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OCCUPATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF BLACK AND WHITE
MALE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN A NORTH MISSISSIPPI COUNTY

BY

MELISSA HALL CLARK

B.A., University of Mississippi, 1971

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of
The University of Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology

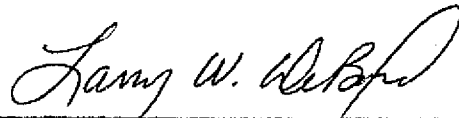
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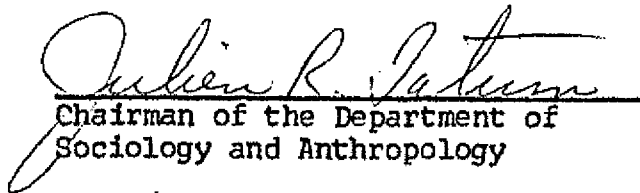
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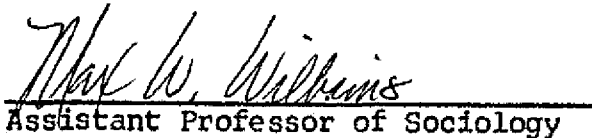
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In various studies of students, it has been demonstrated that blacks hold higher educational aspirations than whites. There is disagreement as to who, blacks or whites, holds the higher occupational aspirations. It has also been found that two related variables--IQ and community of orientation--are not as significant for blacks as for whites in the determination of occupational and educational aspirations. This study is concerned with certain variables that affect the occupational and educational aspirations of black and white male high school students and the relative effect that these variables have on each group.

Major emphasis in this study will be placed on socio-economic status, as measured by father's occupation, as a determinant of occupational aspirations. Not only does father's occupation provide the starting point for son's occupational achievement, but father's occupation often places the son within a social class where values requisite for occupational achievement are learned. Blau and Duncan (1967) note that in the American occupational structure, there is a large amount of upward mobility. This upward mobility follows a pattern within the

occupational structure. Blau and Duncan note that a source of the increased upward mobility can be traced to the increase in occupations near the top of the occupational hierarchy and a decrease in occupations near the bottom of the occupational hierarchy. This change in occupational demand is not only felt at the top and the bottom of the occupational hierarchy but throughout it because few sons of the men at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy move all the way to the top. As sons from one stratum move up, they leave openings for the sons from the stratum below. Blau and Duncan also note that there is little downward mobility between the three occupational strata-- farm, blue collar, and white collar. Most farm jobs are occupied by sons of farmers. There is little mobility from blue collar or white collar to farm. The excess sons of farmers move into other occupations. There is also little downward mobility from white collar to blue collar because unsuccessful sons of white collar workers can take jobs such as clerks and maintain their white collar status with less income than they would receive in manual jobs. This would reflect a greater emphasis on the nature of the job (white collar) than on monetary rewards.

As demonstrated by Blau and Duncan (1967), the changing nature of the occupational structure in our society offers opportunities for upward mobility. The question now remains as to who are the sons who are going to take advantage of the structural opportunities.

We are also confronted with the problem of perception of opportunities by blacks. Prior to the Civil Rights legislations of the past two decades, opportunities have not been open to blacks in the same proportion that they have been open to whites. Although this situation has somewhat changed today, will past and present experiences affect the occupational aspirations of blacks?

Lorenz (1972) notes two structural factors that effect the aspirations of blacks. The factors are two dimensions of relative social position. The first factor is the individual's position in his own racial group. The second factor is "the position of the individual's racial group in the larger social structure" (p. 373). In the first case, when considering an individual's position in his own racial group, the open-class norms of our society--"achievement striving and success goals for all members of our society" (p. 395)--operate. In the second case, when considering an individual's racial group's position in the larger social structure, caste norms come into play, and the individual appraises the institutional arrangement of society. Lorenz predicts that these two interacting factors appear to be associated with the findings that relative goals are higher among low socioeconomic blacks than whites, but absolute goals are lower among low socioeconomic blacks than whites.

The question also arises as to how objectively rewarding is occupational mobility. Lorenz (1972) found that at each

educational level whites had higher-level jobs than blacks and that at each occupational level, whites tended to have higher incomes than blacks. Blau and Duncan (1967) found that chances for mobility increase with increased education for both whites and blacks, but that for blacks "the increment in upward mobility affected by higher education is relatively small except for the college-educated. The result is that the difference between the mobility chances of whites and of non-whites becomes larger with increasing education until after high school" (p. 210). But even the college-educated black faces discrimination, for his white college-educated counterparts still achieve higher statuses than he. Blau and Duncan state these findings suggest that blacks have less incentive to pursue education and make the necessary sacrifices that this pursuit would entail. Blau and Duncan also found that blacks are more likely to be downwardly mobile than whites and less likely to be upwardly mobile than whites.

Within the American occupational structure, blacks not only have less opportunity than whites, but blacks also receive less rewards for their mobility efforts both in terms of income and social position. But if the ideas of Lorenz (1972) are incorporated, the blacks would occupy a higher social position within their own racial group if they pursued an advanced education.

In this study, the sample will consist of black and white

male high school students grades nine through twelve in a North Mississippi county. The purpose of this study is to compare black and white educational and occupational aspirations. We are concerned with two questions. First, are the occupational and educational aspirations of black males higher, similar, or lower than the occupational and educational aspirations of white males? Second, what variables affect black and white occupational and educational aspirations?

CHAPTER II

VARIABLES AND HYPOTHESES

As stated in the preceding chapter, this study is concerned with the occupational and educational aspirations of black and white male high school students. The dependent variables of this study are occupational and educational aspirations, although occupational aspiration is of major concern. Independent variables are community size, parental occupation, parental education, family size, intactness of home, parental encouragement, peer influence, participation in extracurricular activities, race, grade in school, school performance, and fatalism.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Occupational Aspirations

The first dependent variable in this study is occupational aspiration. Occupational aspiration will be defined as "the psychological preferences or desires that the individual has regarding work statuses . . ." (Kuvlesky and Bealer 1966, p. 266). Occupational aspirations are only a part of the total process of occupational attainment. But just how important are occupational aspirations in predicting occupational attainment? Porter (1954) found in his follow-up study of 100 white

senior boys (upper-middle class over represented) that 79 were following their proposed plan, 10 were following plans of a lower prestige level, and 3 were following plans of a higher prestige level. In a follow-up study of former high school students, Haller and Sewell found that the correlation of level of occupational achievement to level of occupational aspiration is .46.¹ Kuvlesky found in a follow-up study of rural Pennsylvania males that only 26 percent had attained their occupational aspirations ten years after they were surveyed as sophomores in high school. He also found that the aspirational attainment for professional jobs was 25.9 percent and for managerial jobs 9.8 percent--jobs where it would seem that aspirations would be crucial. He writes, "What little evidence that does exist indicates that aspirations--as currently measured--are not efficient predictors of attainment, and that possibly aspirations are not even critically important in determining one's achieved work status."² This researcher questions Kuvlesky's findings on three points. First, the occupational aspirations of rural youth may be more unrealistic than the aspirations of urban

¹Data compiled by William H. Sewell and A. O. Haller on file at the University of Wisconsin, cited in Haller (1958), p. 358.

²W. P. Kuvlesky, "The Non-Attainment of Adolescents' Occupational Aspirations: A Longitudinal Study of Rural Pennsylvania Males" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1965), cited in Kuvlesky and Bealer (1966), pp. 267-268.

youth. Second, the occupational aspirations of sophomores may be more unrealistic than the aspirations of seniors. Third, the low aspirational attainment in the professional and managerial fields may be due to the short span of ten years between the original and follow-up studies.

Educational Aspirations

Closely associated with occupational aspirations are educational aspirations, our second dependent variable. Educational aspiration will be defined as the stated plan of a high school student concerning his future education. In an industrial society like the United States, education is becoming increasingly important in determining one's occupation. Bajema (1968) found a .63 correlation for educational attainment and occupational prestige. Jencks (1972) found that the occupational status of a male was closely tied with his educational attainment, but he also found a great deal of variation in the occupational status of men with the same amount of education. Haller and Miller (1967) found a .64 correlation between the number of years of college planned and occupational aspiration. But Haller and Sewell found a correlation of only .17 between occupational achievement and educational aspiration.³ In a follow-up study in 1962 of 94 percent of the freshman men enrolled at the University of Illinois in 1952, Eckland (1965) found that "employment

³Data compiled by William H. Sewell and A. O. Haller on file at the University of Wisconsin, cited in Haller (1958), p. 358.

in a nonmanual occupation is almost guaranteed by the attainment of a college diploma, quite independently of either academic ability or class background, thus assuring the upward mobility of graduates from manual origins and the stability of graduates from nonmanual origins" (p. 744). Sewell and Shah (1968a) found in a follow-up study of Wisconsin seniors that a higher percentage of males actually attended college than planned on college. They hypothesized this upward revision of plans to be associated with experience in the labor market or military service. Sewell and Shah (1968b) found that 87 percent of the males planning to attend college actually attended.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Four main variables have been shown to be closely correlated with occupational and educational aspirations--measured IQ, community size, socioeconomic status, and sex. Sex is not relevant to this study because of the elimination of females from our sample.⁴ For the purpose of this study, we will look at community size and three main clusters of variables--parental and family variables, peer variables, and

⁴Females were eliminated from our sample for two reasons. First, the relationships of female occupational aspirations to other variables differ from the relationships found among males. We wish to concentrate on the males. Second, many females would have to be eliminated from our sample because of responses such as housewife or mother.

individual variables. Included under parental and family variables are parental occupation, parental education, family size, intactness of home and parental encouragement. Included under peer variables are peer influence and participation in extra-curricular activities. Included under individual variables are race, grade in school, school performance, and fatalism.

