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ABSTRACT

In an effort to understand the dynamics of the status attainment process, the effects of significant-other influence on aspirations were considered. Data were derived from group administered questionnaires of a proportionate, stratified, random cluster sample of Louisiana high school seniors. Utilizing data on 1,241 white males, residence controls were employed and the dynamics of significant-other influence were analyzed across 5 community of origin categories (rural non-farm; rural-farm; villages of less than 2,500; small cities of 1,500 to 100,000; and large cities of 100,000 or more). The variables employed were: occupational and educational aspiration (dependent); father's and mother's education and father's occupation (exogenous); and high school grade point average, educational encouragement (parental, teacher, and peer), and peer modeling behavior (intervening). Results indicated that peer modeling influence had the strongest effects on aspirations when contrasted to other forms of significant-other influence. The impact of peer modeling behavior on aspirations was found to be singificantly greater in rural than urban communities, while an opposite residential trend was observed for parental influence. Results were interpreted in terms of the structural character of peer-group influence and suggestions were made for further research. (JC)

Residence and the Dynamics of Status Attainment as Related to Aspiration Formation*

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RESIDENCE AND THE DYNAMICS OF STATUS ATTAINMENT AS RELATED TO ASPIRATION FORMATION

Abstract

Data from a statewide probability sample of Louisiana high school seniors are utilized to assess the effects of significant-other influence on aspirations. Two modes of peer influence are delineated - definer and model influence - and contrasted with parental and teacher defined influence within a causal model of aspiration formation. Residence controls are also employed and the dynamics of significant-other influence are analyzed across five community of origin categories. The results indicate that peer modeling influence has, singularly, the strongest effects on aspirations when contrasted to other forms of significant-other influence. The impact of peer modeling behavior on aspirations was found to be significantly greater in rural than urban communities, while an opposite residential trend was observed for parental influence. These results are interpreted in terms of the structural character of peer-group influence and suggestions for additional research are presented.

Residence and the Dynamics of Status
Attainment As Related to Aspiration Formation

For more than two decades sociologists have intensively investigated the relationship between community of orientation, career aspiration formation and status attainment. This research thrust received its initial impetus from Lipset's analysis of the Oakland Mobility Study data which revealed "significant differences between the size of community in which the respondent spent his most important pre-employment years and his later job career" (Lipset, 1955: 221). People from rural social origins were found, in general, to occupy lower-status jobs. From these data Lipset contended that the higher-status mobility attainments of urban youth were a result of higher-status aspiration levels engendered by class and community environments (Lipset, 1955: 226-227).

Through the years, a rather large body of research on the relationship of residence and the mobility orientations emerged from Lipset's contentions (e.g., see: Kuvlesky and Reynolds, 1970A; 1970B, Glenn, Alston, Weiner, 1970). In several studies, the orignial relationship between community of orientation and aspiration-level have persisted even when limited controls for relevant variables were exerted (Youmans, 1956: Grigg and Middleton, 1960; Burchinal, 1961; Sewell and Orenstein, 1965; and Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968). However, it has been noted that lower aspiration levels manifested by rural youth are probably due to a consistent subsample of rural males who plan to enter farming as a future vocation. In studies where adequate controls for the "plan to farm" variable have been introduced, residence variations in aspirations have failed to materialize (Haller, 1957; Haller, 1960

and Haller and Sewell, 1967). Furthermore, where respondents have been found not to be oriented toward future farm occupations and controls for S.E.S. were exerted, no residence differences in aspirations have been noted (Middleton and Grigg, 1959; Picou, Tracy and Hernandez, 1970). Concerning social mobility patterns, Blau and Duncan (1967: 292) have noted that lower occupational attainments of farm reared males is primarily attributable to lower social origins.

The studies noted above were primarily interested in ascertaining the relationship between residence and aspiration levels. However, with the arrival of the Wisconsin model of status attainment (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969; Haller and Portes, 1973) the focus of research in this area has shifted to a more theoretical orientation. The questions which now appear worthy of systematic empirical inquiry relates to: (1) potential residence variations in the social psychological dynamics involved in aspiration formation for the process of status attainment; and (2) the role aspirations play in impacting on subsequent career attainments. Research concerning these issues is limited primarily to data on white male youth residing in the state of Wisconsin (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969; Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970). In this study, we hope to provide information concerning the former research question for a subsample of white male adolescents residing in the state of Louisiana.

The Dynamics of Status Attainment: The Wisconsin Model

The Wisconsin model originally was developed from a subsample of farm residents living in the state of Wisconsin (Sewell, Haller and Portes, 1969). In contrast to the Blau-Duncan model (Blau and Duncan, 1967), which specifies

a basic one step transmission process--parental status to achieve status--the Wisconsin model posits a three step transmission process.[1] Parental status and mental ability are assumed to influence school performance and, in turn, all three impact upon significant-other encouragement to attend college. Significant other influence effects the formation of occupational and educational aspirations, which have a substantial influence on early educational and occupational attainments. Thus, the Wisconsin model suggests quite convincingly that career aspirations operate as intervening variables in the status on achieved status. Additionally, the effects of parental status on aspirations are mediated to some degree by the influence of significant others.

In a later article from the same data set, the applicability of this model was assessed for four additional residence categories--village, small city, medium city, and large city (Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970). The results of this study indicate that the proposed model, with several minor modifications, is "appropriate" for interpreting the status attainment process of young white males from a variety of residential origins (Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf, 1970: 1925). Although slight deviations were noted between residence groups, the "Wisconsin Model" was found to account for 40 percent of the variance in early occupational attainment and 57 percent of the variance in early educational attainment. Additionally, and more central to this study, approximately 31 to 39 percent of the variance in occupational aspira-

[1] For more detailed explications concerning these models, See: Sewell and Hauser, 1972 and Haller and Portes, 1973.

tions and 3) to 44 percent of the variance in educational aspirations were explained by the variables antecedent to aspirations.

