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**HISTORICAL CHANGE IN STATUS ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS
OF MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH FROM THE BORDER
AREA OF TEXAS: 1967-1973***

**William P. Kuvlesky and Philip M. Monk
Department of Rural Sociology
Texas A&M University**

(With the assistance of Dennis Medina)

*Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Southwestern Sociological Association, San Antonio, March 27, 1975. This report contributes to USDA-CSRS regional project S-81 "Development of Human Resource Potentials of Rural Youth in the South and Their Patterns of Mobility," and Texas Agricultural Experiment Station project H-2811.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A study involving two separate contacts over six years obviously involves a number of workers beyond those listed as author of the report of the data analysis. We wish to acknowledge the assistance of a number of individuals in the Rural Sociology Department at Texas A&M University involved in carrying out this study--without their assistance this report would not have been possible.

Dave Wright and Rumaldo Juarez were instrumental in stimulating the initiation of our study of youth in South Texas and played important roles later in collection and processing of data, analysis, and reporting findings. Randy Dowdell was responsible for carrying out the 1973 contact and was assisted by several graduate and undergraduate assistants--Efrain Escobedo, Esteban Salinas, and Everardo Avila. Esteban Salinas also contributed importantly to the design of the 1973 instrument. Ruth B. Gonzalez was responsible for most of the initial data processing and was assisted by Janet Brown, Marvin Bridges, and Angie Lindley. John Womack provided computer assistance and Stan Wilson helped us with APL computer analysis. Three good and durable secretaries provided the typing required at most stages of the work--Bobbie George, Joan Teel and Kathy Anders.

Last but certainly not least, our sincere gratitude goes out to the Principals and Students of the following Texas high schools: Zapata, Roma-Los Saenz, Rio Grande City, San Isidrio, and Asherton. Without their cordial cooperation this study would never have been done. We hope our work serves their interests well.

INTRODUCTION

Until very recently not much was known about the aspirations and expectations Mexican American youth held for social mobility. In a recent overview of research on this subject Kuvlesky and Juarez (1975), conclude that Mexican American youth generally have strong desires for the attainment of high status goals and that most of them expect to attain these with varying degrees of certainty. What is more, it appears that this has been so for the past decade or more. Are the aspirations and expectations of Mexican American youth for social mobility changing? The purpose of this paper is to address this question utilizing data from a recently completed time-lapse study of youth from South Texas.

Recently Celia Heller (1971:251-252) has come to the conclusion that Mexican American youth's aspirations have risen markedly. This fits a broader pattern of general speculation that has been around and gaining momentum for about a decade--that mobility aspirations and expectations of disadvantaged youth are rising (Hughes, 1965:1135; Broom and Glenn, 1965:182-183). Still, nobody has been able to provide any firm general evidence to support this assertion about historical change in the way poor adolescents are projecting their future (Dowdell, 1973).¹

Reich's (1970) "Greening of America" thesis would lead to the opposite hypothesis. Presuming his thesis is valid we would expect to find youth lowering their valuations of status achievement goals relative to other alternative sources of life satisfactions and, also, perhaps the levels of status worth striving for (Kuvlesky, 1973). In another recent paper we have mentioned several recent broad historical trends within our society which might impact in a similar way on disadvantaged

youth's status projections (Kuvlesky, 1974:37):

- (1) The success of the government-industry sponsored attempt to push vocational training as a rewarding and acceptable option to a college degree.
- (2) Increasing realism (pessimism) among rural and disadvantaged youth relative to their chances of experiencing dramatic vertical social mobility. This is bound to become more pronounced as costs for education continue to rise.
- (3) Changes in the distribution of relative benefits (pay, leisure) and costs (hours on the job, security) associated with different job types and different types or levels of education over recent years.

More to the point of our focus on Mexican Americans, the so-called "Chicano Movement" in its extreme form--the search for "Aztlán"--could have a similar impact on youth of this ethnic group through rejection of "Anglo," middle class values. It is more likely, however, that the impact of this movement would tend to stimulate the aspirations and expectations of most Mexican American youth through development of a more positive (or less negative) image of the self and by forcing changes in the structural context for mobility: the new, mandatory Bilingual Program in Texas is an example of the latter. (Wright, et al., 1973; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975). Obviously, one could develop a theoretical rationale to predict that the status projections of Mexican American youth are rising or falling. Is there any empirical evidence to support either position?

The conclusion I have reached from scant available research is that most disadvantaged youth, including most Mexican Americans, have experienced gradually increasing levels of aspiration and expectation since the forties. However, very recent research on southern Black and White youth indicate a possible reversal of this trend (Dowdell, 1973; Lever, 1974; Kuvlesky, 1974). These findings indicate a rather marked

downward shift in levels of educational aspirations and expectations and intensity of aspiration for educational attainment over the recent past (1966-1972). Also, qualitative shifts in types of jobs desired appear to have taken place, even though marked shifts in status levels were not observed. And, these changes are more pronounced for Black youth than their White counterparts living in the same communities. Have Mexican American youth experienced the same patterns of change? This study was designed to help answer that question.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This report is intended to provide findings from a recent Texas study of historical change (1967-1973) in occupational and educational status projections of rural Mexican American teenage boys and girls. The specific research objectives are to determine the nature and extent of patterns of historical change occurring among the boys and girls studied in reference to the following dimensions of occupational and educational status projections:

1. Level of aspiration
2. Intensity of aspiration
3. Level of expectation
4. Certainty of expectation
5. Occurrence of anticipatory goal deflection

The meaning of these concepts and how they are operationalized are discussed in detail in the next section. The conceptual framework from which these ideas were taken has been described in detail in a number of recent publications (Wright, Salinas, and Kuvlesky, 1973; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975; Cosby, et al., 1973).