Community Size

Recent studies on occupational aspirations and community of orientation have shown that urban youth aspire to higher occupations than rural youth (Youmans 1956; Middleton and Grigg 1959; Grigg and Middleton 1960; Burchinal 1961; Sewell and Orenstein 1965).⁵ This relationship still holds when controlling for intelligence and father's occupation (Grigg and Middleton 1960). But Grigg and Middleton also found that "size of community gradations are of less influence in the determination of occupational choices among the children of professional persons" (p. 308). Although research has shown that farm-reared boys have the lowest occupational aspirations and low levels of achievement in the non-farm world, Haller (1958) notes that planning to farm accounts for most of the farm-

⁵Haller and Sewell (1957) found occupational aspirations did not differ among urban and rural boys, but educational aspirations did differ. They concluded that farm boys underestimated the importance of education in achieving an occupation.

nonfarm variation in occupational aspiration level.

A large portion of the recent research on rural-urban differences in occupational aspirations was generated by Lipset (1955) who found that among adults in San Francisco, the larger the community of orientation, the higher the status of the job the person held. He hypothesized two reasons for this. First, urban youth are aware of wider opportunities, and this awareness stimulates them to aspire to high-status occupations. Second, rural youth are less likely to obtain the skills or education that allow them to be upwardly mobile. In partial support of this, Larzarfield found that "local variations in occupational choice are parallel to differences in the economic structure."⁶ The more jobs in a community in a given field, the more youth that choose this field. Also, according to Quinn, "Census data indicate that generally the larger the community the greater the proportion of its labor force found in professional and other white collar occupations."⁷ Although there is no evidence to support Lipset's total hypothesis, we may conclude that "the occupational structure of a community, to the extent that it is inferable from community size, is

⁶Paul Larzarfield, Jugend Und Befuf (Jena: C. Fisher, 1931), p. 13, cited in Lipset (1955), p. 227.

⁷James A. Quinn, Urban Sociology (New York: American Book Co., 1955), pp. 137, 153, cited in Grigg and Middleton (1960), p. 304.

related to the occupational aspirations of youth" (Sewell and Orenstein 1965, p. 560).

Although research is in support of the rural-urban difference in occupational aspirations among males in general, Middleton and Grigg (1959) did not find this difference to hold for black males.⁸ They concluded that the "Negroes who remain in school through the twelfth grade are . . . a very select group, and it may be that it is precisely this group among the Negroes who have uniformly high occupational and educational aspirations what ever their community of residence" (pp. 353-354). But Gurin (1970) found that black males who grew up in urban settings had significantly higher aspirations. The two samples differ. Middleton and Grigg were studying high school students, and Gurin was studying college students. There also appears to be disagreement as to the significance of the amount of difference.

College plans are also related to community of orientation--the percentage of students planning to attend college increases with community size (Middleton and Grigg 1959; Youmans 1959; Burchinal 1961; Sewell 1964).

⁸Fifty percent of the rural blacks and 63 percent of the urban blacks aspired to white collar occupations, but Middleton and Grigg did not find this difference significant at the .01 level.

HYPOTHESIS I. There will be a positive relationship between size of community of orientation and the occupational aspirations of white males only, and there will be a positive relationship between size of community of orientation and the educational aspirations of both black and white males.

Family and Parental Variables

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status plays an important role in the determination of one's educational and occupational attainment as well as aspirations. The relationship between SES and educational achievement holds when using different measures of status such as occupation of the head of the household, family income, parental education, or combinations of the three (Boocock 1972). Kohn (1969) finds that "the two dimensions of stratification that appear to be the most important in contemporary American society" are occupational position and education. The judgement of one's occupation by society at large is also an important dimension of one's position in the status order of society. The Duncan Code (Reiss et al. 1961) consists of a socioeconomic index based on scores assigned to occupations on the basis of occupational prestige, educational level and income level.

As stated earlier, father's occupation provides the starting point for son's subsequent occupational achievement.

Father's occupation is also associated with the financial resources of the family. By nature of birth, the child is placed within a family unit where he learns values that affect his achievement as an adult. Other family variables such as size of family, intactness of the home, and parental encouragement that are independently related to achievement are also associated with SES.⁹

We will examine each component of socioeconomic status instead of building an index. Parental occupation and parental education along with the Duncan Code will be used as measures of one's position in the status order of society.

Father's Occupation

Sociological research has shown that students from upper and middle socioeconomic backgrounds aspire to higher level occupations than students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Galler 1951; Empey 1956; Sewell, Haller, and Straus 1957; Stephenson 1957; Youmans 1959; Herriott 1963; Smelser 1963; Caro and Pihlblad 1965; Sewell and Orenstein 1965; Gurin 1966;

⁹Bandura (1960) found that educational aspirations differed among various religious groups with Jews highest, Protestants in the middle, and Catholics lowest. Rosen (1959) also found that Jews had the highest educational aspirations followed by Protestants. But Bandura (1960) found that the effect of religious affiliation was reduced when parental stress control was introduced. We believe that occupational and educational aspirations will not show a relationship with religious affiliation unless one socioeconomic class is over represented within a religious group.

Antonovsky 1967; Haller and Miller 1967).¹⁰ Jencks (1972) found that family background (this includes socioeconomic status) influenced occupational status, but it did so by influencing the amount of schooling a man received. Empey (1956) found that when a relative standard (occupational aspiration as compared to father's occupation) is used, almost all seniors from low socioeconomic backgrounds aspire to occupations significantly higher than their fathers' occupations. He found that "while the lower-class youngsters aspired to get ahead, they aspired to occupations at different status levels than those from higher strata" (pp. 708-709). Keller and Zavolloni (1964) propose that success goals have both an absolute (cultural desirability) and relative (cultural accessibility) value. They write, "The 'relative distance' of a social class from a given goal thus determines the saliency of that goal for its members, and this saliency in turn constitutes an intervening variable between individual ambition and social achievement" (p. 58). Thus a choice of manual work by a middle-class individual would mean

¹⁰Scanzone (1967) found that working-class students had aspirations as strong as those of middle-class students, but he goes on to say that "due to the structural situation of the lower and working classes occupational achievement and mobility are less often defined as realistic" (p. 456). Morland (1960) found no significant difference between the occupational aspirations of mill (lower class) and town (middle and upper class) boys. Bennett and Gist (1964) found classes did not differ significantly in terms of occupational aspirations, yet they did differ significantly in regard to actual plans.

a loss of status, but this would not be so for a working-class individual. Stephenson (1957), Caro (1965), and Empey (1956) found that there was a greater disparity between aspirations and expectations among lower-class students, but Empey did not find this difference significant (it was significant among the two middle strata). He feels this may be caused by a revision downward before lower-class students stated their preferred occupation. Caro (1965) writes that "class differences both in evaluation of the occupational structure and in perception of access to desired occupations contribute to the class differences in occupational orientations" (p. 469).

Smith (1952) found that upper and middle-class black high school students generally choose definite professional jobs, while lower-class black high school students were indefinite--they wanted "good jobs."

The same relationship found between SES and occupational aspirations holds for SES and educational aspirations--the higher the socioeconomic level, the higher the educational aspirations; the lower the socioeconomic level, the lower the educational aspirations (Smith 1952; Kahl 1953; Sewell, Haller and Straus 1957; Morland 1960; Krauss 1964; Sewell 1964; Sewell and Shah 1967, 1968a).¹¹ Jencks (1972) found that family

¹¹Bennett and Gist (1964) found that classes did not differ with regard to educational plans among 9th and 12th graders in Kansas City, Missouri.

background influenced one's educational attainment more than IQ. By family background, he meant socioeconomic status and other cultural and psychological characteristics independent of family background. Children from low socioeconomic backgrounds are also under represented in the colleges (Mulligan 1951; Hollingshead 1952). It has been found that more working-class students plan to go to college if they attend predominantly middle-class schools, while fewer middle-class students plan to attend college if they attend predominantly working-class schools (Krauss 1964). Jencks (1972) found that although placing a student in a school with more advantaged students made school a more pleasant experience, it did not have any great effect on success in adult life. Nam, Rhodes, and Herriott¹² found that more blacks than whites from white collar backgrounds planned to go to college and that slightly more blacks than whites from low socioeconomic backgrounds planned to go to college. Although a large proportion of this low-income group (particularly blacks) plan to attend college, this group has the highest rate of nonenrollment. Eckland (1965) found that almost every college graduate, regardless of socioeconomic background, was guaranteed a non-manual job, but without a diploma, occupational achievement was

¹²Charles B. Nam, Lewis Rhodes, and Robert E. Herriott, Inequalities in Educational Opportunities. A Demographic Analysis of Educational Differences in the Population (Tallahassee, Florida: Florida State University, May, 1966), p. 57, cited in Weinberg (1968), p. 66.

significantly affected by socioeconomic background. Educational achievement is a road to occupational mobility, but the educational aspirations of students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are not only lower but also more unrealistic.

Work Status of Mother

Several studies report relationships between work status of the mother and occupational and educational aspirations of their high-school-aged children. Youmans (1956) found that sons of non-working mothers reported slightly higher occupational aspirations than sons of working mothers. This may be a result of SES. Mothers of low socioeconomic status are more likely to work than mothers of high socioeconomic status. As has already been demonstrated, students from low socioeconomic backgrounds have lower occupational aspirations than students from middle or high socioeconomic backgrounds.