The general objective of this paper is a partial replication of the dynamics of the Wisconsin model across residence categories for a subsample of white male adolescents residing in the state of Louisiana. Meeting this objective appears to be particularly salient for social mobility research for several reasons. First, the fact that the Wisconsin model is restricted to a sample of Wisconsin white males limits generalizability (Sewell, 1972). Additional research in other regions of the country, for various subpopulations and across cultures is extremely limited and just beginning to emerge (Carter, 1972; Carter, Picou, Curry and Tracy, 1972). Second, although Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970) state that the Wisconsin model is applicable for white males from different residence groups, certain methodological problems temper these conclusions. Schoenberg (1972) has pointed out that standardized regression coefficients are sensitive to differences in standardized deviation ratios across populations, thereby, limiting the analysis conducted by Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970) to within model comparisons of variable effects. Furthermore, due to the large sample size, it was apparently impossible to isolate statistically significant differences in variable effects across residence categories in the Wisconsin study.

From the available literature on residence, aspirations and status attainment it appears rather problematic to draw substantive conclusions. From studies utilizing aspirations as the dependent variable, we know little about theory and something about the nature of residential variations in level of aspiration. From the pioneering model construction of Sewell and his associates, we know substantially more about the theoretical dynamics of

status attainment, but still are limited regarding what can be said concerning the potential influences of residence on the causal linkages within the Wisconsin model.

A Partial Replication of the Wisconsin Model

Our replication of the Wisconsin model is partial in several ways and although these limitations have been noted elsewhere, a brief consideration of them is necessary.[2] First, we have no data concerning early career achievements. Second, we have no variable comparable to the exogenous "mental ability" variable utilized by Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970). The first limitation restricts what can be said about status attainment per se; however, and just as important, we can evaluate the key social-psychological processes germain to the Wisconsin model, we have relatively comparable data on academic performance, significant-other influence and educational and occupational aspirations. Concerning the second limitation, we know that the omission of the mental ability variable should substantially reduce the explained variance for certain endogenous variables (e.g., academic performance); however, we feel that these results will not seriously bias our findings since it has been shown in numerous studies that the correlation between mental ability and social status is rather small (Duncan, Featherman and Duncan, 1968; Duncan, Haller and Portes, 1968).

The original development of the Wisconsin model and its extension to various residential groups was carried out utilizing aggregate indices of socioeconomic status and significant-other influence. Most recently Hauser

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[2] For more information, See: Carter, Picou, Curry and Tracy, 1973.

(1972) has demonstrated the advantages of disaggregating the components of these variables. In the model to be analyzed below, our indicators of socio-economic status and significant other influence will be presented in disaggregated forms in an attempt to expand our understanding of the dynamics of status attainment processes.

Specifically concerning the variable significant-other influence, our data allows a comparison of the effects of alternative modes of peer influence on aspirations. Although Sewell and his associates, in the development of the Wisconsin model, utilized a variable almost identical to our "peer modeling", it appears from his work that he would prefer a straight-forward perceived encouragement variable similar to the one he has for parents and teachers. The reason for this inferred preference is apparent in light of the most recent research on significant other influence (Woelfel and Haller, 1971; Woelfel, 1972). The educational encouragement variables seems to represent a conceptualization of significant other influence in terms of "definers" (Woelfel and Haller, 1971; Woelfel, 1972). These variables appear to measure that aspect of significant other influence in which the significant other functions primarily to define suitable educational goals for the respondent.

On the other hand, the "peer modeling" variable seems to represent a different conceptualization in that it focuses primarily on the significant other as a role model, rather than as a definer. In this case it is essentially irrelevant whether or not the significant other has actually formulated educational expectations for the respondent. In this instance, the respondent is the active participant in that he is seen as attempting to model his behavior on that of the significant other. Thus, by utilizing the peer

modeling variable, the Wisconsin model implicitly assumes that, whereas parents and teachers exercise their influence on the respondent by defining educational goals for him, peer influence is exercised by role modeling behavior on the part of the respondent himself, Since we have measures of both types of peer influence variables (peer encouragement and peer modeling) in our data set, we can make a preliminary assessment of this assumption. Figure 1 presents the causal model which will be analyzed for Louisiana youth by residence categories. The structural equations for the model can be specified employing path analytic notations where the direct effect of variable j on i is expressed by P_{ij} (Duncan, 1966):

$$G = P_{GV}V + P_{GM}M + P_{GX}X + P_{G1}E_1$$

$$P = P_{PG} + P_{PU}U + P_{PM}M + P_{PX}X + P_{P2}E_2$$

$$T = P_{TG}G + P_{TV}V + P_{TM}M + P_{TX}X + P_{T3}E_3$$

$$K = P_{KG}G + P_{KV}V + P_{KM}M + P_{KX}X + P_{K4}E_4$$

$$F = P_{FG}G + P_{FV}F + P_{FM}M + P_{FX}X + P_{F5}E_5$$

$$E = P_{EP}P + P_{ET}T + P_{EK}K + P_{EF}F + P_{EG}G + P_{EV}V + P_{EM}M + P_{EX}X + P_{E6}E_6$$

$$J = P_{JP}P + P_{JT}T + P_{JK}K + P_{JF}F + P_{JG}G + P_{JV}V + P_{JM}M + P_{JX}X + P_{J7}E_7$$

where:

$$r_{12} = r_{13} = r_{14} = r_{15} = r_{16} = r_{17} = 0$$

$$r_{26} = r_{27} = r_{36} = r_{37} = r_{46} = r_{47} = r_{56} = r_{57}$$

all remaining residuals relationships $\neq 0$.