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CONCEPTS, INDICATORS AND MEASURES

The concept of aspiration or "desired attainment" is operationalized (APPENDIX A) in a manner which allows the respondents maximum freedom to express their ultimate status goal. Expectation or "anticipated attainment" (Kuvlesky, 1974:6) is designed to bring the respondents under the constraints of their subjective definitions of the reality surrounding the areas of concern. The individual's specific aspiration and expectation responses are measured in terms of a hierarchy of status categories and a comparison is made (See APPENDIX B). If the individuals two responses are not located on the same level anticipatory goal deflection is said to exist. The nature of the anticipatory goal deflection is determined by the relationship of the aspiration and expectation responses; if aspiration is higher than expectation then negative deflection exists, if aspiration is lower than expectation then positive deflection exists (Kuvlesky, 1974:42).

Another set of conceptual tools, "Orientation elements," refer to the degree of significance the individual attaches to his status projections. The strength of the desire the respondent feels toward the attainment of his ultimate ambition is labeled intensity of aspiration. This is measured by asking the respondents to rank, in order of importance to them, seven goals (APPENDIX A)². The orientation element applying to expectation is labeled certainty of expectation and is operationalized in terms of a Likert Scale involving alternatives ranging from "very certain" to "very uncertain" (APPENDIX A).

A recent report evaluating test-retest data collected in 1972 on the measures mentioned above indicates that they have probable high reliability (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1975).³ Preliminary findings from a similar reliability evaluation which was a part of our 1973 contact supports this tentative conclusion in reference to Mexican American youth.

SOURCE AND COLLECTION OF DATA

SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

This historical analysis draws upon two sets of comparable data that were collected in the Springs of 1967 and 1973. The process began in 1967 with the selection of four South Texas counties (Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata) that exhibited the following characteristics:

(1) location in a rural and nonmetropolitan area, (2) a high frequency of family poverty and (3) proportionately high concentration of Mexican Americans (Juarez and Kuvlesky, 1968:6). In 1967 interviews were conducted in seven schools located in these counties. The 1973 effort could not enlist the cooperation of two of these schools, including the only one in Maverick county, and these were deleted from the 1967 data set for this analysis.⁴ The tables in APPENDIX C provide a historical statistical sketch of the counties involved.

COLLECTION OF DATA

Extensive efforts were made to duplicate the 1967 field procedures in the 1973 study. All high school sophomores present on the day of the study were given questionnaires and immediately assured of the confidentiality of their responses. A trained graduate student read each item aloud giving the students enough time to complete their responses before proceeding. The questionnaires distributed were identical with respect to the variables involved in this analysis (See APPENDIX A).⁵ No efforts were made to contact those students not present on the day of the interview. In 1967 about 85 percent of those reported to be enrolled

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were interviewed and in 1973 the figure was 80 percent.

The interviewed portions of the sophomore class ranged from a low of 22 to a high of 168 in the 1967 effort and from 25 to 181 in 1973. The 1967 data netted 341 Mexican American respondents as compared with 379 for the 1973 effort.⁶ Those students who were not Mexican American and thus were deleted from this analysis were predominantly Anglo (Table 1).

Table 1. High School Sophomores Interviewed in Rural South Texas Study area in 1967 and 1973 by Ethnicity and Sex.

Ethnicity	1967			1973		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Mexican American	169	172	341	178	201	379
Anglo	4	9	13	15	15	30
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	173	181	354	198	218	416
No Response						3

HISTORICAL CHANGE

Obviously any changes observed in the status projections of the youth studied could be influenced by the patterns of historical change taking place in their communities, schools, and families. A description of such patterns should have utility for interpretation of these findings. In APPENDIX D we have attempted to evaluate the degree of historical change that took place in these three social contexts--we provide a brief overview of the conclusions reached below.

The general study area involved demonstrated the following patterns of historical change: (1) an increase in an already proportionately large majority of Mexican Americans; (2) a general rise in level of

education and; (3) an apparent improvement of general economic conditions--fewer families in poverty and fewer people working as unskilled laborers.

No dramatic changes took place in reference to school facilities. In general it can be presumed that the schools became a bit more crowded and that some of them exhibited deteriorating physical facilities and equipment. Although this can not be readily documented, it is also probable that the social context of the school changed in several ways significant to the interests of Mexican American students--probably the proportion of teachers who were Mexican American increased and in all probability the repression of use of Spanish in the school declined.

Information obtained from the students indicate little change took place in reference to the families of the respondents over the six year study period. A slight increase in parental education was noted. Also there was a tendency for fewer fathers to be gainfully employed in 1973 than in 1967.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The analysis and findings will be presented separately for each of the two status areas involved--occupation and education. Findings will be described systematically within each of these sections by status projection elements considered: aspiration type and level, expectation type and level, anticipatory goal deflection (AGD), intensity of aspiration, and certainty of expectation. These findings will then be consolidated in a third section providing a summary of all findings.

Our analysis will focus directly on ascertaining whether or not patterns of historical change took place by sex. Observation of sex differentials in historical patterns is not a principle focus; however, any marked differences by sex will be noted.

We made a decision to handle "No Response" cases differently in our tabular data analysis for the two status areas. In reference to occupation we left the "No Response" category in our percentage calculations and for statistical test computations because of dramatic historical change (increase) in rate of occurrence in some instances. In reference to educational projections we followed our normal practice of holding "No Response" out of analysis because the rate of occurrence was low.

In reference to both occupational and educational status elements we use two modes of measurement - our original coded "type" categories and, in addition, broader, status level (SES) categories derived by collapsing the original categories into three more inclusive ones - "High", "Intermediate", and "Low" (APPENDIX B). This dual view provides advantages of being able to observe rather detailed qualitative shifts and at the

same time, to see shifts in broad SES levels of projected status.

CHANGE IN OCCUPATIONAL PROJECTIONS

Aspiration Level (Table 2)

Mexican American girls' profiles of job aspirations did not change substantially over the six years of the study. Over two-thirds of the girls studied in 1973 held high level job aspirations as did their counterparts in 1967 and very few of either cohort desired low status jobs. Boys, on the otherhand, demonstrated what appears to be a tendency to have moved more toward intermediate level aspirations over the six years. A marked increase in selection of managerial type jobs accounts for this trend. The decline of 4 percent in the proportion of 73 subjects desiring high status level jobs as compared with their 1967 counterparts suggests that level of aspiration may have declined from the "High" to "Intermediate" levels to some extent. However, because of the marked increase in "No Response" over the study period, it is not possible to determine the magnitude of this change.

