban males (20 per cent) than others indicated that they received "no help" from parents for the formation of their occupational goals. However, the Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance shows that no statistically significant differences existed between sex and residence groupings of the respondents. This finding suggests that parental expectations and encouragement are important factors in the crystalization of occupational goals of disadvantaged rural and urban black youth of both sexes.

Helpfulness of Relatives Other Than Parents

As would be expected, relatives were found not to be as helpful as parents in the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents. Approximately 2 out of 10 of all the respondents indicated that relatives were "very helpful." (Table 5). However it should be noted that more than one-half (57 per cent) of all respondents reported that relatives were at least of "some help" for the formation of occupational goals. Likewise, a substantial proportion of the respondents (43 per cent) felt that relatives provided little or no help for their occupational desires. The analysis of the data did not reveal any significant differences by sex or residence subgroups.



Helpfulness of Friends

In tables 6 and 7, it was found that friends were more helpful in the formation of the occupational goals of rural males than rural females. Slightly less than one-half of all rural males (43 per cent) indicated that friends were very helpful for their occupational goal formation, whereas only 9 per cent of the rural females responded affirmativly. Futhermore, it should be noted that approximately 80 per cent of the rural males thought that friends provided at least "some help" for the formation of their occupational desires, while only 56 per cent of the rural females indicated likewise.

For the urban respondents no comparable sex differences were observed. As table 6 shows, only 17 per cent of the urban males considered friends as being "very helpful" in influencing occupational goal-formation. The same percentage of urban females gave this response. In addition, no overall residence differences in regards to helpfulness of friends was observed.

These findings indicate that friends were a more significant source of aid and influence for the formation of the occupational goals of rural males than any of the other respondents included in this study. This suggests that the occupational decisions made by the rural males included in this study were influenced by peer group considerations to a greater degree than the occupational decisions of the other respondents.

Helpfulness of Teachers

Teachers were found to have exerted significantly more help in the formation of the occupational goals of rural than urban youth (Tables 8 and 9). Slightly more than half of all the urban respondents (51 per cent), in comparison to 27 per cent of the rural respondents, acknowledged teachers as being "very helpful" for their occupational aspirations.

In addition, tables 8 and 9 reveal that teachers were more influential for the development of the occupational goals of males than females. This finding was observed to be true for respondents in both residence groupings.

The above findings indicate that teachers were precieved by the respondents as being relatively important sources of aid for the occupational goal formation of all respondents. However the analysis of the data indicates that teachers in rural schools played a more important role in the occupational decisions of black youth than did the teachers in urban schools. Furthermore, the findings indicate that teachers exerted a stronger influence on the occupational intentions of males than females.



Helpfulness of High School Guidance Counselor

High school guidance counselors were found to be more helpful in forming the occupational goals of rural youth than those of urban youth (Tables 10 and 11). Significantly greater proportions of the rural respondents (e.g. 43 per cent of the males and 45 per cent of the females) indicated that guidance counselors were "very helpful" sources of influence for occupational aspirations. For all respondents, approximately 6 out of 10 students (59 per cent) thought counselors were at least "some help" for occupational intentions. No differences in amount of help received from guidance counselors were observed by sex within each residence category.

These findings indicate that guidance counselors were more important sources of aid for the formation of occupational goals. However, some caution must be taken in interpreting this finding in the above manner since many rural schools do not include full-time, trained guidance counselors on their teaching staff.

Discussion

The major objective of this study was an analysis of the amount of help exerted by five "primary-contacts" on the formation of occupational goals (aspirations) of lower class rural and urban black youth. Our findings indicate that parents, relatives, friends, teachers and guidance counselors were acknowledged as having been at least of "some help" for occupational decisions made by the majority of all the students. However, some primary-contacts were found to be more influential or helpful than others, and significant differences were observed by residence and sex breakdowns concerning the relative influence of specific personal contacts on the formation of occupational goals.

Generally, parents were found to be the most helpful primary-contacts for rural and urban and male and female respondents. It should be noted that in every residence and sex category parents were acknowledged by the greatest proportion of students as being "very helpful" for occupational goal formation (Table 12). This finding is in agreement with the relatively small number of empirical studies conducted in this area, and tend to support statements of social scientists who have emphasized the importance of parental influence on occupational decisions.

Teachers were found to have been more helpful for the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents than any of the other "primary-contacts" except parents (Table 12). It was also found that significantly greater proportions of the rural than the urban respondents thought teachers were helpful for the formation of their occupational goals. This finding may reflect the existance of a more intimate relationship between students and teachers in small rural schools. Increased contacts and the occurence of more "informal" relations between students and teachers may possibly explain this finding.



No sex and residence variations in the amount of help provided by relatives were observed. In comparison to other sources of influence, relatives were found to exert little influence on the formation of the occupational goals of the respondents (Table 13).

Friends were not considered very important sources of aid and influence for occupational goal-formation of all respondents except rural males. Rural males were found to acknowledge "friends" as being "very helpful" in significantly greater proportions than other respondents.