(Figure 1 about here)

The data

A proportionate, stratified, random cluster sample of Louisiana high school seniors was selected. High schools within the state were stratified on the basis of residence (urban-rural), school type (public-parochial), race (black-white), and size of senior class (less than 100, 100-500, over 500). All public and parochial schools in the state were included in the sampling frame, regardless of racial exclusiveness. Questionnaires were administered to all seniors present the day group interviews were scheduled. The data were collected during the fall of 1970. The data analyzed are for white male students with all data present. We have data on 1,241 white males. Five residence categories are specified for our analysis as control categories - rural-farm, rural-non-farm, village, small city and large city.

The exogenous variables utilized in this study are father's education, mother's education and father's occupation. They are operationalized as follows:

Father's Education (V) - Determined by the following question: What was the highest school grade completed by your father?

0 - None	7 - Seventh Grade	14 - Some college
1 - First Grade	8 - Eighth Grade	16 - Bachelors degree
2 - Second Grade	9 - Ninth Grade	17 - Some Graduate School
3 - Third Grade	10 - Tenth Grade	18 - Masters Degree
4 - Fourth Grade	11 - Eleventh Grade	20 - Doctors Degree
5 - Fifth Grade	12 - Twelfth Grade	
6 - Sixth Grade	13 - Vocational-Technical	

Mother's Education (M) - Operationalized identically as "Father's Education."

Father's Occupation (X) - Determined by assigning "Transform to NORC scale" prestige scores (Duncan, 1961: 263-275) to the occupation, industry, and class of worker that the respondent indicated described the job his father held in November 1970. If the father was unemployed or deceased at the time of the study, the last job held by the respondent's father was coded.

Five intervening variabes were incorporated into the model presented here. They are: high school grade point average, parental educational encouragement, teacher's educational encouragement, peer's educational encouragement, and peer modeling behavior. These variables are operationalized as follows:

High School Grade Point Average (G) - Determined by the respondent's report of grades received in an exhaustive list of high school courses. Additionally, actual grade point average was obtained from guidance counselors for approximately half the respondents. The zero-order correlation between reported GPA and actual GPA is .773. Reported GPA was selected as an indicator of this variable primarily because the loss of sample size was negligible. A correction for measurement error has not been made in this paper because we have not yet determined the proper measurement model.

Parental Educational Encouragement (P) - Determined by the following question: In general, my parents have --

1 = Strongly discouraged me from going to college

2 = Discouraged me from going to college

3 = Have not influenced me one way or the other concerning going to college

4 = Encouraged me to go to college

5 = Strongly encouraged me to go to college

Teacher's Educational Encouragement (T) - Operationalized identically as "Parental Educational Encouragement."

Peer's Educational Encouragement (K) - Operationalized identically as "Parental Educational Encouragement."

Peer Modeling (F) - Determined by the following question: Most of my close friends are --

1 = Going to college

0 = Not going to college, probably going to work

0 = Going into military service

The two ultimate dependent variables in this study are educational and occupational aspirations. They are operationalized as follows:

Educational Aspiration (E) - Determined by the following question: How much education do you desire and will actively attempt to get?

0 - none after high school
1 - vocational - technical
2 - some college
4 - Bachelors degree
6 - Masters degree
8 - Doctors degree

Occupational Aspiration (J) - Determined from the following question; Now we would like to know what job you desire and will attempt to attain as a lifetime job? Responses were coded in the same manner as "Father's Occupation."

Models are developed and contrasted for five residence categories: (1) rural-farm; (2) rural non-farm; (3) village (less than 2500 population); (4) small cities (2,500 to 100,000) and (5) large city (100,000 or more). Residence was ascertained from an item on the questionnaire which asked the

respondents in what area had they spent most of their life? It should be noted that these categories differ slightly from those utilized by Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970) in their expansion of the Wisconsin model. Our residence distinctions differentiate more between rural areas, while Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970) distinquished more for urban areas. Specifically, we treat separately farm and non-farm categories. In contrast Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970) only have one category noted as rural. However, we include in our small city category both of Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf's (1970) small and medium city distinctions.

Results

The data analysis shall proceed in the following manner; first, means, standard deviations and the gross variable interrelationships, in terms of zero-order correlations, are presented for each residence category and the total sample in Table 1; second, path regression coefficients (unstandardized betas) for each control category are noted in Table 2; third, significant differences between the slopes of the unstandardized coefficients are presented by specific paths in Tables 3 and 4; finally, the path regression coefficients were decomposed into direct and indirect effects and these data are presented in Table 5 (Finney, 1972).

An additional comment is also necessary regarding the research strategy utilized in this study. Whereas the objective in the development of the Wisconsin model was one of deriving a scheme which depicted the general process of status attainment, our interest in understanding the dynamics of the status attainment process involves a more detailed consideration of through what social mechanisms does each variable effect subsequent variables.

In order to ascertain this objective, just identified models are calculated for all control categories and paths are not eliminated either on a priori theoretical grounds or on a post facto empirical basis. As paths are eliminated from models, the magnitude of any causal effect is underestimated, assuming all positive effects. However, in an effort not to eschew parsimony, it should be noted that given that the theoretical relations posited in a model are reasonably valid, unnecessary paths will be characterized by values approaching zero.

A brief consideration of Table 1 indicates that the means and standard deviations of the variables are, in general, comparable across residence categories. As would be anticipated, mean differences do appear for background variables particularly, as one moves from rural to urban categories for father's education (V) and father's occupation (X). Also along these lines, the standard deviation is somewhat smaller for the variable, father's occupation (X), in the rural-farm category. The mean educational and occupational aspiration level for the respondents in urban control categories is also slightly higher than that of the respondents in the rural categories. The most acute differences in the means of these variables is apparent when the rural-non-farm respondents are contrasted with large city respondents. These results concur with trends noted in previous studies primarily interested in isolating residential variations in aspirations.