Several of the more specific type changes in aspirations are interesting. For both boys and girls the rate of selection of glamour type aspirations ("pro ball," "movie star," and etc.) more than doubled and desire for lower prestige professional jobs declined substantially. These are intraclass changes within the high level, but they could mean that some youth are moving away from high status jobs with high educational prerequisites.

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Table 2. Changes in Level and Type of Occupational Aspirations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Level of Aspirations*	Male		Female	
	1967 (N=169)	1973 (N=178) Change	1967 (N=172)	1973 (N=201) Change
	-----Percent-----		-----Percent-----	
High				
1. High Professional	12	8 -4	5	6 +1
2. Low Professional	37 (53)	23 (39) -14 (-10)	57 (65)	50 (65) -7 (0)
3. Glamour	4	8 +4	3	9 +6
Intermediate				
4. Managerial	6	18 +12	1	2 +1
5. Clerical and Sales	5 (31)	1 (40) -4 (+9)	20 (30)	20 (27) 0 (-3)
6. Skilled Worker	20	21 +1	9	5 -4
Low				
7. Operatives	4	3 -1	1	2 +1
8. Unskilled Worker	7 (11)	3 (6) -4 (-5)	1 (3)	2 (4) +1 (+1)
9. Housewife	0	0 --	1	0 -1
No Response	5	15 +10	2	4 +2
Total	100	100	100	100

$\chi^2 = 37.55$
D.F. = 8
P < .001

$\chi^2 = 11.23$
D.F. = 8
P = .19

* Results of Chi square tests indicate that differences among both males and females were significant at the .001 level of P.

Expectation Levels (Table 3)

The dramatic increase in rate of no response in reference to boys, combined with a rather diffuse and even lowering of rates of choice by occupational level would make it hazardous to speculate on any change in their profile of expectations. However, it cannot be concluded that the profiles did not change! But, what does the dramatic increase in "No Response" mean--maybe increased uncertainty among a substantial number (See Table 6). One is tempted to conclude that this can be interpreted to mean that expectation level fell in general over the six year study period. Personally, we think this is probably the case; however, additional study--including in depth follow-up probes--will be required to get a definite answer.

There seems little question that Mexican American girls demonstrated a general tendency for lower levels of occupational expectation over the six years involved. Given the prominence of the "Womens' Liberation" movement, the increase in expectation to become a housewife as a vocation is interesting.

As was the case for aspirations, both boys and girls expected less often to obtain lower prestige professional jobs and more frequently anticipated achievement of glamour jobs over the six years.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection - "AGD" (Table 4)

For Mexican American boys there was no change in either occurrence or nature of the deflection from aspirations reflected in expectations: about two-thirds of these boys indicated congruence between their

Table 4. Changes in Anticipatory Deflection from Occupational Aspirations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

AGD	Male		Female	
	1967	1973	1967	1973
	-----Percent-----			
None	63	60	70	58
+	18	9	5	8
-	<u>27</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>34</u>
Total	100	100	100	100

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aspirations and expectations. Conversely, the girls demonstrated a marked increase in AGD, particularly negative AGD.

Intensity of Aspiration (Table 5)

Little in the way of change can be observed in the intensity of desire associated with job aspirations for either boys or girls over the six years studied⁷. Boys did tend to demonstrate a slight tendency for lower intensity, which increased the sex differences in this regard in 1973 as compared with 1967. Still a marked majority of both groupings demonstrated strong intensity and very few indicated weak desires.

Certainty of Expectation (Table 6)

A consistent pattern of historical change across the two sex groupings was observed in reference to the certainty they felt in regard to anticipated status attainment⁸. A clear tendency existed toward increases at both extremes of the certainty continuum and for a marked decrease at the intermediate point ("Not Very Certain"). This pattern was more substantial for boys than girls. It would appear that the 73 respondents were slightly more definite about their feeling of both certainty and uncertainty than the 67 cohort. The differential degree of change by sex over the study period produced what appears to be a significant sex difference in 1973--boys have a slightly greater tendency to be certain about their anticipated attainments.

Table 5. Change in Level of Intensity of Occupational Aspiration among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Level of Intensity	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=169)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967 (N=172)	1973 (N=201)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
Strong (1,2)	66	59	-7	76	74	-2
Interm. (3,4,5)	32	37	+5	20	20	0
Weak (6,7)	1	3	+2	3	3	0
No Response	1	1	0	1	3	+2
Total	100	100		100	100	

$\chi^2 = 2.7$
D.F. = 3
P = .56

$\chi^2 = 3.78$
D.F. = 3
P = .29

Table 6. Change in Certainty of Occupational Expectations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Certainty	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=169)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967 (N=172)	1973 (N=201)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
Very Certain or Certain	39	45	+6	34	37	+3
Not very Certain	50	32	-18	55	45	-10
Uncertain or Very Certain	7	14	+7	9	13	+4
No Response	4	9	+5	2	5	+3
Total	100	100		100	100	

$\chi^2 = 15.75$
D.F. = 3
P > .001, < .01

$\chi^2 = 4.8$
D.F. = 3
P = .19

CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL PROJECTIONS

Aspiration Level (Table 7)

Almost no change was observed for either Mexican American boys or girls over the study period in terms of the broad status level categories (i.e., 'High', 'Intermediate', 'Low'). A majority of respondents desired at least a four year college degree in both 1967 and 1973 and less than one fifth desired to terminate education with high school graduation at both contacts.

On the other hand some slight to moderate changes were observed between more specific types of education within these broad status level categories. The largest decline (9%) for Mexican American males occurs in the area of technical education. Conversely, an increase of equal magnitude in desires to graduate from junior college was the largest upward shift. The percentage of respondents aspiring to college or university graduation showed a slight decrease (4%), while the desire for education past the level of college graduation showed a slight increase (4%). The symmetry of the data on change for the boys' aspirations makes an assertion of intra-status level upward shifts very attractive.