Krauss (1964) found that among working-class students, those who had mothers employed in manual occupations had lower educational aspirations than those who had mothers who did not work. Cohen (1965) found that if a mother is employed, her son is more likely to plan on college if she holds a white collar job than if she holds a manual job. A mother who holds a white collar job is exposed to males holding white collar jobs and middle-class values.

Parental Education

Parental education has also been shown to be positively related to the occupational aspirations of high school youth (Youmans 1956; Uzell 1961; Gurin 1966, 1970). Uzell (1961) found that among blacks the relationship between occupational aspiration and parents' education was statistically significant, but the relationship between occupational aspiration and father's occupation was not statistically significant. This may be explained in part by the tendency of blacks to be over-educated for the jobs they hold.

It has also been shown that parental education is positively related to student educational aspirations (Herriott 1963; Krauss 1964; McDill and Coleman 1965; Sewell and Shah 1968a). Rehberg and Westby (1967) see an interaction between parental education, parental occupation and parental influence in that "the father's education is a partial determinant of his occupation and hence of the social status of the family . . . paternal education and occupation influence adolescent educational expectancies through parental encouragement and independently of it . . ." (p. 374). Blau and Duncan (1967) find that the educational attainment of sons is influenced by the educational climate of their families, and this climate is greatly influenced by father's education. McDill and Coleman (1965) believe the influence of parental education decreases from grades nine through twelve. They base this on findings

that father's education accounts for more variation in college plans than peer influence among freshmen and that the reverse is true the senior year. Although Krauss (1966) and Sewell and Shah (1968a) found discrepancies in parental educational achievement to affect educational aspirations of students,¹³ Sewell and Shah (1968a) consider the "discrepancy in parents' educational achievement is far less important a condition for motivating children to high-level aspiration and achievement than is consistently higher educational achievements of both parents" (p. 209).

¹³Krauss (1964) found that mother's educational achievement does not influence the student's post-high school plans if the working class father had not completed high school. Mother's education affects the student's post-high school plans if the working class father is a high school graduate. When student's mother marries a man with less education, 76 percent of these students plan to attend college (a larger percentage than students whose fathers went to college). When both working class mother and father are high school graduates, 44 percent of the students planned to go to college. When mother had less education than father, 29 percent of the students planned to go to college. Sewell and Shah (1968a) found that if "there is a discrepancy between the parents with low and middle education, generally it is father's rather than mother's education which exerts more influence on aspiration and achievement. If there is a discrepancy either between the parents with low and high education or between the parents with middle and high education, then also it is generally father's rather than mother's education which exerts more influence on aspirations and achievements of children with high intelligence, but it is mother's rather than father's education which exerts more influence on aspirations and achievements of children with low intelligence" (p. 209). Ellis and Lane (1963) found that 37 percent of the Stanford University sample from low socioeconomic backgrounds were from families where the mother's education was superior to the father's. This was true of only 9 percent of the students in the overall sample.

Family Size

Youmans (1956) found when studying twelfth grade Michigan boys that the larger the family, the lower the occupational expectations. He found that position in the age order of siblings did not tend to affect occupational aspirations. Lorenz (1972) also found family size to be negatively correlated with the educational aspirations of low socioeconomic white parents for their children but not of low socioeconomic black parents. Blau and Duncan (1967) found that men from large families were less likely to achieve high status than men from smaller families. They explain this as a matter of time and finances that are available to spend on one child of many.

Rehberg and Westby (1967) found that "the larger the family the greater the reduction not only in the frequency which parents encourage their children to continue their education beyond high school but also in the effectiveness of any given frequency level of parental educational encouragement as well" (p. 374).

Intactness of Home

There is doubt as to whether intactness of home (broken home versus non-broken home) affects students' aspirations. Gurin (1966) and Sewell and Haller¹⁴ found that intactness

¹⁴William H. Sewell and A. O. Haller, unpublished data on file at the University of Wisconsin, cited in Haller and Miller (1967).

of home appears to be unimportant for males. But Kandel (1971) found a slightly higher tendency for black males from intact homes to aspire to college (74 percent vs 65 percent). Kandel (1971) also found that among both blacks and whites, intactness of home is not related to school performance.

HYPOTHESIS II: There will be a positive relationship between educational and occupational aspirations of black and white male high school students and all measures of socioeconomic status and variables associated with socioeconomic status.

Parental Encouragement

Parental advice appears to be associated with high occupational aspirations among high school students. Simpson (1962) found that "parental advice is a much better predictor of high ambitions than is the boy's social class" (p. 519). Simpson also found that parental influence is more important than peer influence for working-class boys. Burchinal (1961) found that farm-reared boys who planned non-farm employment reported the largest percentages of parental noninvolvement in occupational plans. Within this group, fathers (rather than mothers) were more "frequently reported as not having said much to the boys about their occupational plans" (p. 116). This group also had lower occupational aspirations than small-town and urban boys. Gurin (1966), in her study of Southern black college students, found that "high exertion of influence with sons seems to

encourage choices that are prestigeful and demanding of ability but to discourage non-traditional choices for Negroes . . ." (p. 346). Rosen (1959) found that while black mothers had high occupational aspirations for their children, their range of acceptable occupations is larger than the other groups studied (they would like their son to be a doctor, but they would not be disappointed if he were a factory worker). Cohen (1965) stresses a long-term emphasis by parents on educational and occupational plans. He found that short-term pressure was not effective.

Parental encouragement has been found to be closely associated with college plans among high school students (Kahl 1953; Bandura 1960; Cohen 1965; McDill and Coleman 1965; Sewell and Shah 1968; Kandel and Lesser 1969). Parental encouragement is in turn associated with socioeconomic background. The higher the socioeconomic background, the greater the parental encouragement reported (Youmans 1959; Bandura 1960; Bell 1965; Rehberg and Westby 1967; Sewell and Shah 1968b; Kandel and Lesser 1969). Bandura (1960) concludes that "it is reasonable to state that social status differences in college plans are considerably but not entirely accounted for by associated differences in parental stress . . ." (p. 268). Kandel and Lesser (1969) reach similar conclusions.

. . . the social-class differences in adolescents' educational plans can be explained mostly by the fact that

parents have different levels of aspirations and provide differential encouragement to pursue education. These parental attitudes and plans, in turn, are associated with social class position. But for the child, the parent is clearly the link between social class position and future life goals (p. 220).

Sewell and Shah (1968b) further specify this relation:

. . . parental encouragement is a powerful intervening variable between socioeconomic class background and intelligence of the child and his educational aspirations. Parental encouragement appears to have its strongest effect on the college plans of males and females who score relatively high on intelligence and come from families occupying relatively high socioeconomic positions. Also, ability continues to accentuate the social class differences in aspirations of both males and females regardless of parental encouragement (p. 559).

Burchinal (1961) reports that non-farm oriented farm boys reported less parental educational encouragement than small-town and urban boys. Their educational aspirations were also lower. In all three groups, the mother provided more educational encouragement than the father. Other studies have shown mothers to provide more educational encouragement than fathers (Ellis and Lane 1963; Gist and Bennett 1963; Bennett and Gist 1964; Kandel and Lesser 1969). Lorenz (1972) found that low socioeconomic black fathers had somewhat higher educational aspirations for their children than black mothers. Ellis and Lane, in their study of Stanford University students, found that for "males, the frequency with which the father is considered an important influence tends to decline with class . . ." (p. 747). This may partially be explained by Kahl's (1953)

findings. Working-class boys with high intelligence who planned to go to college reported parental encouragement. In most cases, the fathers of these boys were dissatisfied with their jobs, or their mothers were dissatisfied with the fathers' jobs. Working-class boys of high intelligence who did not plan to go to college received little parental encouragement, and in most cases, their fathers were satisfied with their jobs. Cohen (1965) found similar results. Thus, there is a greater possibility of mother dissatisfaction with father's job in lower socioeconomic groups than in middle or high socioeconomic groups. Education is seen as a means to occupational mobility, and the mother provides educational encouragement for her son. Gist and Bennett (1963) found that while maternal pressure to influence decisions is found among both blacks and whites, it is only among blacks that the mother actually possesses greater influence than the father. Bennett and Gist (1964) found that the lower socioeconomic group black mothers discussed education more with their children than did fathers. Gist and Bennett (1963) also found that females (both mother and other females) were more likely to influence black students than white students. Gurin and Katz (1966), in a study of black college students, found the mother to be most influential in college plans. Kandel (1971) found that black mothers have greater educational aspirations for their sons than white mothers in all socioeconomic groups except the middle one where aspirations are the same.

HYPOTHESIS III: Parental influence on occupational choice will be positively related to occupational aspirations, and parental educational encouragement will be positively related to educational aspirations.

Peer Variables

Peer Influence

A great deal of emphasis has been placed on peer influence, especially by Coleman. But Simpson (1962) found that among working-class boys, parental influence was more important than peer influence in occupational aspirations, although the two worked together.¹⁵ Ellis and Lane (1963), as others, propose that peers, rather than influencing low strata youth, provide a middle-class learning environment where "the mobile individual is exposed to the norms and behavioral traits successful mobility requires . . ." (p. 756). The individual is already mobility oriented.