(Table 1 about here)

Concerning the zero-order correlations presented in Table 1, one apparent finding relates to the two alternative modes of peer significant-other influence. For all control categories, stronger correlations were observed

between the peer modeling variable (F) and the two dependent variables than the friend's encouragement variable (K).

This general relationship is clarified by the results of the path regression analysis presented in Table 2. Peer modeling (F) was found to have significant direct effects on both dependent variables for all control categories, whereas, peer encouragement (K) only manifested significant effects on both dependent variables in the large city category. Further, peer encouragement was found to exert a significant direct effect on educational aspirations for the total sample. These findings strongly suggest that the mechanism whereby peers influence the educational and occupational aspirations of youth is largely through role modeling behavior.

An additional point of interest concerning peer significant other influence relates to the fact that peer modeling appears to manifest influence more on occupational aspirations. Thus, a students' association with peers who plan to attend college not only significantly effects his college aspirations, but also apparently substantially impacts on occupational aspirations.

(Table 2 about here)

In viewing the path regression coefficients in Table 2, it should be noted that our primary interest is comparing variable effects across residence categories. Accordingly, in contrasting unstandardized effects across residence categories, little can be said with regard to within model effects. Furthermore, the fact that each residence category is characterized by different sample sizes is important for interpretating "statistically significant"

differences. Since "statistical significance" is sensitive to sample size, our interpretations will attempt to concentrate on estimations of "substantive" significance. For illustrative purposes all "statistically significant" coefficients are noted by an asterisk.

The coefficients of determination for our models are quite similar to those obtained in the Wisconsin model for educational aspirations. However, we do have substantially larger residuals for occupational aspirations. The effects of the socioeconomic status variables on subsequent endogenous variables are rather weak. In an attempt to isolate differences between residence models an analysis of covariance was conducted (Carter, Picou, Curry and Tracy, 1973).[3] Table 3 reveals that significant t-values obtained for four paths -- P_{TG}: P_{FG}: P_{EP}: and P_{EF}. An interpretation of these differences can be made from Table 4 which presents both standardized and unstandardized coefficients for each path by residence group.

(Table 3 about here)

Grade point average (G) was found to have differential effects, by residence, on both perceived teacher expectations (T) and peer modeling (F). The patterns for both of these paths are rather mixed. Grade point average (G) has a more substantial effect on teacher expectations for rural-farm respondents than in any other residence category. In both the rural non-farm and village categories grade point average (G) is negligible in effecting teacher expectations, while larger coefficients obtain for small-city and large city respondents. For the effect of grade point average (G) on peer modeling (F), small coefficients obtained in the rural farm and village categories. In the rural non-farm category the strongest effect of this path was found.

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[3] For more information see Appendix A.

(Table 4 about here)

In contrast to the rather mixed pattern of grade point average effects noted above, the significant differences noted for perceived parental encouragement (P) and peer modeling (F) on educational aspirations (E) tend to be in rather consistent directions. Parent's encouragement (P) has consistent and substantially stronger effects on aspirations as one moves from rural to urban along the residence continuum. Parental encouragement has a considerably greater impact on aspirations for urban than rural youth. In contrast, the influence of peer modeling behavior is greater on aspirations of rural youth and steadily decreases as one moves along the residence continuum to the urban categories. These findings suggest that the dynamics of interpersonal influence vary by residence.

What appears to be happening is that urban youth receive considerably more influence from parents than do rural youth for the formation of educational aspirations. The variation in influence of peer modeling is not as drastic as the variation in parental encouragement. Urban youth appear to utilize parental encouragement and peer modeling; however, rural youth, particularly rural farm youth, receive little or no impact from parental encouragement for the formation of educational aspirations. One explanation, admittedly speculative, for those trends is that parental-child relations in rural areas is inconsistent with dominant cultural values. That is, rural youth are oriented toward an "off the farm" future because of the limited career opportunities in rural areas and the steady decline in farming as a viable vocational option. Rural parents therefore, are in a rather limited position with regard to influencing their offspring. This pattern

does not necessarily characterize urban parent-child relations. On the other hand, peer behavior is a more significant variable for the rural farm youth because of the consistency of the "off the farm" orientation.

Turning to Table 5, one finds that the total effect of father's education (V) on educational aspirations is similar for all residence categories except the rural non-farm youth. For rural-farm and rural-non-farm respondents virtually all of the total effect of father's education is mediated by intervening variables. On the other hand, for large city and village respondents, only approximately 30 percent of the total effect was absorbed by intervening variables. For the remaining residence category, small city, approximately one-half of the total effect of father's educational aspirations was found to be indirect.

The total effect of father's education on occupational aspirations was found to vary considerably across residence categories, ranging from .514 for village youth to .016 for rural non-farm respondents. The intervening variables, primarily significant-other influence, were found to mediate most of the effects of father's education on occupational aspirations for all residence groups, except village youth. For this group, over 80 percent of the total effect was found to be non-direct.

The effects of mother's education on educational and occupational aspirations were found to exhibit mixed patterns (Table 5). The total effects for this variable were largest for occupational aspirations of rural-non-farm and farm youth. Most of the total effect across residence groups was direct for rural farm youth, while indirect for all other categories. A rather mixed pattern was also observed for the mediation of the effects of mother's education on educational aspirations. The total effects of this relationship were

found to be primarily direct or spurious for small city and rural farm youth.

(Table 5 about here)

For all residence categories, the relationships observed between father's occupation and occupational aspirations were direct. The total effects of father's occupation on educational aspirations were in contrast, weak, but still primarily direct, except in the large and small city groups. Of all the exogenous variables, the effect of father's occupation were found to be absorbed the least by the intervening variables included in the analysis.

The total effects of grade point average were found to be stronger in all cases for occupational aspirations. Furthermore, the effect of grade point average on both dependent variables was primarily direct. The direct effects of grade point average on educational aspirations tended to be larger for rural youth, with the exception of the rural farm category.