The girls' aspirations indicated less substantial but similar patterns of change over the six years - these were not, however, judged to be significant statistically.

Educational Expectations (Table 8)

An examination of the broad status level categories aids in determining the direction and magnitude of shifts. For the male a slight

Table 7. Change in Type and Level of Educational Aspiration among Mexican-American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Level of Aspirations	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=167)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967 (N=171)	1973 (N=200)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
Low						
1. Quit High School	1 (21)	2 (21)	+1 (0)	0 (16)	0 (16)	0 (0)
2. High School Grad	20	19	-1	16	16	0
Intermediate						
3. High School plus Tech. Training	23 (27)	14 (27)	-9 (0)	16 (29)	12 (32)	-4 (+3)
4. Jr. College	4	13	+9 (0)	13	20	+7 (+3)
High						
5. College Grad	32 (52)	28 (52)	-4 (0)	32 (55)	27 (52)	-5 (-3)
6. College Grad plus	20	24	+4 (0)	23	25	+2
Total	100	100		100	100	

No Response

2

0

1

$\chi^2 = 14.96$
D.F. = 5
P = .01

$\chi^2 = 4.38$
D.F. = 5
P = .50

general upward shift is apparent. Conversely, the females demonstrated a slight shift downward from high and intermediate levels to low levels of anticipated attainment. As was the case with aspirations, the majority of both sexes expected high levels of educational attainment at both contacts.

The largest declines in the expectations of Mexican American males took place in reference to the high school graduation and technical education categories. Generally, this decrease was taken up by increases in the percentage of respondents expecting junior college graduation and additional studies after graduation from a college or university.

The females showed slight decreases in expectations for technical education and college graduation. Graduation from high school showed the only substantial increases (7%).

Anticipatory Deflection (Table 9)

In 1967 over one-fourth of the Mexican American males felt that their efforts were destined to fall short of their goals. But the 1973 data showed that 10 percent fewer males responded with expectations that were lower than their goals. The percentage of males expressing no deflection from their educational aspirations rose by nine percent from 1967 to 1973.

For the females the trend is considerably different. Those females anticipating no deflection between their educational desires and their expected attainment dropped from 70 percent in 1967 to 60 percent in 1973: most of this change (7%) represented an increase in positive goal deflection (i.e. expectation higher than aspiration level).

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Table 9. Change in Educational Goal Deflection among Mexican American Boys and Girls

Deflection	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=167)	1973 (N=176)	Change	1967 (N=170)	1973 (N=200)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
No deflection	63	72	+9	70	60	-10
(+) deflection	10	11	+1	5	12	+7
(-) deflection	27	17	-10	25	28	+3
Total	100	100		100	100	
No Response	2	2		2	1	
	$\chi^2 = 5.48$ D.F. = 2 P = .06			$\chi^2 = 6.87$ D.F. = 2 P < .001, > .01		

Table 10. Change in Intensity of Educational Aspirations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973

Intensity of Aspiration	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=167)	1973 (N=177)	Change	1967 (N=172)	1973 (N=195)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
1	74	48	-26	86	77	-9
2 (Strong)	8 (82)	11 (59)	+3 (-23)	6 (92)	12 (89)	+6 (-3)
3	5	8	+3	1	4	+3
4 (Interm.)	4 (12)	8 (29)	+4 (+27)	2 (6)	1 (9)	-1 (+3)
5	3	13	+10	3	4	+1
6	4	7	+3	1	1	0
7 (Weak)	2 (6)	5 (12)	+3 (+6)	1 (2)	1 (2)	0 (0)
Total	100	100		100	100	
No Response	2	1		0	6	
	$\chi^2 = 28.09$ D.F. = 6 P < .001			$\chi^2 = 8.25$ D.F. = 6 P = .20		

Overall the findings indicate that males are tending toward greater convergence of their aspirations and expectations while females are showing increasing divergence. Nevertheless, a large majority of both sexes in both years anticipated no deflection in the achievement of their educational goals.

Intensity of Aspiration (Table 10)

In 1967 almost three-fourths of the Mexican American males gave education the highest priority of the seven life goals (See Footnote 2). The 1973 data showed a marked decrease (26%) in the males assigning top priority to the achievement of educational goals. By 1973 less than one-half of the males felt education was the goal they most desired in life. This large decrease was spread fairly equally over the six lower levels; however, the fifth level of importance showed the largest increase (10%) of any rank.

A full 86 percent of the 1967 females felt educational goals should have top priority in their lives. Although the 1973 data indicates a moderate decrease in the percentage of females attaching foremost importance to educational goals, three out of four still felt educational aspirations were of first order importance among their life goals.

By collapsing the seven intensity ranks into a more inclusive three levels of intensity, a clearer picture of the nature of change is obtained. The large downward shift in the percentage of males who attached a high level of importance to educational goals was anchored mainly at the intermediate level. The females showed only a very slight downward shift in their intensity of aspirations.

Overall it can be said that the importance of education, in relation to other goals, has declined sharply for Mexican American males over the six years studied. Still, in 1973 nearly six out of every 10 males attached a strong degree of importance to their educational goals. The females however have shown strong consistency over the six year span in attaching foremost importance to educational goals.

Certainty of Expectation (Table 11)

Both males and females showed a substantial decrease in the intermediate category ("not very certain") in terms of certainty of expected educational attainment⁹. In both instances most of the changes represented increasing certainty. The percentage of males indicating certainty of attaining their educational expectations increased markedly from 50 percent to 72 percent over the six years. The females demonstrated a much weaker but similar trend (53% - 60%).