McDill and Coleman (1965) found that status in the social system of the school accounted for more variation in college plans than socioeconomic status as measured by father's education

¹⁵Highest aspirations--high parental influence and high peer influence. Second highest aspirations--high parental influence only. Third highest aspirations--high peer influence only. Lowest aspirations--low parental and peer influence. Peer influence was measured by two or more extracurricular activities and mention of one or more middle-class friends.

among seniors. But parental encouragement still accounted for more variation than peer influence. Kandel and Lesser (1969) found that mothers had more influence on students' educational plans than did best friends. Although parental influence is greater, both parental influence and peer influence help shape educational plans. Kandel and Lesser (1969) found that the highest inter-triad agreement (mother, student, friend) was among those students who planned to go to college. The least inter-triad agreement was among those students who did not plan to go to college.¹⁶ Alexander and Campbell (1964) found that a student and his best friend tended to have similar college plans. This relationship was strongest when the choice of best friend was reciprocal. The Alexander and Campbell data also demonstrate that a student's plans to attend college were influenced more by a best friend who planned to attend than one who did not plan to attend.

HYPOTHESIS IV: There will be a positive relationship between the educational and occupational aspirations of white and black male high school students and the educational plans of their best friend.

¹⁶ Seventy-three percent of the students who planned to go to college were in agreement with both their mother and their best friend. Only 37 percent of those who did not plan to go to college were in agreement with both their mother and their best friend.

Extracurricular Activities

Participation in extracurricular activities has been shown to be related to occupational aspirations. Simpson (1962) found that working-class males with high occupational aspirations almost reached the level of middle-class males with high occupational aspirations in rate of participation in extracurricular activities. They exceeded middle-class and working-class males who had low occupational aspirations. These working-class males with high occupational aspirations also reported higher parental influence than both the middle and working-class males with low occupational aspirations. Thus, they are already mobile individuals.

Krauss (1964) found a relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and college plans. Eighty percent of the middle-class males and 74 percent of the working-class males who participated in extracurricular activities planned to go to college. Only 55 percent of the middle-class males and 28 percent of the working-class males who did not participate in extracurricular activities planned to go to college. Krauss hypothesizes that participation in extracurricular activities exposes working-class children to middle-class children and values. This indicates that these working-class males are mobility oriented and that exposure to middle-class children through participation in extracurricular activities does not cause this mobility orientation but reinforces it.

HYPOTHESIS V. There will be a positive relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and the occupational and educational aspirations of white and black male high school students.

Individual Variables

Race

In various studies of occupational aspirations of high school students, it has been found that most students aspire to high status occupations (Kroger and Louttit 1935; Bradley 1943; Lawrence 1950; Galler 1951; Middleton and Grigg 1959; Coleman et al. 1956; Littig 1968; Slocum 1968). Two studies have found black occupational aspirations to be lower than those of whites (Holloway and Berremen;¹⁷ Antonovsky 1967). In four other studies, the occupational aspirations of black students have been found to be higher than those of white students (Geisel;¹⁸ Antonovsky and Lerner 1959; Smith and Abramson 1962; Brown 1965). Gist and Bennett (1963) found no difference between

¹⁷R. C. Holloway and Joel V. Berremen, "The Educational and Occupational Aspirations and Plans of Negro and White Elementary School Students," Pacific Sociological Review, 2, pp. 56-60, cited in Weinberg (1968), p. 71.

¹⁸Paul N. Geisel, "IQ Performance, Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Youth in a Southern City: A Racial Comparison" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in sociology, Vanderbilt University, 1962), cited in Weinberg (1968), p. 71.

the occupational aspirations of black and white high school students. Stephenson (1957) found that while black occupational aspirations were higher than those of whites, their actual plans were lower. The discrepancy in findings on occupational aspirations of blacks and whites may be caused by the methods of research employed. Although black occupational aspirations exceed those of whites in each socioeconomic group, blacks are over represented in the lower socioeconomic groups. Since the occupational expectations of individuals in higher socioeconomic groups have been shown generally to exceed those of students in lower socioeconomic groups, when blacks (regardless of socioeconomic status) are compared with whites (regardless of socioeconomic status), the blacks' statistics suffer.

It has been found that youth aspire to occupations higher than those held by their fathers (Kroger and Louttit 1935; Bradley 1943; Lawrence 1950; Waters 1954; Brown 1965; Herson 1965)¹⁹ and that black children aspire to occupations higher than those held by their fathers to a much greater degree than white children (Brown 1965). Herson (1965) notes the discrepancy between the occupational aspirations of black youth and the

¹⁹Porter (1954) found that only 22 percent of the white senior boys in his sample aspired to occupations higher than their fathers' and that 53 percent planned occupations consistent with the prestige level of their fathers' occupations, but upper-middle-class boys were over represented in this sample which is a source of bias.

employment patterns of their parents. Black youth, in general, aspire to high level occupations (Herson 1965). Studies of the occupational aspirations of black youth indicate a stress on professional and white collar positions (Harrison 1952). Antonovsky and Lerner (1959) find this emphasis on white collar and professional occupations by black youth intriguing because "the generally known bases for high occupational choice--middle-class parents, broad cultural experience, the presence of socially esteemed models, and the like--are absent from the typical environment of the Negro youth" (p. 133). When comparing black and white youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds, the blacks had higher occupational aspirations than the whites, and at the same time they tended to have more unsuccessful parents. Antonovsky and Lerner offer three possible reasons for this. First, the models that are held up to black youth are usually great men. Thus there are two types of blacks, the exceptional and the mass. To succeed means to achieve high status. Second, because of discrimination in other areas, mobility is easier through education and the professions. Third, they may develop "models of disassociation"--they do not want to be like their parents.

Recent research has shown that blacks have higher educational aspirations than whites (Antonovsky and Lerner 1959;

Smith and Abramson 1962; Geisel;²⁰ Gist and Bennett 1963; Gottlieb²¹). Yet, a smaller proportion of blacks than whites go to college (Hollingshead 1952; Coleman et al. 1966; Blau and Duncan 1967). Lorenz (1972) found that more black parents than white parents of low socioeconomic status preferred that their children go to college, but fewer expected their children to go to college. Gist and Bennett (1963) found that while as many whites as blacks aspired to college educations, more whites than blacks decided against any further education. But Kandel (1971) found that fewer blacks (23 percent) than whites (49 percent) who stated plans to attend college were enrolled in a college preparatory program. Such findings lead one to question the realism of these aspirations for both black and white students but more so for the black students. Coleman et al. (1966) report that a slightly larger proportion of blacks than whites plan to go further than high school, but a slightly smaller proportion of blacks than whites planned to finish college or go beyond. Coleman et al. (1966) also report that fewer blacks

²⁰Paul N. Geisel, "IQ Performance, Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Youth in a Southern City: A Racial Comparison" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in sociology, Vanderbilt University, 1962), cited in Weinberg (1968), p. 71.

²¹David Gottlieb, "Goal Aspirations and Goal Fulfillments: Differences Between Deprived and Affluent American Adolescents" (unpublished paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, March 19, 1964), cited in Weinberg (1968), p. 71.

than whites have definite plans for college, but fewer blacks than whites have definite plans not to attend college. They conclude that this "indicates the lesser concreteness in Negroes' aspirations, the greater hopes, but the lesser plans" (p. 279). Kandel (1971) proposes that black adolescents have internalized high educational values and goals but not the behavioral mechanisms requisite for attaining them . . ." (p. 1016).²² Katz (1967) found that "when high standards are adopted, but not the behavioral mechanisms necessary for attainment, the relationship between verbal expressions of the students and actual performance will tend to be an inverse one" (p. 175). Antonovsky and Lerner (1959) found that blacks appear to have a more positive attitude toward school, that they seek occupational mobility through education, and that they more often list models whose accomplishments are based on education. Coleman et al. (1966) also found that blacks are "oriented toward school as a path for mobility" (p. 280). Coles (1964) recognized the great emphasis in the black community on education. Elder (1971) hypothesizes that the high educational expectations of black male high school students put them in a category where the risk of experiencing disappointment is high.

²²Harrison (1959) found a low willingness to defer gratification in black freshmen in Southern colleges. This phenomenon, it appears, would hinder the attainment of high occupational goals.

HYPOTHESIS VI. Occupational and educational aspirations will be higher among blacks than among whites, and this difference will be greater in the comparison of low socioeconomic levels.

Grade in School

Bradley (1943) found that there is a tendency for students to become more realistic in their occupational aspirations as they progress from lower to higher grade levels. Although their aspirations are still not in line with the labor market (a larger percentage than the percentage in the labor market occupying professional jobs aspired to professional occupations), their aspirations are more realistic than those of younger students.

HYPOTHESIS VII: The occupational aspirations of students in general will decrease from grades nine through twelve.

Ability and School Performance

Various studies have shown that students with high intelligence are more likely to aspire to high-status occupations than students with low or middle intelligence as measured on intelligence test (Livesay 1941; Bradley 1945; Caro and Pihlblad 1965; Sewell and Orenstein 1965; Haller and Miller 1967). Livesay (1941) found in Hawaii that the mean IQ for students aspiring to professional occupations was highest, while the

mean IQ of students aspiring to skilled trades was lowest.²³ But Livesay also noted the spread of IQ scores in all occupational choice groups which indicated that some choices were unrealistic. Bradley (1943), as Livesay (1941) before him, found that "the pupil of high mental ability sometimes selected vocations offering limited opportunities, and that the pupil of low mental ability sometimes selected occupations for which he is not intellectually fit" (p. 103). Caro and Pihlblad (1965) found that within each social class (high, middle, low), students with high academic aptitude had the highest occupational aspirations of the group, while students with the lowest academic aptitude had the lowest occupational aspirations of the groups. Caro and Pihlblad also found that the occupation aspiration-expectancy disparity was lowest for the high academic aptitude group, but it was greater for the middle than the lower academic aptitude groups. They conclude that this may be the result of the low academic aptitude groups aspiring to occupations where academic aptitude is irrelevant. Caro and Pihlblad also found that on standardized tests of academic achievement, the performance of students from lower-class backgrounds was greatly inferior to the performance of persons from middle or

²³Livesay found the mean IQ of groups aspiring to certain occupations as follows: 156.75--professional; 146.00--teachers; 133.25--business; 124.87--semi-professional; 124.25--agriculture; 117.50--clerical; 103.85--skilled trades.

high social class backgrounds.²⁴ The association between measured IQ and aspirations is lower among black students than among white students (Kandel 1971). Bajema (1968), in a follow-up study of males born in 1916 and 1917 who took the Terman Group Intelligence Test in the sixth grade and at the time of the study were forty-five, found a .46 correlation for IQ and occupational prestige, a .58 correlation for IQ and educational attainment, and a .63 correlation for educational attainment and occupational prestige. He concludes, "Thus while intelligence (as measured by intelligence tests) is associated with occupational achievement, the results of this study indicate that its effects apparently operate wholly within the school system" (p. 318). Eckland (1965) and Jencks (1972) found similar results.