Summary and Conclusions

In this study, an attempt has been made to investigate the dynamics of status attainment, relating to aspiration formation, for a subsample of southern white male youth from five residence groups. A causal model was introduced, with limitations, and path regression coefficients were calculated for this model for each residence category. Initially, two findings appear to be particularly salient for status attainment research. First, our findings tend to indicate that very little variation in variable effects were found for the model across all residence categories. Actually, only four paths in the model were found to manifest differential effects by

residence (P_{TG}: P_{FG}; P_{EP}: P_{EF}). This finding tends to support the results obtained by Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf (1970) for their sample of Wisconsin white males even when additional analyses were conducted specifically to isolate such variations. Thus it appears that the dynamics of the Wisconsin model, at least up to the aspiration stage, are consistent for white males residing in the deep South.

Second, our analysis has provided interesting results concerning the nature and impact of peer influence on aspirations. Peers appear to function more as role models for youth, rather than definers for behavior. For the calculations of models within every residence category, the "peer modeling" (F) variable was found to be a better predictor of aspirations than the "friend's encouragement" variable (K). Once again, these findings suggest that the dynamics of status attainment, as depicted by the Wisconsin model, appears to be accurate. The Wisconsin model, in terms of the operationalization of significant-other influence, posits that parents and teachers operate primarily as definers for future career behavior, whereas peers operate as models (Hauser, 1972; Sewell and Hauser, 1972). This a priori theoretical assumption certainly appears justified in light of our empirical results.

Another question worthy of inquiry concerning significant-other influence relates to comparative influence of the components of this variable on aspirations. The influence of peer modeling (K) and parents (P) appears to be stronger within all residence groups than the influence of teachers (T) and friend's encouragement (K). For the Wisconsin model, Sewell and Hauser (1972: 857) note that the influence of parents and peers are "about equal" and approximately twice that of teachers. Table 6 presents the path coefficients in standardized form for each component of significant-other influ-

ence on aspirations. Our results indicate that for educational aspirations (E), peer modeling (F) is a stronger predictor than parents encouragement (P). Teacher encouragement is an extremely weak predictor of both educational and occupational aspirations, while friends encouragement (K) did manifest an appreciable effect on career aspirations for large city respondents.

(Table 6 about here)

Other studies have presented rather mixed findings regarding the relative influence of parents and peers on adolescents' educational aspirations. For example, McDill and Coleman (1965) and Herriott (1963) conclude that peer influence is stronger for educational goals than parental influence. On the other hand, Simpson (1962) and Kandel and Lesser (1969) report findings that suggest that parents have more influence than peers for the formation of educational goals. Our findings may shed some light on this controversy, as these studies employed various measures of peer influence, some being quite indirect. When peers are viewed via alternative modes of significant-other influence, our results suggest differential impacts on educational aspirations. When constrasted in the role of definers, parental encouragement appears to be substantially stronger than peer encouragement. That is to say, it appears that parents have more influence on educational aspirations than peers in terms of perceptions of actual encouragement to attend college. However, youth who have friends that plan to go to college tend to be influenced strongly by the model of future educational plans presented by their peers. The existing controversy in the literature appears to have overlooked the mode of influence of peers. From our findings and those of Sewell and his associates, we suggest that peers exert influence on adolescent's educa-

tional goals primarily as models for behavior and that parents influence primarily through encouraging or defining appropriate educational attainment levels for the future.

With regard to the significant differences found in the covariance analysis, it appears that possibly these variations could have obtained by chance alone. Taking into consideration the fact that thirty-five paths were calculated for each model, the fact that only four were found to differ across residence reveals that the models were very comparable. The differences isolated for P_{TG} and P_{FG} revealed no specific patterns except for the fact that grade point average had very weak effects on teacher encouragement for rural non-farm and village youth and that grade point average manifested weak effects on the peer modeling variable for rural farm, village and small city youth.

Concerning the patterns observed for the effects of parents' encouragement and peer modeling on educational aspirations, it appears as though peers, as models, have more influence on the formation of the educational goals of youth than parents functioning as definers. Particularly, the weak impact of parents' encouragement on the educational aspirations of rural farm youth, coupled with the much stronger effects of peer modeling for this same control category, suggests that significant-other influence may be operating in a different manner for students who reside on farms. Further inquiry should attempt to explore, in more detail, the implications of this finding.

Finally, as the decomposition of variable effects suggest, many effects of the exogenous variables appear to be direct, despite the intervening variables incorporated in this study. Additionally, our results also reveal, similar to the Wisconsin model, that grade point average manifests direct

effects on aspirations which are not mediated by the significant other influence variable. These findings tend to agree with recent analyses performed on the Wisconsin data set (Hauser, 1972; Sewell and Hauser, 1972) and indicate that future studies, while trying to minimize and decrease error measurement, should attempt to incorporate additional intervening variables which may absorb the direct effects of predictor variables.