Table 11. Change in Certainty of Attainment of Educational Expectations for Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973

Certainty of Expectations	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=168)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967	1973	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
Very Certain or Certain	50	72	+22	53	60	+7
Not very Certain	45	22	-23	45	34	-11
Very Uncertain or Uncertain	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	+1	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	+4
Total	100	100		100	100	

$\chi^2 = 11.95$
D.F. = 2
P > .001, < .01

$\chi^2 = 3.97$
D.F. = 2
P = .14

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Aspiration and Expectation Levels (Table 12)

An overview of percentage change between 1967 and 1973 in status levels aspired to and expected by Mexican American boys and girls in reference to both education and occupation, clearly indicates that little historical change took place in this regard (Table 12). Slight downward shifts of one level are indicated for boys ("High" to "Intermediate") in reference to job aspirations and girls ("Intermediate" to "Low") in reference to job expectations. The percentage of boys holding "low" occupational aspirations and expectations declined substantially from 1967 to 1973, while girls demonstrated a weak, converse tendency in this regard.

In reference to the more specific qualitative categories several moderate patterns of change that cut across both sex groupings were observed in both status areas. These are described in outline form below:

A. Occupational Projections (Tables 2 and 3)

- (1) Increasing: "Glamour" (Aspirations and Expectations)
"Managerial" (Aspirations and Expectations)
- (2) Decreasing: "Lower Professional" (Aspirations and Expectations)
"Clerical and Sales" (Expectations)
"Skilled Worker" (Expectations)

B. Educational Projections (Tables 7 and 8)

- (1) Increasing: "Jr. College (Aspirations and Expectations)
"College Grad. +" (Aspirations and Expectations)
- (2) Decreasing: "High School + Tech. Training" (Aspirations and Expectations)
"College Grad." (Aspirations and Expectations)

Table 12. Summary of Historical Change in Aspiration and Expectation Status Levels of Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

	Occupation		Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
A. Aspiration				
High	-10	0*	0*	0*
Intermediate	+9	-3	0	+3
Low	-5	+1	0	-3
No Response	+10	+2	--	--
<hr style="border-top: 1px dashed black;"/>				
B. Expectation				
High	-8	-2	-8*	+6*
Intermediate	-7	-14	+2	-3
Low	-7	+6	+6	-3
No Response	+22	+10	--	--

* Not significant at the .05 level of P according to results of X^2 tests.

Table 13. Summary of Historical Change in Patterns of Anticipatory Goal Deflection among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

	Occupation		Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
(Change in Percent, 1967-1973)				
None	-3	-12	+9*	-10
+	-1	+3	+1	+7
-	+4	+9	-10	+3

* Not significant at the .05 level of P according to results of X^2 tests.

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The consistency of these patterns, not only across sex but, also, generally including both aspirations and expectations, indicates that qualitative, intra-level shifts are taking place in reference to these teenagers' projected status attainments. In general, the boys tended to demonstrate a higher magnitude of change than the girls in reference to these categorical shifts.

Anticipatory Goal Deflection - "AGD" (Table 13)

An overview of the anticipatory goal deflection across projection areas and sex shows that: (1) males are tending toward increasing convergence of aspirations and expectations in reference to education while (2) females are showing greater divergence between desired and anticipated attainment in both projection areas. Additionally the anticipation of negative deflection (i.e., expectations lower than aspirations) increased, except for educational projections of the males. In general a slight increase in positive deflection (i.e., expectations higher than aspirations) was observed.

Intensity of Aspiration (Table 14)

Mexican American boys indicated a tendency toward lowering level of intensity of desire associated with both types of aspiration over the six year study period: this change was dramatic in reference to educational aspirations. Again, clear sex differences in change are apparent--the girls demonstrated little change at all in this regard. However, what little change occurred for the girls was consistent with that observed above for the boys.

Table 14. Summary of Historical Change in Intensity of Aspirations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Intensity Level	Occupational Aspirations		Educational Aspirations	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Strong	-7*	-2*	-23	-3*
Intermediate	+5	0	+27	+3
Weak	+2	0	+6	0
No Response	0	+2	--	--

* Not significant at the .05 level of P according to results of X^2 tests.

Table 15. Summary of Historical Change in Certainty of Attainment of Educational Expectations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

	Occupational Expectations		Educational Expectations	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Certain or Very Certain	+6	+3*	+22	+7*
Not very Certain	-18	-10	-23	-11
Uncertain or Very Uncertain	+7	+4	+1	+4
No Response	+5	+3	--	--

* Not significant at the .05 level of P according to results of X^2 tests.

Certainty of Expectation (Table 15)

For both boys and girls, and in reference to both types of status expectations considered, a strong pattern of change was evident in a tendency to move away from the intermediate level of certainty toward both a more definite feeling of certainty and uncertainty. For both sex groupings certainty of attainment of expected education increased--strongly so for the boys. In reference to occupational expectations, feelings of both more definite certainty and uncertainty increased in frequency to about the same extent. Clearly, a general tendency existed for the youth to feel more definite about the certainty of expected status attainments in 1973 than in 1967.

Sex Differences (Table 16)

A number of sex differences in both nature and magnitude of change were observed. As a result of these, it appears that the girls and boys are generally becoming more dissimilar in reference to their status projections over time. One major exception to this general trend exists in reference to status levels of education desired and anticipated, where little change was observed for either boys and girls. The two areas of apparent greatest divergence by sex over the six years of the study were in reference to anticipatory goal deflection and intensity of aspiration. The boys demonstrated decreasing levels of AGD and girls the converse pattern for both types of status projection. And, for both status areas boys tended to generally more often show lowering of intensity of aspiration than girls.

Table 16. Summary of Observations On Sex Differences In Nature and Relative Magnitude of Historical Change (1967-1973) Observed For Status Projection Elements

Status Projection Element	Nature of Change	Sex Comparison on Magnitude of Change
A. <u>Occupation</u>		
Aspiration Level*	<u>Males</u> : Slightly Down <u>Females</u> : None	M>F
Expectation Level*	<u>Males</u> : ? <u>Females</u> : Slightly Down	?
AGD	<u>Males</u> : None <u>Females</u> : Increase	F>M
Intensity of Aspiration	<u>Males</u> : Down Slightly <u>Females</u> : None	M>F
Certainty of Expectation	Generally more "definite"	M>F
B. <u>Education</u>		
Aspiration Level*	No Change	M=F
Expectation Level*	<u>Males</u> : Up Slightly <u>Females</u> : Down Slightly	M=F
AGD	<u>Males</u> : Decrease <u>Females</u> : Increase	M=F
Intensity of Aspiration	Down	M>F
Certainty of Expectation	More Certain	M>F

* Broad SES "Level" Categories.