Guidance counselors were found to be more influential for the occupational intentions of rural respondents than urban respondents. Since the existence of full-time, trained guidance counselors in rural schools is minimal, this finding probably reflects the greater influence of teachers in rural schools. As we have noted above, teachers were perceived as having been more important sources of aid for the formation of the occupational goals of rural youth than urban youth. Since many rural teachers additionally function in the capacity of guidance counselor, the greater influence of guidance counselors in rural areas can be taken as reflecting our findings for teachers. However, it should be noted that guidance counselors were found to be of "no help" for the formation of occupational goals by substantial proportions of students in all subsamples (Table 13).

In summary, our findings indicate that the influence of selected "primary-contacts" on the formation of occupational goals of lower class black youth varies in certain instances by sex and residence breakdowns. These variations in amount of help received by black youth for occupational goal formation point to areas for further research. Furthermore, before a general theory of occupational choice can be validly formed, adequate explanations for the differential influence of personal-contacts on the formation of occupational goals of youth must be provided.



TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONS OF MAJOR MONEY EARNERS IN FAMILIES OF THE RESPONDENTS BY RESIDENCE

		1 11 11		
	e Alexandra Notae and Alexandra	Rural	Urban	Total
Occupation	·	(N=105) Per cent	(N=100) Per cent	(N=205) Per cent
Upper	• :	70	. 7	6
Middle	t ·	19	28	23
Lower	•.	74::	65	71
Total		100	100	100
			·····	

P (z=1.687)>.05; Mann-Whitney U-test

TABLE 2. MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENT'S PARENTS BY RESIDENCE

	Rural	Urban	Tota1
	(N=152) Per cent	(N=107) Per cent	(N=259) Per cent
Both Parents Alive, Liv	ring		
Together	61	54	58
	61	54 46	58 42

.3> P ($x^2=1.260$) > 2



TABLE 3. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS BY RESIDENCE

	Rural	Urban	Total	
	(N=149) Per cent	(N=106) Per cent	(N=255) Per cent	
Employed Full-Time	33.	47	39	
Employed Part-Time	22	17	20	
Not Employed	45	36	41	
Total .	100	100	100	

TABLE 4. HELPFULNESS OF PARENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

		Urban	Ruj	Rural	Total
	Males (N=42) %	Females (N=65) %	Males (N=64) %	Females (N=88) %	% (62=N)
Very Helpful	41	51	58	55.	53
Some Help	29	31	31	27	29
Little Help	10	6	9	ी 11	6
No Help	20	6	ī.	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
				•	

Kruskal-Wallis; P(H=7.82) >.05

HELPFULNESS OF RELATIVES OTHER THAN PARENTS FOR OCCUPATIONAL COAL FORMATION TABLE 5.

	Url	Urban	Ruj Majo	Rural Femele	Total
	(N=41) %	(N=65)	% (N=59)	% (N=90)	(N=255) %
Very Helpful	29	25	22	12	20
Some Help	24	23	77	64	37
Little Help	24	29	24	19	24
No Welp	23	23	10	20	19
Tota1	100	100	100	100	100

Kruskal-Wallis; P(H=3.552)>.05



TABLE 6. HELPFULNESS OF FRIENDS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Urban		Ritral	12	Total	
	Males (N=42) %	Females (N=65)	Males (N=56) %	Females (N=89)	(N=252)	
Very Helpful Some Help Little Help No Help Total	17 36 29 18 100	17 35 28 20 100	43 36 7 100	9 47 23 21 100	20 40 21 19 100	
Kruskal-Wallis; P(H=16.684) < .001 TABLE 7. ANALYSIS OF MAIN AND INTERACTIO	; P(H=16.684)<.001 MAIN AND INTERACTION EFFECTS IN TABLE 6*	EFFECTS IN	TABLE 6*			
Source of Variation	Statistic	tíc		Signific	Significance Level	
By Residence By Sex Interaction: Residence by Sex	Z=-1.585 Z=2.956 Z=2.252	85		P > .05 P < .01		

*Mann-Whitney U-Test



TABLE 8. HELPFULNESS OF TEACHERS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

	Maria	() () () () () () () () () ()	Maloo		
	Males (N=⟨¹) %	(N=65)	(N=64)	remales (N=90) %	(N=260) %
Very Helpful	32	25	55	48 73	41
Joine mely Little Help No Help Total	21 e	25 100	100	20 <u>5</u>	10
Kruskal Wallis; P(H=11.214) <.001 TABLE 9. ANALYSIS OF MAIN AND INTERACTION EFFECTS IN TABLE 8*	111s; P(H=11.21 AIN AND INTERACT	P(H=11.214) <.001	IN TABLE	* *	
Source of Variation		Statistic	if c		Significance Level
By Residence By Sex		Z=-3,599 Z=2,088	6		P <.001 P <.02
Residence by Sex		Z=6378	æ		P >.26

*Mann-Whitney - U-Test

TABLE 10, HELPFULNESS OF HIGH SCHOOL COUNSELORS FOR OCCUPATIONAL GOAL FORMATION

5-1

	Urban Males (N=42) %	n Females (N=65) %	Rural Males (N=56)	a1 Females (N=82) %	Total (N=245)
Very Helpful Some Help Little Help No Help Total	24 26 26 100	19 23 25 100	43 36 7 100	45 20 7 28 100	34 25 15 26 100

Kruskal Wallis; P(H=1f.417) < .001

TABLE 11. ANALYSIS OF MAIN AND INTERACTION FFFECTS IN TABLE 10.*

Source of Variation	777	
	Statistic	Significance Level
By Residence By Sex Interaction Residence by Sex	Z=-3.8933 Z=1.3264 Z=5326	P<.001 P>.09 P>.29

*Mann Whitney - U-Test



PERCENTAGES OF RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING PRIMARY-CONTACTS AS BEING "VERY HELPFUL" FOR THE FORMATION OF OCCUPATIONAL GOALS TABLE 12.