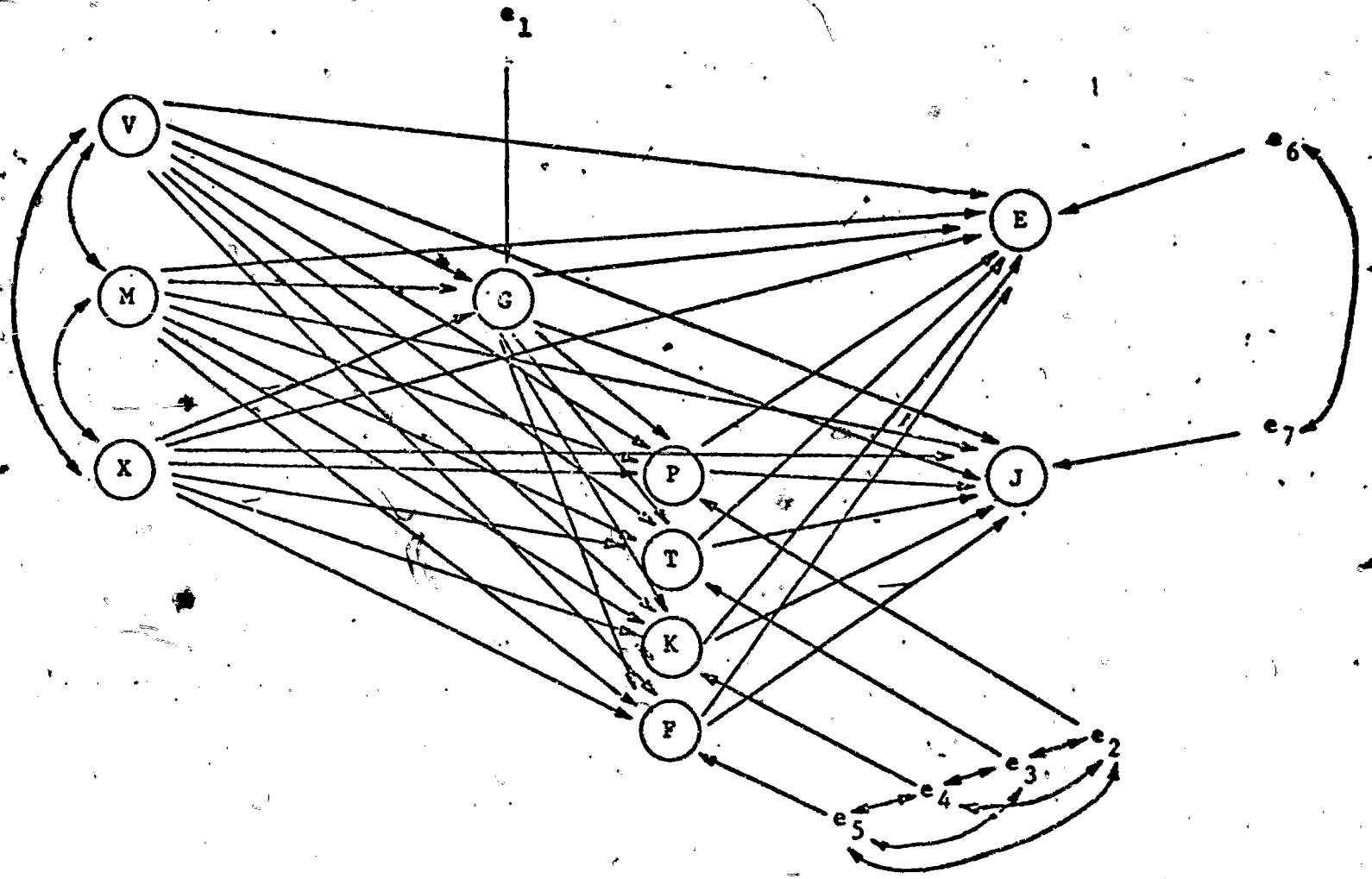

Figure 1: A Social Psychological Model of the Dynamics of Aspiration Formation

TABLE 1: Means, Standard Deviation and Zero-Order Correlations For Residence Groups and Total Sample

Variable	$\bar{X}$	S.D.	V	M	X	G	P	T	K	F	E	J	$\bar{X}$	S.D.
	Rural Farm (N=93)												Small City (N=505)	
V	9.56	4.27	---	.555	.516	.168	.285	.235	.156	.249	.377	.174	12.17	3.74
M	11.01	2.92	.530	---	.392	.169	.261	.191	.090	.212	.358	.129	11.81	2.98
X	58.35	8.90	.418	.276	---	.138	.252	.198	.098	.196	.292	.248	66.91	12.64
G	2.40	.70	.188	.055	.169	---	.176	.191	.102	.179	.394	.189	2.60	.63
P	4.02	.82	.220	.167	.161	.375	---	.418	.334	.314	.448	.229	4.38	.79
T	3.90	.86	.154	.091	.115	.349	.572	---	.422	.196	.321	.194	4.14	.83
K	3.91	.85	.070	.105	.084	.212	.187	.594	---	.261	.275	.124	3.77	.87
F	.56	.50	.403	.286	.258	.154	.129	.001	.038	---	.441	.192	.77	.42
E	3.17	2.77	.404	.347	.379	.327	.242	.162	.176	.574	---	.334	4.17	2.45
J	68.03	12.04	.379	.358	.492	.290	.235	.156	.093	.597	.683	---	71.76	18.99
	Rural Non-Farm (N=118)												Large City (N=391)	
V	10.00	3.78	---	.441	.452	.095	.219	.102	.181	.275	.328	.175	12.49	3.94
M	10.61	2.72	.553	---	.234	.120	.233	.139	.152	.146	.176	.127	11.88	3.21
X	61.01	12.23	.390	.376	---	.135	.208	.164	.168	.227	.262	.306	70.11	11.12
G	2.45	.71	.229	.254	.094	---	.314	.244	.205	.238	.375	.271	2.53	.65
P	3.97	.86	.249	.293	.060	.129	---	.503	.388	.389	.465	.291	4.40	.81
T	3.78	.81	.235	.253	.103	.060	.544	---	.420	.347	.303	.216	4.14	.84
K	3.68	.89	.078	.216	.020	-.008	.344	.433	---	.325	.398	.261	3.81	.84
F	.52	.50	.383	.388	.232	.487	.208	.136	.221	---	.420	.326	.75	.43
E	2.75	2.61	.282	.320	.306	.536	.225	.115	.144	.532	---	.451	4.19	2.34
J	65.68	15.71	.157	.204	.301	.289	.083	.142	.140	.467	.580	---	74.13	13.51
	Village (N=134)												Total (N=1241)	
V	11.19	3.66	---	.511	.491	.167	.270	.170	.103	.305	.379	.218	11.76	3.95
M	11.50	3.40	.493	---	.325	.153	.243	.161	.092	.231	.303	.163	11.62	3.09
X	64.39	11.42	.330	.203	---	.140	.219	.165	.088	.240	.318	.327	66.44	12.25
G	2.60	.73	.214	.145	.125	---	.213	.187	.118	.224	.402	.235	2.55	.66
P	4.22	.76	.143	.125	-.010	.055	---	.479	.343	.313	.401	.235	4.30	.82
T	4.17	.84	-.086	.032	-.071	.027	.317	---	.441	.222	.268	.198	4.09	.85
K	3.85	.94	-.172	-.120	-.010	.061	.121	.397	---	.232	.256	.154	3.79	.88
F	.72	.45	.176	.286	.198	.081	.138	.107	.062	---	.470	.300	.72	.45
E	3.65	2.44	.367	.310	.286	.408	.212	.044	.033	.392	---	.437	3.91	2.49
J	71.39	14.65	.292	.176	.528	.274	.136	.154	.116	.283	.540	---	71.66	16.33