Measured intelligence is also associated with college plans--students with a high IQ are more likely to plan to attend college than students with a middle range IQ who are more likely to plan to attend college than students with a low IQ (Kahl 1953; Youmans 1959; Sewell 1964; Sewell and Shah 1967, 1968a, 1968b). Sewell (1964) and Sewell and Shah (1967) found that intelligence is more related to college plans than is

²⁴Percentages in low aptitude category by class divisions: lower class--55 percent; middle class--27 percent; high class--17 percent.

socioeconomic status among males. Odell²⁵ found that 20 percent of the blacks in the lower half (by IQ level) of the 1961 graduating classes in the Philadelphia public schools actually went on to college as compared to 8 percent of the whites of equivalent IQ scores. But Powell,²⁶ when studying Alabama blacks in segregated schools who scored above the 85th percentile on the California Test of Mental Maturity, found that 40 percent did not plan to attend college. Their reasons centered around financial problems and the lack of opportunity in jobs once they finished college because of discrimination.

Although IQ scores are not available for the students in our sample, the effect of ability will be based on grade point average (GPA). Grades are not always a clear indicator of intelligence; however, several studies report school grades to be positively related to occupational aspirations (Uzell 1961; Sewell and Haller;²⁷ Haller and Miller 1967).

²⁵William R. Odell, Educational Survey Report for the Philadelphia Board of Public Education (Philadelphia: Board of Public Education, February 1, 1965), cited in Weinberg (1968), pp. 78-79.

²⁶Cristus N. Powell, "Factors Affecting the Educational and Vocational Plans of High Ability Negro Students in the High Schools of Alabama" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1962), cited in Weinberg (1968), p. 73.

²⁷William H. Sewell and A. O. Haller, unpublished data on file at the University of Wisconsin, cited in Haller and Miller (1967), p. 28.

Kahl's study (1953) demonstrates the relationship between IQ and GPA and indicates that GPA may be a better indicator of aspirations than IQ. Kahl, when studying working-class boys of high intelligence who planned to go to college or who did not plan to go to college, found that those who planned to go to college had consistently (throughout their educational history) high grades. Those boys who did not plan to go to college had high grades in elementary school (where outside work is not required), but their grades dropped in junior and senior high school. Kahl felt this was due to lack of parental encouragement.

HYPOTHESIS VIII: There will be a positive relationship between school grades and the occupational and educational aspirations of white and black male high school students.

Fatalism

We would expect fatalism to affect occupational aspirations and educational aspirations. Fatalism will be defined as a lack of control over the environment as stated by the student. We also expect fatalism to be more pronounced among black males because of discrimination experienced. Coleman et al. (1966) report that black children and other minority children express less control over their environment than white children. Coleman et al. (1966) also found that in high schools, a sense of personal control accounts for three times as much

variance in achievement of blacks than of whites. Gurin (1970), in her study of black college students, found that of all the psychological factors measured, "either academic self-confidence or personal control showed the strongest relationship to aspirations" (pp. 628-629). We also expect fatalism to be associated with low measured intelligence. Elder (1971) found that the black males with low measured intelligence were "less confident of their ability to control their lives . . ." (p. 685). Although the studies cited were performed with black subjects, we expect to find the same relationship among whites.

HYPOTHESIS IX. Fatalism will be negatively related to occupational and educational aspirations, GPA, and SES, and fatalism will be higher among blacks than among whites.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on a portion of the data gathered for a larger study of North Mississippi schools sponsored by the National Science Foundation with Dr. L. W. DeBord as Principal Investigator.

Sample

Our sample consists of 638 white and 101 black male high school students in grades nine through twelve in a North Mississippi county. Of those students reporting father's occupation, 65 percent (n=342) of the whites and 86 percent (n=44) of the blacks were from low socioeconomic backgrounds. In our sample 67 percent (n=68) of the black students and 38 percent (n=240) of the white students were from the urban area within the county, while 33 percent (n=33) of the black students and 62 percent (n=398) of the white students were from rural areas within the county.

Demographic Description of the County

The county in which this study was performed has a population of 27,179 (1970 Census data). The only urban area within

the county has a population of 11,572. The remaining 15,607 residents live in rural areas within the county. Table 3-1 gives the distribution of the population by race and urban, rural non-farm, and rural farm residence; 19 percent (n=2142) of the urban residents and 6 percent (n=949) of the rural residents are black. Almost two thirds of the blacks in the county live in the urban area.

TABLE 3-1
POPULATION BY RESIDENCE AND RACE*

Residence	White		Black		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Urban	9,287	80	2,142	19	143	1	11,572	100
Rural non-farm	10,230	93	791	7	5	-	11,026	100
Rural farm	4,423	97	158	3	0	-	4,581	100
Total	23,940	88	3,091	11	148	1	27,179	100

*Based on 1970 Census data.

As seen in Table 3-2, the incomes of whites are higher than those of blacks, and the incomes of urban residents are higher than those of rural residents. Also, as seen in Table 3-3, educational attainment is higher for whites than for blacks and higher for urban residents than for rural residents.

TABLE 3-2
FAMILY INCOME BY RACE AND RESIDENCE*

Family Income	Residence							
	Urban				Rural			
	Race				Race			
	White		Black		White		Black	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Under \$1,000	63	2	48	10	243	6	16	8
\$1,000- \$3,999	501	18	197	40	986	24	107	51
\$4,000- \$9,999	1,276	47	208	43	2,035	50	72	35
\$10,000- \$14,999	596	22	30	6	594	15	13	6
\$15,000- \$24,999	218	8	5	1	198	5	0	-
\$25,000 and over	77	3	0	-	12	-	0	-

*Based on 1970 Census data.

TABLE 3-3

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
AND OLDER BY RACE AND RESIDENCE*

Educational Attainment	Residence							
	Urban				Rural			
	Race				Race			
	White		Black		White		Black	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Did not attend	50	1	74	7	151	2	17	4
Less than 9th grade	1,726	30	545	55	3,937	48	330	75
Some high school	1,150	20	243	24	1,481	18	64	15
Graduated from high school	1,634	29	76	8	2,000	25	24	5
Some college	514	9	27	3	428	5	5	1
Graduated from college	653	11	33	3	161	2	0	-

*Based on 1970 Census data.

The Data

Information was gathered from the students through the use of a questionnaire (see Appendix A). Questionnaires were administered to the students in the three public county schools and the one public city school during the spring of 1972 by research personnel from the University of Mississippi. All students who attended school on the day of the administration of the questionnaire filled one out. Extra questionnaires were left for those students who were absent that day, but only seven were returned. The questionnaire was filled out during the first period of the school day and took approximately one hour to complete. The students' teacher supervised the administration, and research assistants were in the halls to answer any questions that might arise. Table 3-4 shows the distribution of students in the four schools and the number of students who failed to complete a questionnaire.

Operational Definitions

Occupational aspiration is defined as the student's answer to the question, "What kind of work do you expect to be doing for most of your life?" This definition of occupational aspiration is similar to the definition of occupational expectation used by previous researchers. We never asked the student what he would like to do. Many students failed to answer this

TABLE 3-4
STUDENTS ANSWERING QUESTIONNAIRE BY SCHOOL AND RACE

School	Students Answering Questionnaire		Students Not Answering Questionnaire	
	No.	%	No.	%
City school	308	89	34	11*
County school 1	139	93	10	7
County school 2	171	97	6	3
County school 3	121	95	7	5

*The percentage of male students not answering is an estimate because the information was not available. The estimate is based on the total enrollment for grades nine through twelve (n=642). Of this number, 308 males and 266 females answered the questionnaire. This leaves 68 students absent on the day the questionnaire was administered. If we divide the absentees evenly between males and females, we arrive at the above figure.

question. The majority of those who failed to answer were from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Of the 193 whites who did not answer, 93 were from low socioeconomic backgrounds, 53 were from middle socioeconomic backgrounds, and 50 answered neither this question nor the one concerning their father's occupation. We suspect the majority of these students were also from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Of the 47 blacks who did not state their occupational aspiration, 17 were from low socioeconomic backgrounds, 2 were from middle socioeconomic backgrounds, and 28 answered neither question. We also suspect the majority of these 28 students were from low socioeconomic backgrounds.

The answer of each student was assigned a Duncan score. These were trichotomized as low, middle, and high.²⁸ The student was assigned to the low aspiring group if the occupation he listed had a Duncan score of below 50. This group includes a range of occupations from fabric mill worker with a Duncan score of one to telephone lineman with a Duncan score of 49. A student was assigned to the middle aspiring group if the occupation he listed had a Duncan score of between 50 and 79. This group includes a range of occupations from photographers with a Duncan score of 50 to optometrists with a Duncan score of 79. A student was assigned to the high aspiring group if the

²⁸The complete Duncan Code can be found in Appendix B, Table 3-1 of Occupations and Social Status by Albert J. Reiss, Jr. et al. (1961).

occupation he listed had a Duncan score of 80 or above. This group includes a range of occupations from natural scientists with a Duncan score of 80 to dentists with a Duncan score of 96.