Transfer of the state of the st	-	or Dall	×	ura:	
	Males %	Females ${\it \chi}$	Males %	Males F ena les %%	!
Parents	41	51	85	55	
Teachers	32	25	55	48	
Relatives	29	25	22	12	
ance Counselors	24	19	43	45	
spu	17	17	43	6	

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS PERCEIVING "NO HELP" FROM PRIMARY-CONTACTS FOR THE FORMATION OF OCCUPATIONAL GOALS. TABLE 13.

Defice Costoot						
יודייםו) כסוויםרי	: : :	Male %	orban Female %	Rural Male %	al Female %	
Guidance Counselor		36	37,	1,	00	
Friends		19	50 50	14	21	
Relatives	• ••	22	23	101	50 50	
Teachers		10	19	ĸ	6	
Parents	•	21	6	7	7	
	•					
			,			



FOOTNOTES

¹For detailed listings and an overall statement of research findings on occupational status orientations of adolescents see: William P. Kuvlesky and George H. Ohlendorf, Occupational Aspirations and Expectations: A Bibliography of Research Literature (Texas Agricultural Experiment Station Departmental Report No. 67-10, Department of Agricultural Economics and Sociology, Texas A&M University, College Station, 1967) and William P. Kuvlesky, "A Synthetic Overview of Research on Rural Youth's Projections for Occupational and Educational Attainment: A Progress Report," Paper presented to the Rural Sociological Society's Research Committee Education and Occupational Behavior at the 1969 Annual Meetings of the Society in San Francisco, California, August, 1969. For recent research findings in this area in the Soviet Union see:

M.N. Rutkevich (ed.) The Career Plans of Youth (Translated and edited by Murray Yanowitch, White Plains, New York: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1969).

²Paul Lazarsfeld, Jugend und Beruf (Jena: 6. Fisher, 1931).

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⁴William P. Kuvelsky and Robert C. Bealer, "A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice'," <u>Rural Sociology</u>, 31 (September, 1966), pp. 265-276.

⁵<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 269.

6<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 273.

⁷Rodgers has delineated between familial and non-familial influences on occupational role formation, while Musgrave has placed particular emphasis on the "economic socialization" of the child through "primary", "secondary" and "tertiary" sources. See: Roy H. Rodgers, "The Occupational Role of the Child: A Research Frontier in the Developmental Conceptual Framework," <u>Social Forces</u>, XLV (December, 1966) pp. 217-224 and P.W. Musgrave, "Towards a Sociological Theory of Occupational Choice," Sociological Review, 15 (March, 1967), pp. 33-46.



- ⁸Blau and Slocum have noted that various individuals often aid, and exert considerable influence on the occupational future of adolescents. See: Peter Blau, et al., "Occupational Choice: A Conceptual Framework," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 9 (J ly, 1956), p. 532 and Walter L. Slocum, "Some Sociological Aspects of Occupational Choice," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 18 (January, 1959), pp. 145-146.
- ⁹Elizabeth G. Cohen, "Parental Factors in Educational Mobility," Sociology of Education, 38 (Fall, 1965), p. 425.
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- 15 Irving Krauss, "Sources of Educational Aspirations Among Working-Class Youth," American Sociological Review, 29 (December, 1964), pp. 867-879.
- 16Archibald O. Haller and C.E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," Social Forces, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 289-295.
- 17John J. Hartman, "Perceived Influence of Selected Groups on Educational and Occupational Plans of Non-Metropolitan Youth," Paper presented at the annual Rural Sociological Meetings, San Francisco, California, August, 1969.
- 18 Martin Deutsch, "The Disadvantaged Child and the Learning Process," in A. Harry Passow, (ed.) Education in Depressed Areas (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 173. Also see H. Wortis, et al., "Child Rearing Practices in a Low Socio-Economic Group," Pediatrics, 32 (August, 1963), pp. 298-307.



- 19 If a person were considered as being "very helpful" or "some help" in the formation of the occupational aspirations of the respondent, it was assumed that this individual had exerted some influence or encouragement for the development of the youth's occupational goal.
- 20 Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956), pp. 184-193.
 - 21 Ibid., pp. 116-127.
- 22In Table 1 "Professional" occupations were classified as "high-level" occupations. "Middle-level" occupations included owners, managers and officials, clerical and sales jobs and skilled workers. "Lower-level" occupations consisted of operatives, unskilled laborers and persons unemployed.