Variables are:
V = Father's education
M = Mother's education
X = Father's occupation
G = Grade point average
P = Parent's encouragement
T = Teacher's encouragement
K = Friends encouragement
F = Peer Modeling
E = Educational aspirations
J = Occupational aspirations

TABLE 2: Path Regression Coefficients, Multiple Correlations and Intercepts by Residence Groups and Total Sample

Residence Category and Dependent Variables	V	M	X	C	P	T	K	F	a	R^2
Rural-Farm										
C	.029	-.017	.009						1.79	.048
P	.017	.025	.004	.405*					2.39	.171
T	.013	.009	.002	.405*					2.57	.131
K	-.008	.030	.004	.253					2.84	.055
F	.035*	.017	.005	.055					-.397	.184
E	.027	.123	.053	.762*	.052	.000	.260	2.45*	-5.97	.461
J	-.207	.642	.438*	2.35	.664	1.07	-.835	11.43*	21.79	.527
Rural-Non-Farm										
C	.027	.050	-.002						1.76	.079
P	.036	.076*	-.007	.051					3.08	.109
T	.033	.057	-.002	-.025					3.00	.081
K	-.003	.087*	-.005	-.084					3.28	.056
F	.031*	.011	.003	.292*					-.832	.372
E	-.021	.048	.042*	1.36*	.336	-.184	.175	1.43*	-5.51	.438
J	-.555	.099	.303*	2.21	-1.12	2.04	.511	12.61*	34 59	.306
Village										
C	.035	.011	.004						1.84	.051
P	.026	.017	-.005	.027					3.97	.029
T	-.029	.024	-.004	.053					4.35	.019
K	-.048	-.015	.004	.156					3.81	.048
F	.000	.034*	.006	.016					.059	.103
E	.107	.049	.027	1.05*	.422	-.068	.051	1.51*	-5.33	.380
J	.462	-.194	.597*	3.56*	.957	2.53	.762	4.81*	11.93	.392
Small City										
C	.014	.021	.003						1.99	.038
P	.029*	.031*	.007*	.144*					2.79	.120
T	.030*	.016	.006	.193*					2.70	.088
K	.032*	-.002	.001	.107					3.04	.031
F	.016*	.011	.002	.088*					.041	.091
E	.069*	.097*	.007	.978*	.664*	.161	.170	1.41*	-6.15	.430
J	.022	-.160	.269*	3.55*	2.59*	1.72	.103	4.04*	24.22	.121
Large City										
C	.001	.019	.006*						1.84	.027
P	.018	.035*	.007	.347*					2.38	.158
T	-.003	.024	.009*	.281*					2.57	.084
K	.020	.018	.006	.228*					2.31	.078
F	.023*	.001	.004	.133*					-.175	.130
E	.104*	-.031	.010	.765*	.669*	-.066	.515*	.945*	-4.75	.389
J	-.106	.032	.268*	3.17*	1.60	-.163	1.71*	5.56*	31.24	.216
Total										
C	.015*	.018*	.004*						1.91	.038
P	.028*	.032*	.006*	.198*					2.68	.120
T	.013	.021*	.006*	.195*					2.78	.056
K	.011	.011	.003	.131*					3.02	.024
F	.022*	.011*	.004*	.114*					-.199	.137
E	.079*	.048*	.019*	.955*	.510*	-.012	.229*	1.48*	-5.37	.411
J	-.028	-.002	.326*	3.36*	1.31*	.898	.630	6.28*	25.62	.192

Variables are:
V = Father's education
M = Mother's education
X = Father's occupation
C = Grade point average
P = Parent's educational encouragement
T = Teacher's educational encouragement
K = Friends' educational encouragement
F = Peer Modeling
E = Educational aspiration
J = Occupational aspiration

TABLE 3: Standardized Regression Coefficients of Covariance Analysis and T-Values for Residence as Categoric Variable*

Path	Residence Category	Regression Coefficient	T-Value
P_{TG}	R_1	-.303	-2.07
P_{FG}	R_1	.414	2.95
P_{EP}	R_3	.696	2.53
P_{EP}	R_4	.665	2.47
P_{EF}	R_3	-.185	-2.09
P_{EF}	R_4	-.248	-2.95

*Only Significant T-Values Reported

TABLE 4: Standardized and Unstandardized Regression Coefficients By Residence Groups for Significant Residential Differences Between Paths Obtained in Covariance Analysis