Educational aspiration is defined as the student's answer to the following question: "Which of the following statements applies most to your future plans?"

I do not plan to graduate from high school.

I plan no education after high school.

I plan to go to technical or vocational school.

I plan to enter a junior college after high school and then go to work.

I plan to enter a junior college after high school and then later enter a four-year college or university.

I plan to enter a four-year college or university after high school.

I am undecided."

Each response was assigned a number from one to six in order to compute mean scores with one assigned to the response "I do not plan to graduate from high school" and six assigned to the response "I plan to enter a four-year college or university after high school." The majority of the students who failed to answer this question or who were undecided were from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Of the 200 whites who did not answer or who were undecided, 120 were from low socioeconomic backgrounds, 36 were from middle socioeconomic backgrounds, and 44 failed to

answer this question and the question on father's occupation also. Of the 40 blacks who did not answer this question, 16 were from low socioeconomic backgrounds, one was from a middle socioeconomic background, and 23 failed to answer this question and the question concerning their father's occupation.

Size of community of orientation is defined as urban or rural residence. All students who attended the city school were classified as urban, and all students who attended one of the three county schools were classified as rural.

Socioeconomic status is defined as the student's relative position in the status order of his community as determined by his father's occupation. Father's occupation was determined by the students' reply to the following question: "What is the exact job(s) your father does?" From the response of the student, father's occupation was assigned a Duncan score. Students were then divided into two socioeconomic groups--low and middle. A student was assigned to the middle group if the Duncan score for his father's occupation was 50 or above, and a student was assigned to the low group if the Duncan score for his father's occupation was below 50. A high group was eliminated because too few students fell into this category. Students who would have been assigned to the high group (whose father's occupation had a Duncan score of 80 or above) were placed into the middle group. Not all students reported an occupation for their father. Only 10 blacks reported their father as deceased, yet 50 blacks

did not report an occupation for their father. Only 36 whites reported their fathers as deceased, yet 114 whites did not report an occupation for their father. We suspect that these fathers hold low status jobs, are unemployed, or only work casually.

Work status of mother is defined in two ways. First, mothers were divided into two groups--those who worked and those who did not work. This division was based on the student's response to the following question: "Does your mother work?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A. Mothers were then divided into three groups--not employed, low status employment, white collar employment. This division was based on the previous question and the following question: "If your mother works, outside the home, what is the exact job(s) she does?" The occupation of each mother who worked was then assigned a Duncan score. Those mothers who did not work were classified as not employed. Those mothers whose occupations had Duncan scores of below 50 were classified in the low status occupation group, and those mothers whose occupations had a Duncan score of 50 or above were classified in the white collar group.

Parental education is defined as the educational attainment of the parents as reported by the student in the following question. This question was asked separately for mother and father. "How far did your father (or the male person who raised you) go in school?" and "How far did your mother (or the female

person who raised you) go in school?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A. Again some students failed to answer this question: 17 whites and 13 blacks did not answer the question concerning father's education, and 20 whites and 7 blacks failed to answer the question concerning mother's education.

Family size is defined as the number of siblings reported in the student's family besides himself. The actual number was coded for family size through eight or more siblings.

An intact home is defined as a home where both parents are living together. A home that is classified as not intact is defined as a home where both parents are living but not living together because of separation or divorce. Homes broken by death are not included.

Religion is defined as the self-reported religion of the student's family. Students were asked, "What is your family's religion?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A.

Importance of religion is defined by the student's answer to the following question: "How important would you say religion is in your family?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A.

Parental encouragement is measured in two ways--occupational encouragement and educational encouragement. Parental occupational encouragement was measured by the student's response to the following question: "Who would you say has influenced

you most in making your occupational choice?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A. Educational encouragement was measured by the student's reply to the following question that was asked separately for mother and father. "Which one of the following statements applies most to your future plans?"

___ My father [mother] has expressed a strong desire for me to go to college.

___ My father [mother] has mentioned college to me, but he [she] has not expressed a strong desire for me to go.

___ My father [mother] has expressed no desire one way or the other.

___ My father [mother] has expressed a strong desire for me not to attend college.

Again, not all of the students answered these questions; 31 whites and 20 blacks did not answer concerning paternal educational encouragement, and 24 whites and 11 blacks did not answer concerning maternal educational encouragement.

Peer influence is defined as the similarities in the plans of the student and his reported best friend. The basis for this measure was derived from the following question: "If your best friend is in school, what are your friend's educational plans?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A. A large percentage of the students did not answer this question or did not know their best friend's plans: 270 whites and 40 blacks failed to give the plans of their best friend.

Extracurricular activities are defined as those school activities that are not a part of the regular academic program of the school. Students were classified according to the actual number of activities that they reported when asked the following question: "List all of the school groups, clubs, teams, or organizations you belong to now."

Race is defined by the student's answer to the following question: "What is your race? ___Black, ___White, ___Other." No students answered "other."

Grade in school is defined as the grade classification of the student in the school system as reported by the student.

Grade point average (GPA) is defined as the student's self-reported overall grade average for last term. The students were asked the following question: "What was your approximate overall grade average for last term?" Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A. Grades were then placed into four categories: C- or below, C to B-, B to A-, and A to A-. Only five white and six black students did not report their GPA.

Fatalism is defined as the student's feeling of a lack of control over his environment as reflected by positive answers to the following statements:

"When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already in the cards."

"Planning only makes a person unhappy since plans hardly ever work out."

"Lots of people cannot get what they want in life, even if they try very hard."

Response alternatives may be found in Appendix A. Students were classified into four groups: those who disagreed with all of the statements, those who agreed with one of the statements, those who agreed with two of the statements, and those who agreed with all of the statements.

Analysis

In order to examine the nature of relations among the variables included, percentage distributions are presented. Due to the ordinal nature of most of our data, only one measure of correlation will be used--Gamma. Gamma may be used on ordinal data. Gamma is defined as "the difference between the conditional probabilities of like and unlike order, given no ties" (Goodman and Kruskal 1954, p. 753). Tests of significance will not be presented due to the doubtful validity of significance tests (Labovitz 1972).

All analyses presented in the following chapter were performed through the use of the Osisris 01 program at the University of Mississippi Computer Center.

This researcher recognizes that more controls in the analysis of data in the following chapter would yield a clearer picture of the ways in which the variables studied influence aspirations, but this was impossible due to the small number of

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Demographic Variables

HYPOTHESIS I: There will be a positive relationship between size of community of orientation and the occupational aspirations of white males only, and there will be a positive relationship between size of community of orientation and the educational aspirations of both black and white males.

As seen in Tables 4-1 and 4-2, our data support this hypothesis. About the same percentage of urban and rural blacks aspired to low level occupations, while a slightly larger percentage of urban blacks than rural blacks aspired to high level occupations. But if we look at whites, we see that 70 percent (192) of the rural whites aspired to low level occupations as compared to 33 percent (57) of the urban whites. Only 19 percent (53) of the rural whites as compared to 44 percent (76) of the urban whites aspired to middle level occupations. When examining community of orientation and occupational aspirations, $\text{Gamma}=.55$ ($n=445$) for whites and $\text{Gamma}=.08$ ($n=54$) for blacks.

When examining community of orientation and educational aspirations, $\text{Gamma}=.53$ ($n=438$) for whites and $\text{Gamma}=.41$ ($n=61$)

for blacks. When comparing the educational aspirations of rural and urban blacks, we see that 41 percent (9) of the rural and 67 percent (26) of the urban blacks plan on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year college or university. When comparing rural and urban whites, 50 percent (119) of the rural and 80 percent (158) of the urban whites planned on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year college or university.

TABLE 4-1
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY COMMUNITY SIZE AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race							
	Black				White			
	Community Size				Community Size			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Low	11	58	20	57	192	70	57	33
Middle	7	37	10	29	53	19	76	44
High	1	5	5	14	29	11	38	22

We thus see that size of community of orientation is related to the occupational and educational aspirations of whites but is related only to the educational aspirations of blacks.

TABLE 4-2
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY COMMUNITY SIZE AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race							
	Black				White			
	Community Size				Community Size			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	1	5	2	5	5	2	3	2
No education after high school	3	14	2	5	39	16	3	2
Technical or vocational training	3	14	3	8	38	16	12	6
Junior college only	6	27	6	15	39	16	22	11
Junior college then four year college	4	18	5	13	92	39	97	49
Four year college	5	23	21	54	27	11	61	31

Parental and Family Variables

HYPOTHESIS II: There will be a positive relationship between educational and occupational aspirations of black and white male high school students and all measures of socioeconomic status and variables associated with socioeconomic status.

When examining socioeconomic background (as measured by father's occupation) and occupational aspirations, Gamma=.61 (n=378) for whites, and Gamma=.23 (n=32) for blacks. As seen in Table 4-3, our data support our hypothesis for whites but not for blacks. It is possible that our findings for blacks were influenced by the small number of blacks of middle socioeconomic status in our sample.

TABLE 4-3

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Socioeconomic Status							
	Middle				Low			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Low	2	-	36	28	17	63	172	69
Middle	3	-	60	47	6	22	51	21
High	0	-	33	26	4	15	26	10

When examining socioeconomic background (as measured by father's occupation) and educational aspiration, Gamma=.44 (n=368) for whites, and Gamma=.00 (n=34) for blacks. As seen in Table 4-4, our data support our hypothesis for whites but not for blacks. Again, this may have been influenced by the small number of blacks of middle socioeconomic status in our sample.