Over all, boys tended to demonstrate more tendency for change than girls when sex differentials were present; however, often the rates of change were slight. Whether or not these sex differentials in historical change have actually increased markedly, sex differences in 1973 is a question that will deserve and require further analysis of the data on our part.

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DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In general the findings from our study indicate that Mexican American teenage boys and girls in the nonmetropolitan areas of South Texas have not experienced much change between 1967 and 1973 in the nature or level of educational and occupational status projections. It can be concluded that status projections of these youth have remained relatively stable over the recent past. These youth in 1973 as in 1967 maintained a relatively high level of mobility aspirations and expectations and a strong intensity of desire for achieved status goals. What is more few, if any of them, had "low" level status aspirations or expectations. The only exception of significance to this general conclusion, is represented by a dramatic change in level of intensity of desire associated with the educational aspirations of the Mexican American boys over the six year period. This observation might indicate that these youth are in fact becoming more like similar situated youth of other ethnic types: a tri-ethnic comparison at the earlier historical period (1967), involving these Mexican American youth, showed that they had significantly stronger intensity of aspiration than rural Black and White youth (Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez, 1971).

The conclusion reached above in regard to the general stability of status projections of these Mexican American teenage youth, contrasts with marked downward shifts recently noted in level of educational status aspirations and expectations of rural Black and White youth from East Texas over roughly the same historical period. This obviously points to an ethnic differential in historical trends. Again, however, as a result of this differential in historical change, it is likely that the Black

and White youth have become more like the Mexican American teenagers in this regard: the earlier tri-ethnic analysis mentioned above indicated that in the earlier historical period (1966-1967) Black and White youth had higher levels of aspiration and expectation than their Mexican American counterparts (Kuvlesky, Wright, and Juarez; 1971).

The earlier tri-ethnic comparison mentioned above indicated that Black and White nonmetropolitan youth held a greater degree of certainty in the achievement of their educational goals as compared with Mexican Americans. Our current data appears to show increasing ethnic convergence in this respect--certainty among Black and White youth has decreased and certainty among Mexican Americans has increased. Perhaps this increase among Mexican Americans stems from a more positive and assertive self image provided by the Chicano movement and/or changes facilitating ethnic advancement in educational institutions. The data on certainty of occupational expectations does not show a conclusive trend for Mexican American youth.

It appears that the ethnic differentials of historical change are resulting in a reduction in ethnic differences--a homogenizing of rural youth in reference to status projections. Of course, this inference needs to be examined over a broader range of more diverse populations to see how general it may be. Also, we need to examine in more detail our data already available on the tri-ethnic historical dynamics in this regard and others.¹⁰

Our findings do not offer support for either Celia Heller's (1971: 251-252) assertion that Mexican American youths' status aspirations and expectations are rising markedly, or, for a hypothesis that they are

lowering. Of course, it is possible that marked historical change either took place prior to our base-line study in 1967 or may yet take place: the first possibility does not seem likely from what conclusions we have reached from earlier studies (Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975:247-251) and the second one can only be evaluated through continuing historical analysis.

Several slight but consistent shifts in selection of "types" of jobs and education were observed. In reference to occupational aspirations and expectations there appeared a tendency for a historical shift toward "Managerial" and "Glamour" types of jobs and a movement away from lower prestige professional jobs (i.e., teacher, engineer, nurse, and etc.). "Clerical-sales" and "Skilled Worker" types of jobs also declined in frequency over the six years. These were matched with an apparently compatible shift in educational projections--within the intermediate status level--a drift toward an orientation for Jr. College and away from vocational and technical training after high school. Also, graduate study after completion of college gained while termination with a four year college degree declined over the study period. These slight, but consistent historical trends may be the leading edge of qualitative shifts in status goals objectives among Mexican American youth which may produce marked change in the future. Of course, only continuation of this kind of comparative, historical analysis over a longer period will be able to determine whether or not this is so.

We concluded from our findings that Mexican American boys tended to demonstrate a greater magnitude of change--when change was observed--than girls over the period studied. This is congruent with conclusions reached from similar analyses of Black and White youth studied in East

Texas over roughly the same historical period (Dowdell, 1973; Kuvlesky, 1974). This poses several interesting questions for future research. Is this sex differential in historical dynamics of status projections general? Does it extend to phenomena beyond status projections (i.e., moral values, sex-role definitions, attitudes toward politics, and etc.)? How can it be explained?

Obviously, any inferences we have drawn above are necessarily limited in terms of generalization to the populations studied, due to the lack of any other historical trend data to use in comparison with ours. Still, findings recently reported by Venegas (1973) from a 1973 study of El Paso Mexican American youth indicate a general similarity in status projections with our 1973 findings on nonmetropolitan Mexican American youth. We infer from this comparison that, at least in Texas, metropolitan and nonmetropolitan youth do not differ markedly in reference to status projections. We suspect that regional locations (i.e., "West Coast," "Midwest," and "Southern Colorado-Northern New Mexico") might demonstrate a basis for greater variability in this regard than place of residence. Unfortunately, the information required to test this proposition does not exist at present as far as we know. This points clearly to a need to broaden our information base to include more sets of comparable data embracing diverse Mexican American populations to foster comparative analysis.