Path	Residence Category: Rural-Farm β	Rural-Farm b	Rural-Non-Farm β	Rural-Non-Farm b	Village β	Village b	Small City β	Small City b	Large City β	Large City b
P_{TG}	.331	.405	-.022	-.025	.047	.053	.147	.193	.218	.281
P_{FG}	.077	.055	.411	.292	.027	.016	.131	.088	.204	.137
P_{EP}	.015	.052	.112	.338	.132	.422	.213	.664	.232	.669
P_{EF}	.444	2.45	.274	1.43	.277	1.51	.243	1.41	.175	.945

TABLE 5 Decomposition of Unstandardized Effects for Dependent Variables By Residence Categories and the Total Sample*

Control Category and Dependent Variable		Independent Variables V	M	X	G	P	T	K	F
Large City E N=391	Total	.149	.024	.028	1.22	.669	-.066	.515	.945
	Direct	.104	-.031	.010	.763	.669	-.066	.515	.945
	SOI	.044	.032	.011	.460				
	AP	.001	.023	.007					
Small City E N=505	Total	.138	.161	.020	1.25	.664	.161	.170	1.41
	Direct	.069	.097	.007	.978	.664	.161	.170	1.41
	SOI	.052	.038	.009	.269				
	AP	.017	.026	.004					
Village E N=134	Total	.155	.117	.038	1.09	.422	-.068	.051	1.51
	Direct	.107	.049	.027	1.05	.422	-.068	.051	1.51
	SOI	.010	.056	.007	.040				
	AP	.038	.012	.004					
Rural Non-Farm E N=118	Total	.077	.183	.039	1.79	.338	-.184	.175	1.43
	Direct	-.021	.048	.042	1.36	.338	-.184	.175	1.43
	SOI	.050	.046	.001	.425				
	AP	.048	.089	-.004					
Rural Farm E N=93	Total	.141	.157	.075	.984	.052	.000	.260	2.45
	Direct	.027	.123	.053	.762	.052	.000	.260	2.45
	SOI	.085	.051	.013	.222				
	AP	.029	-.017	.009					
Total E N=1241	Total	.161	.106	.034	1.25	.510	-.012	.229	1.48
	Direct	.079	.048	.019	.955	.510	-.012	.229	1.48
	SOI	.049	.035	.010	.297				
	AP	.033	.023	.005					
Large City J N=391	Total	.090	.212	.339	4.83	1.60	-.163	1.71	5.56
	Direct	-.106	.032	.268	3.17	1.60	-.163	1.71	5.56
	SOI	.191	.088	.042	1.66				
	AP	.005	.092	.029					

Control Category and Dependent Variable		Independent Variables							
		V	M	X	G	P	T	K	F
Small City J N=505	Total	.282	.089	.320	4.62	2.59	1.72	.103	4.04
	Direct	.022	-.160	.269	3.55	2.59	1.72	.103	4.04
	SOI	.195	.152	.037	1.07				
	AP	.065	.097	.014					
Village J N=134	Total	.514	.078	.630	3.92	.957	2.53	.762	4.81
	Direct	.462	-.194	.597	3.56	.957	2.53	.762	4.81
	SOI	.085	.229	.017	.356				
	AP	.137	.043	.016					
Rural Non-Farm J N=118	Total	.016	.600	.334	2.84	-1.12	2.04	.511	12.61
	Direct	-.555	.099	.303	2.21	-1.12	2.04	.511	12.61
	SOI	.416	.214	.042	.63				
	AP	.155	.287	-.011					
Rural Farm J N=93	Total	.319	.803	.531	3.63	.664	1.07	-.835	11.43
	Direct	-.207	.642	.438	2.35	.664	1.07	-.835	11.43
	SOI	.425	.220	.062	1.28				
	AP	.101	-.059	.031					
Total J N=1241	Total	.234	.218	.384	4.59	1.31	.898	.630	6.28
	Direct	-.028	-.002	.326	3.36	1.31	.898	.630	6.28
	SOI	.193	.137	.040	1.23				
	AP	.069	.083	.018					

*Variables are:
V = Father's education
M = Mother's education
X = Father's occupation
G = Grade point average
P = Parent's educational encouragement
T = Teacher's educational encouragement
K = Friends' educational encouragement
F = Peer modeling
E = Educational aspiration
J = Occupational aspiration

TABLE 6. Standardized Coefficients for Disaggregated Significant Other Variable by Residence

	Rural Farm		Rural Non-Farm		Village		Small City		Large City	
	E	O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E	O
P	.015	.045	.112	-.062	.132**	.049	.213*	.107*	.232*	.096
T	.000	.076	-.057	.105	-.023	.143*	.055	.076	-.023	-.010
K	.080	-.059	.060	.029	.020	.048	.061	.005	.184*	.106*
F	.444*	.474*	.274*	.403*	.277*	.145**	.243*	.090*	.175*	.178*

APPENDIX A

A statistical comparison of all coefficients across residence groups was conducted. A form of covariance analysis was utilized. The covariance model takes the following form:

$$Y = f(X_1, X_2, X_3, X_4, X_5, D, DX_1, DX_2, DX_3, DX_4, DX_5).$$

where:

Y = predicted dependent variable(s) (aspirations)

X_1 = first predictor variable

$X_2 - X_5$ = second to fifth predictor variables

D = dummy variable, i.e., residence

DX_1 = product of X_1 and dummy variable and each observation

$DX_2 - DX_5$ = products of predictors and dummy variable for each observation, etc.

The model was run as a regression model. If the regression slope associated with the dummy variable is significant, the intercepts between residence groups differ when Y is regressed on X_1, X_2, etc. for each group. If the slope associated with either of the product terms is significant, then the slopes differ between Y and the associated X when Y is regressed on X_1 and X_2 separately for categories represented by the dummy variable, i.e. residence. Tables will be supplied upon request. For more information SEE: Evans W. Curry, "A Theoretical Model of Anticipatory Success: An Empirical Evaluation" (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, LSU, August, 1973).

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