TABLE 4-4
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Socioeconomic Status							
	Middle				Low			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Do not plan to graduate	0	-	0	-	1	4	6	3
No education after high school	0	-	6	3	1	4	28	13
Technical or vocational training	1	-	12	8	2	7	28	13
Junior college only	1	-	11	8	5	18	39	18
Junior college then four year college	1	-	77	53	5	17	88	40
Four year college	3	-	42	29	14	50	33	15

We therefore see that socioeconomic status (as measured by father's occupation) is related to the occupational and educational aspirations of whites but not to those of blacks in our sample.

When examining nonemployment of mother and occupational aspirations of son, $\Gamma = -.01$ ($n=415$) for whites, and $\Gamma = -.08$ ($n=41$) for blacks (Table 4-5).

TABLE 4-5
OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY WORK STATUS OF MOTHER AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Work Status of Mother							
	Not Employed				Employed			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	11	65	110	56	14	58	120	55
Middle	4	24	57	29	8	33	62	29
High	2	12	31	16	2	8	35	16

As seen in Table 4-6, nonemployment of mother is only slightly related to son's educational aspirations for whites, $\Gamma = .15$ ($n=410$), and nonemployment of mother is negatively

related to son's educational aspirations for blacks, $\Gamma = -.44$ ($n=45$). Only 37 percent of the black students whose mothers are not employed plan on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university as compared to 69 percent of the black students whose mothers are employed.

TABLE 4-6

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY WORK STATUS OF MOTHER AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Work Status of Mother							
	Not Employed				Employed			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Do not plan to graduate	2	11	2	1	0	-	5	2
No education after high school	3	16	22	11	0	-	17	8
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	7	37	44	23	8	31	61	28
Four years of college	7	37	126	65	18	69	133	62

When examining the status level of mother's occupation and sons's educational aspirations (Table 4-7), $\Gamma = .54$ ($n=216$)

for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.20$ ($n=26$) for blacks. The status of mother's occupation appears to be related to the educational plans of white males more than to those of black males. When looking at whites, 55 percent ($n=90$) of the males whose mothers are employed in low status occupations plan on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university as compared to 84 percent ($n=43$) of the white males whose mothers are employed in white collar occupations. The difference is not so great for blacks because 68 percent ($n=15$) of the males whose mothers are employed in low status occupations as compared to 75 percent ($n=3$) of the males whose mothers are employed in white collar positions plan on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university.

If we compare Tables 4-6 and 4-7, we notice that a larger percentage of white students whose mothers are employed in white collar occupations plan on four years of college at a junior college and/or a university than white students whose mothers are not employed (84 percent vs 65 percent). The same is true for blacks (75 percent vs 37 percent).

As seen in Table 4-8, when examining the educational aspirations of low socioeconomic students (as measured by father's occupation) and the work status of their mothers, there were no low socioeconomic status black mothers in white collar positions. Again we see that the son of an employed black mother has higher educational aspirations than the son of an unemployed

TABLE 4-7

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY WHITE COLLAR VERSUS LOW
STATUS OCCUPATION OF MOTHER AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Mother's Occupation							
	Low Status				White Collar			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	0	-	4	2	0	-	1	2
No education after high school	0	-	16	10	0	-	1	2
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	7	32	55	33	1	25	6	12
Four years of college	15	68	90	55	3	75	43	84

TABLE 4-8

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF LOW SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS STUDENTS

Educational Aspiration	Employment Status of Mother											
	White Collar				Low Status Occupation				Not Employed			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	0	-	1	5	0	-	4	4	1	9	1	1
No education after high school	0	-	0	-	0	-	12	12	1	9	13	16
Technical or voca- tional training or junior col- lege only	0	-	3	15	4	27	34	33	3	27	27	33
Four years of college	0	-	16	80	11	73	54	52	6	55	41	50

black mother; 73 percent (n=11) of the low socioeconomic status black students whose mothers are employed in low status occupations aspire to four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university as compared to 55 percent (n=6) of the black students of similar status whose mothers are not employed.

Only 26 low socioeconomic white mothers are employed in white collar positions. Of this number, 20 sons stated their educational plans, and 80 percent (n=16) planned on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university. (If we assumed that the 6 students who did not state their plans did not plan on college, the figure would change to 62 percent). If we go back to Table 4-4, we see that 82 percent (n=119) of the middle socioeconomic status white students plan on four years of college. Not included in this computation were 37 white students who did not report educational plans. If we make the same assumption for this group, this percentage would be lower also. We see that mother's occupation is related to the educational aspirations of low socioeconomic status males. Comparing other white students of low socioeconomic status, 50 percent (n=46) of those whose mothers were not employed and 52 percent (n=54) of those whose mothers were employed in low status occupations aspired to four years of college.

When examining student occupational aspiration and paternal education, $\text{Gamma}=.33$ (n=440) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.32$ (n=49) for blacks. But when examining student occupational

aspiration and maternal education, $\text{Gamma}=.37$ ($n=438$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.15$ ($n=53$) for blacks. Thus we see (Table 4-9 and Table 4-10) that occupational aspirations of whites are related to both maternal and paternal education, but for blacks they are related to paternal education but only slightly related to maternal education.

When examining educational aspirations and paternal education, $\text{Gamma}=.37$ ($n=433$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.41$ ($n=52$) for blacks. When examining educational aspirations and maternal education, $\text{Gamma}=.32$ ($n=431$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.38$ ($n=58$) for blacks (Tables 4-11 and 4-12). All blacks, with the exception of one who plans vocational or technical training, plan on at least a junior college education if their mother or their father graduated from high school. This is not true for whites. A possible explanation would be that a high school education confers more status for a black than for a white.

When examining family size and occupational aspiration, $\text{Gamma}=-.11$ ($n=442$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=-.42$ ($n=53$) for blacks. When examining family size and educational aspiration, $\text{Gamma}=-.11$ ($n=435$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=-.32$ ($n=59$) for blacks. A large family appears to hinder the black student more than the white student.

When examining occupational aspirations and intactness of the home (Table 4-13), we see that intactness of the home is related to the occupational aspirations of blacks but not those

TABLE 4-9

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY PATERNAL EDUCATION AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race	Paternal Education											
		Less Than Ninth Grade		Some High School		Graduated from High School		Trade or Vocational School		Some College		Graduated from College	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	Black	9	64	15	71	3	38	0	-	0	-	1	25
	White	88	69	53	68	54	54	10	48	16	31	23	37
Middle	Black	2	14	5	24	5	63	1	100	1	100	2	50
	White	27	21	16	21	36	36	8	38	20	39	22	25
High	Black	3	21	1	5	0	-	0	-	0	-	1	25
	White	13	10	9	12	9	9	3	14	15	29	18	29

TABLE 4-10

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MATERNAL EDUCATION AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race	Maternal Education											
		Less Than Ninth Grade		Some High School		Graduated from High School		Trade or Vocational School		Some College		Graduated from College	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	Black	6	50	16	70	8	57	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	56	77	75	63	91	52	2	33	12	38	8	25
Middle	Black	4	33	5	22	5	36	1	100	1	100	1	50
	White	11	15	32	27	58	33	3	50	12	38	12	38
High	Black	2	17	2	9	1	7	0	-	0	-	1	50
	White	6	8	12	10	27	15	1	17	8	25	12	38

TABLE 4-11

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY PATERNAL EDUCATION AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race	Paternal Education											
		Less Than Ninth Grade		Some High School		Graduated from High School		Trade or Vocational School		Some College		Graduated from College	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	Black	3	16	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	2	0	-
No education after high school	Black	3	16	1	6	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	24	24	11	16	4	4	0	-	1	2	2	3
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	Black	2	11	9	56	2	25	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	24	24	31	44	33	33	3	14	8	14	11	14
Four years of college	Black	11	58	6	38	6	75	1	100	2	100	5	100
	White	51	50	28	39	63	62	18	82	49	83	65	83

TABLE 4-12

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY MATERNAL EDUCATION AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race	Maternal Education											
		Less Than Ninth Grade		Some High School		Graduated from High School		Trade or Vocational School		Some College		Graduated from College	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	Black	3	23	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	0	-	3	3	4	2	0	-	0	-	0	-
No education after high school	Black	2	15	3	12	0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	16	28	14	12	9	5	0	-	1	2	2	5
Technical or vocational training or junior college only	Black	2	15	11	44	5	33	0	-	0	-	0	-
	White	16	28	39	34	42	24	1	25	9	20	2	5
Four years of college	Black	6	46	11	44	10	67	1	100	2	100	2	100
	White	25	44	59	51	108	68	3	75	34	77	34	89

of whites. Of the black male students whose parents are divorced or separated, 71 percent (n=5) aspire to low status occupations, and none aspires to high status occupations. Of the black male students whose parents are living together, 54 percent (n=19) aspire to low status occupations, and 11 percent (n=4) aspire to high status occupations.