FOOTNOTES

1. Walter Slocum observed that in the sixties farm youth in Washington were aspiring to higher levels of education than nonfarm youth, which apparently signaled a reversal of long standing place of residence differentials in level of aspiration. However, it is questionable that most of the "farm youth" involved in this study would fit the definition of "poor".
2. The goals included in this forced choice question were income, job, education, residence, family development, leisure, and material level of living. A rank of 1 indicated highest valuation and a score of 7 lowest.
3. This limited investigation indicated that educational status projection measures were generally more stable than occupational ones. The observations also appear to indicate the possibility that administration of the instrument had a treatment impact-- changed the respondents' orientations. In general it appears that the measurement categories used here tend to have good reliability; however, some question exists in this regard in reference to "intensity of aspiration". Beyond question we need to do much more thorough evaluation of this and we are in the process of doing so.
4. Two schools failed to cooperate because of problems they faced in the recent past relative to people (in one case researchers) who entered the schools to "study" youth.
5. The 1973 instrument contained several additional sections of questions not included in the 1967 one: indicators of religiosity, moral values, additional language patterns, and migrant involvement.
6. Ethnic identity was determined through self identification of ethnic status.
7. For purposes of analysis the original intensity scores were grouped into three "level of intensity" categories as shown by the numbers in parentheses in Table 5. The distribution of responses over the original scale scores are provided in APPENDIX E, Table 1.
8. For purposes of analysis the two extreme categories at each end of the original five point scale were collapsed into more inclusive categories. Evidence exists to indicate that this simple three category scale has greater reliability than the original five point one (Kuvlesky and Lever, 1974). The distribution of responses over the original more specific scale scores is given in APPENDIX E, Table 2.
9. See Footnote 8 for our rationale for grouping of original response categories and see APPENDIX E, Table 3 for the distribution of responses on the more specific categories.

FOOTNOTES (cont'd)

10. In fact, we have definite plans to do this and are intending to produce a monograph reporting our findings on this tri-ethnic analysis within the coming year.

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APPENDIX A: RELEVANT QUESTIONNAIRE
ITEMS IN 1967-1973 INSTRUMENTS

A thorough comparison of questions used for each status projection element in both status areas in 1967 and 1973 indicate they were exactly identical in every case. The stimulus questions used are reproduced below.

OCCUPATIONAL PROJECTIONS

Occupational Aspiration

If you were completely free to choose any job, what would you desire most as a lifetime job? (In answering this question give an exact job. For example, do not say "work on the railroad" but tell us what railroad job you would like to have.) Write your answer in the box below.

Occupational Expectation

Sometimes we are not always able to do what we want most. What kind of job do you really expect to have most of your life? (Write your answer in the box below. Please give an exact job!)

Intensity of Aspiration

Listed below are a number of things that most young people look forward to. Rank them in order of their importance to you. For the one you think is most important put a number 1 in front of it; for the next most important one put in a number 2; and so on until you have a different number (from 1 to 7) for each one. Read over the entire list before answering the question.

- _____ To have lots of free time to do what I want.
- _____ To get all the education I want.
- _____ To earn as much money as I can.
- _____ To get the job I want most.
- _____ To live in the kind of place I like best.
- _____ To have the kind of house, car, furniture, and other things like this I want.
- _____ To get married and raise a family.

CHECK YOUR ANSWERS! You should have used each number from 1 to 7 only one time and you should have a number in each blank space.

Intensity of Expectation

How certain are you that this is the job you will have most of your life? (Circle one number):

I am:	1	2	3	4	5

	Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

EDUCATIONAL PROJECTIONS

Educational Aspiration

If you could have as much schooling as you desired, which of the following would you do? (Circle only one number):

- 1 Quit school right now.
- 2 Complete high school.
- 3 Complete a business, commercial, electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
- 4 Graduate from junior college (2 years).
- 5 Graduate from a college or university.
- 6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

Educational Expectation

What do you really expect to do about your education? (Circle only one number):

- 1 Quit school right now.
- 2 Complete high school.
- 3 Complete a business, commercial electronics, or some other technical program after finishing high school.
- 4 Graduate from a junior college (2 years).
- 5 Graduate from a college or university.
- 6 Complete additional studies after graduating from a college or university.

Intensity of Aspiration

Same as above.

Certainty of Expectation

How certain are you that you will really achieve the education you expect?

I am:	1	2	3	4	5

	Very Certain	Certain	Not very Certain	Uncertain	Very Uncertain

distinctions. The collapsing strategy used for SES Levels of occupation is clearly apparent in Table 2. Our intent was to be conservative relative to the "High" and "Low" categories, and, therefore our "Intermediate" level covers a broad spectrum of prestige ranks. While the decision to place the "housewife" type category in the "Low" SES level can be argued, it was Kuvlesky's judgement that this is in keeping with the prestige value generally associated with "housewife" when it is viewed narrowly as a job. We do not argue this is "right," only that our decision in this regard reflects reality.

The specific responses for educational aspirations and expectations are made in terms of hierarchal categories by the respondents (APPENDIX A). The collapsing strategy for educational projections is comparable with most reported studies in defining "High" aspirations and expectations in terms of a four year college degree. However, in a relative sense-- considering the educational status of the parents of the youth studied, even the "Intermediate" level would represent orientations toward marked vertical mobility. The same thing applies to the occupational projection status levels.

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APPENDIX C

Table 1. Description of Counties selected for study: 1960-1970.

Area	Total Population		Percent Mexican American		Percent Urban		Percent Rural	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
Dimmit	10,095	9,039	67	82	56	60	44	40
Starr	17,137	17,707	71	98	34	32	66	68
Zapata	4,393	4,352	66	92	0	0	100	100
Texas	9,579,677	11,196,730	15	14	75	80	25	20

Table 2. Description of Counties selected for study: 1960-1970.

Area	Median Family Income		Percent Low Income Families*		Median School Years Completed		Percent Unskilled Labor Force**		Percent Agriculture Labor Force	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970
Dimmit	2,480	4,062	60	51	5.7	6.1	56	62	38	20
Starr	1,700	3,593	71	52	5.1	6.0	48	50	41	24
Zapata	1,766	3,788	66	51	5.5	5.9	47	55	39	16
Texas	4,884	8,490	29	15	10.4	11.6	35	36	8	4

* Low income families in 1960 were defined as those below \$3,000 annual income, Low income families for 1970 are enumerated in the census data as those below the poverty line.

** Labor force statistics are for employed persons over age 14 for both years.

APPENDIX D: CHANGE IN STUDY UNITS: 1967-1973

COUNTIES

Tables 1 and 2 in APPENDIX A provide a statistical sketch of the counties involved in this study for 1960 and 1970. Dimmit and Starr counties showed increases in total population while Zapata showed a slight decrease. For all other variables the counties showed a uniform direction of change. The three counties increased in: (1) percent of the population which was Mexican American,¹ (2) median years of school completed and (3) median family income. These counties also showed decreases in: (1) percent of families in low income brackets,² (2) percent of labor force in unskilled occupations and (3) percent of labor force in agricultural occupations.

In summary the counties remained generally stable in population and substantial improvement in socioeconomic conditions. The predominance of the Mexican American minority increased markedly over the decade.

The reader should be reminded that the census data does not closely parallel the data obtained from our respondents. The divergence of the time factors make comparisons of census data to our family background data very hazardous. In terms of this study the census data is best viewed as a background sketch of the historical trends taking place in the South Texas study area.

¹These census figures are not directly comparable because of changes in census data collection procedures. (See APPENDIX A Tables 1 and 2 footnotes.) Nevertheless the direction of change should not be affected.

²ibid.

SCHOOLS

No new schools were built in these counties during the time lapse between studies and school facilities and equipment had probably deteriorated somewhat over the six year study period. There seems to be a good reason to suspect that the school environment became more crowded during the time between studies since all schools showed increases in the enrollment of the sophomore class.

Field notes by Randall Dowdell, a member of the 1973 interviewing team, indicate that the schools cooperating in the study exhibited a relatively wide range of environments. Two schools, one small (i.e., sophomore class = 32) and one large (i.e., sophomore class = 125) were representative of the impoverished school system. The physical facilities were characterized by limited and deteriorating equipment, over crowding and old inadequate school buildings. Conversely, two schools, one small (i.e., 30 sophomores) and one large (i.e., 248 sophomores) displayed relatively affluent school systems. Although somewhat crowded, these schools had equipment which was both adequate in number and modern in design. The fifth school would be placed near the center of the continuum by virtue of its moderate size (i.e., 93 sophomores) and mediocre physical facilities and equipment. Although this school did not appear over crowded, its equipment was judged to be generally inadequate.

FAMILIES

In regard to family background several factors were considered in this study. A comparison of these variables reveals certain general differences in the home environment of the students in the two study periods.

A general upward trend in educational attainment of both parents was observed between 1966 and 1973. The only significant changes in educational attainment of fathers were at levels below graduation from high school: The percentage of fathers terminating their formal education before or at the seventh grade level declined by nearly eight percent and there was nearly a nine percent increase in the percentage completing grade school and entering high school but not attaining graduation. The mean level of education achieved by the fathers varied only slightly (.8 years) over the six year period. The mother's educational attainments were slightly higher than the fathers' in both study populations. Mothers' mean educational level demonstrated a slight increase (1.2 years) over the study period: moderate increases were observed in graduation from high school (+3.7%) and graduation from college (+2.0%).

Although trends in parental education showed a general increase it should be made clear that the students in this study come from families in which the parents have very low educational attainment levels.

The marital status of the parents of the study population varied little over the six year period. The great majority (over 84%) of the respondents parents are married and living together.

The parental employment status showed moderate variation over the six year period. The percentage of fathers working full time, part time or actively seeking a job declined nearly 10 percent during the six year span. This figure may be somewhat misleading however because of a sizable increase in the "no information" category (5.7%). There was an increase of over four percent in fathers not in the job market. The only noticeable change in maternal employment status was a 2.7 percent

increase in the percentage of mothers working or actively seeking a job. In 1967 over 77 percent of the major breadwinners were fathers but in 1973 just barely over 68 percent of these providers were fathers. Families from which our respondents came were less likely to have gainfully employed fathers in 1973 than in 1967.

Finally, a downward trend in occupational status levels of major breadwinners is clearly observable. Although the no response category has increased rather dramatically this does not affect the 5.6 percent increase in the low occupational status level.

To summarize this section one would have to conclude that only a few significant changes in the social environment of the study populations have taken place. Aside from meager advances in education, the evidence indicates that the homelife of the respondents has not improved. Indeed the quality of homelife may have declined.

APPENDIX E: SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSIS

Table 1. Change in Intensity of Occupational Aspirations among Mexican-American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Level of Intensity	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=169)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967 (N=172)	1973 (N=201)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
1 (High)	16	17	+1	5	11	+6
2	50	42	-8	71	63	-8
3	19	18	-1	15	13	-2
4	10	10	0	3	5	+2
5	3	9	+6	2	3	+1
6-7 (Low)	1	3	+2	3	2	-1
No Response	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	0	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	+2
Total	100	100		100	100	

$\chi^2 = 10.14$
D.F. = 6
P = .12

$\chi^2 = 10.01$
D.F. = 6
P = .12

Table 2. Changes in Certainty of Occupational Expectation among Mexican-American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Level of Occupation	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=169)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967 (N=172)	1973 (N=201)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
1. Very Certain	12	14	+2	6	5	-1
2. Certain	27	31	+4	28	32	+4
3. Not very Certain	50	32	-18	55	45	-10
4. Uncertain	4	8	+4	7	10	+3
5. Very uncertain	3	6	+3	2	3	+1
No Response	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	+5	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	+3
Total	100	100		100	100	

$\chi^2 = 16.05$
D.F. = 5
P < .01, > .001

$\chi^2 = 5.73$
D.F. = 5
P = .33

Table 3. Changes in Certainty of Educational Expectations among Mexican American Boys and Girls: 1967-1973.

Certainty	Male			Female		
	1967 (N=168)	1973 (N=178)	Change	1967 (N=169)	1973 (N=201)	Change
	-----Percent-----			-----Percent-----		
1. Very Certain	13	21	+8	11	13	+2
2. Certain	37	51	+14	42	47	+5
3. Not very Certain	45	22	-23	45	34	-11
4. Uncertain	4	4	0	2	5	+3
5. Very uncertain	1	2	+1	0	1	+1
Total	100	100		100	100	

No Response

1 0

3 0

$$X^2 = 21.67$$

$$D.F. = 4$$

$$P < .001$$

$$X^2 = 7.87$$

$$D.F. = 4$$

$$P = .09$$