TABLE 4-13

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY INTACTNESS OF HOME AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Intactness of Home							
	Divorced/Separated				Living Together			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	5	71	19	54	19	54	210	56
Middle	2	29	8	23	12	34	109	29
High	0	-	8	23	4	11	56	15

As seen in Table 4-14, there is no significant relationship between intactness of home and the educational aspirations of white male students. This is not true of the black males in this sample. When looking at blacks, 46 percent (n=6) of the

TABLE 4-14
EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY INTACTNESS OF HOME AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Intactness of Home							
	Divorced/Separated				Living Together			
	Race				Race			
	Black		White		Black		White	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	1	8	0	-	1	3	7	2
No education after high school	1	8	4	12	1	3	34	9
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	5	39	7	21	9	28	93	25
Four years of college	6	46	22	67	21	66	237	64

blacks whose parents are divorced or separated and 66 percent (n=21) of the blacks whose parents are living together aspire to four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university. As for whites, 67 percent (n=22) of those whose parents are divorced or separated and 64 percent (n=237) of those whose parents are living together aspire to four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year university.²⁹

HYPOTHESIS III: Parental influence on occupational choice will be positively related to occupational aspirations, and parental educational encouragement will be positively related to educational aspirations.

As seen in Table 4-15, our data do not support the first part of our hypothesis concerning parental occupational encouragement. Although the percentage of students reporting father as the most influential in occupational choice is higher than the percentage of students reporting one of the other seven alternatives in each occupational aspiration group (except for high aspiring blacks), there are interesting variations. For whites, the percentage of students reporting father as most influential

²⁹We stated earlier in footnote 9 that we did not expect to find a relationship between religion and occupational and educational aspirations. We were unable to test for a relationship because almost all of the students in our sample are Protestant. Our data did demonstrate that the reported importance of religion in the life of the student was not significantly related to occupational or educational aspirations.

TABLE 4-15

MOST INFLUENTIAL IN OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE BY OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race	Most Influential in Occupational Choice											
		Father		Mother		Brother, Sister, Other Relative, Family Friend		Teacher or Counselor		School Friend		Other	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	Black	7	30	7	29	7	29	0	-	0	-	3	13
	White	72	44	21	13	45	28	18	11	1	1	7	4
Middle	Black	5	31	4	25	5	31	2	13	0	-	0	-
	White	28	33	6	7	20	23	7	8	8	9	17	20
High	Black	0	-	1	20	3	60	1	20	0	-	0	-
	White	13	28	6	13	8	17	10	22	2	4	7	15

decreases with increased aspiration, while the percentage reporting mother as most influential only slightly varies. For whites, those reporting counselor as most influential varies but increases with increased aspirations. For blacks, the percentage reporting father as most influential is approximately the same for low and middle aspirers, but no black high aspirers list father as most influential. The percentage of black students reporting mother as most influential decreases with increased aspiration, and the percentage of black students reporting a teacher or counselor as most influential increases with increased aspiration.

We hypothesized that parental educational encouragement would be positively related to the educational aspirations of black and white male students. Our data support this hypothesis (Tables 4-16 and 4-17). When examining paternal educational encouragement and student educational aspiration, $\text{Gamma}=.52$ ($n=420$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.49$ ($n=50$) for blacks. When examining maternal educational encouragement and student educational aspiration, $\text{Gamma}=.60$ ($n=426$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.80$ ($n=56$) for blacks. Only six white fathers, one black father, seven white mothers, and two black mothers expressed a strong desire for their sons not to go to college. These figures are based on all students including those who did not state an educational aspiration. The majority of the parents expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college. This is based on son's report.

TABLE 4-16

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race	Educational Encouragement											
		None*				Mentioned College but No Strong Desire Expressed Either Way				Expressed Strong Desire to Go to College			
		Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	Black	2	20	1	20	0	-	0	-	1	4	1	2
	White	5	8	6	13	0	-	0	-	1	1	1	1
No education after high school	Black	2	20	1	20	2	17	1	20	0	-	1	2
	White	20	31	16	36	14	15	17	19	5	2	9	3
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	Black	2	20	3	60	5	42	3	60	5	18	11	24
	White	24	38	17	38	29	31	33	37	51	19	54	19
Four years of college	Black	4	40	0	-	5	42	1	20	22	79	33	72
	White	15	23	6	13	50	54	39	44	206	78	228	78

*Either parent expressed desire for son not to attend college or parent did not express a desire either way.

We hypothesized also that parental educational encouragement would be positively related to socioeconomic status (as measured by father's occupation). Our data support this hypothesis (Table 4-17). When examining socioeconomic status and paternal educational encouragement, $\text{Gamma}=.54$ ($n=513$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.23$ ($n=45$) for blacks. When examining socioeconomic status and maternal educational encouragement, $\text{Gamma}=.47$ ($n=512$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.40$ ($n=48$) for blacks. Parental educational encouragement appears to be related to socioeconomic status more for whites than for blacks, especially when considering black paternal educational encouragement.

We also hypothesized that maternal educational encouragement would be greater than paternal educational encouragement and that this difference would be pronounced among black male students and in the lower socioeconomic groups. Our data partially support this hypothesis (Table 4-17). Among whites, the difference between maternal and paternal educational encouragement is only slight; 51 percent ($n=168$) of the white mothers of low socioeconomic status as compared to 43 percent ($n=141$) of the white fathers of low socioeconomic status expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college. When examining the middle socioeconomic group, 75 percent ($n=134$) of the mothers as opposed to 72 percent ($n=131$) of the fathers expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college. But when comparing black students, we see that the difference between

TABLE 4-17

PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND RACE

Parental Educational Encouragement	Parent	Socioeconomic Status							
		Low				Middle			
		Race				Race			
		Black		White		Black		White	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Desire expressed for son not to go to college	Father	0	-	5	2	0	-	0	-
	Mother	0	-	6	2	0	-	0	-
Did not express desire either way	Father	8	21	86	26	0	-	13	7
	Mother	4	10	62	19	0	-	13	7
Mentioned college but strong desire not expressed	Father	10	26	100	30	3	43	37	20
	Mother	7	17	97	29	1	14	32	18
Expressed strong desire for son to go to college	Father	20	53	141	43	4	57	131	72
	Mother	30	73	168	51	6	86	134	75

maternal and paternal educational encouragement is great. When examining black parents of low socioeconomic status, we see that 73 percent (n=30) of the mothers as compared to 53 percent (n=20) of the fathers expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college. When comparing blacks of middle socioeconomic status, we see that 86 percent (n=6) of the mothers as opposed to 57 percent (n=4) of the fathers expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college. For blacks, this phenomenon is no more pronounced in the low socioeconomic group than it is in the middle socioeconomic group. For whites, it is slightly more pronounced in the low socioeconomic group.

If we look at mean educational encouragement using the following scale:

- 1 = expressed desire for son not to go to college
- 2 = did not express a desire either way
- 3 = mentioned college but did not express a strong desire
- 4 = expressed strong desire for son to go to college,

we see that for whites, the mean maternal educational encouragement score is 3.386 and the mean paternal educational encouragement score is 3.288. For blacks, the mean maternal educational encouragement score is 3.578, and the mean paternal educational encouragement score is 3.259. Black mothers have the highest mean score.

We also hypothesized that in the low socioeconomic group, maternal educational encouragement would be greater for blacks

than for whites. Looking at Table 4-17, we see that our data support this hypothesis not only for the low socioeconomic group but for the middle socioeconomic group also. In the low socioeconomic group, 73 percent (n=30) of the black mothers as opposed to 51 percent (n=168) of the white mothers expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college. In the middle socioeconomic group, 86 percent (n=6) of the black mothers as opposed to 75 percent (n=134) of the white mothers expressed a strong desire for their sons to go to college.

Even though we see that the black mother provides the most educational encouragement, this does not mean that it is the most effective encouragement. If we look at Table 4-16, we see that 72 percent of the black students whose mothers expressed a strong desire for them to go to college planned four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year college or university. This is lower than the 79 percent of the black students whose fathers expressed a strong desire for them to go to college and who planned on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year college or university, the 78 percent of the white students whose mothers expressed a strong desire for them to attend college, and the 78 percent of the white students whose fathers expressed a strong desire for them to attend college.

Peer Variables

HYPOTHESIS IV: There will be a positive relationship between the educational and occupational aspirations of white and black male high school students and the educational plans of their best friend.

As seen in Table 4-18, our data support this hypothesis for occupational aspirations and best friend's educational plans, although the relationship is greater for whites. When examining occupational aspirations and best friend's educational plans, $\text{Gamma}=.38$ ($n=33$) for blacks, and $\text{Gamma}=.59$ ($n=273$) for whites. It is in the middle group that we find the largest percentage of friends who plan to attend college for both blacks and whites. If we look at the low aspiring blacks, a larger percentage (79 percent) have a best friend who plans to go to college. This is much higher than for white low aspirers (51 percent).

When examining student educational aspiration and best friend's educational plans (Table 4-19), $\text{Gamma}=.54$ ($n=286$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.63$ ($n=42$) for blacks. The two areas of greatest agreement are when no education is planned after high school and when four years of college are planned. When looking at both blacks and whites, at least 80 percent of those students who plan on four years of college have best friends who also plan on college. When looking at those students who plan no education after high school, 80 percent ($n=4$) of the blacks and 71 percent

TABLE 4-18

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY BEST FRIEND'S EDUCATIONAL PLANS AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race	Best Friend's Educational Plans							
		Does Not Plan to Finish High School		Plans to Get a Job After High School		Trade or Voca- tional School		College	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	Black	0	-	3	16	1	5	15	79
	White	7	5	36	27	23	17	69	51
Middle	Black	0	-	0	-	0	-	10	100
	White	1	1	5	5	4	4	83	89
High	Black	0	-	0	-	1	25	3	75
	White	0	-	2	4	7	16	36	80

TABLE 4-19

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY BEST FRIEND'S EDUCATIONAL PLANS AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race	Best Friend's Educational Plans							
		Does Not Plan to Finish High School		Plans to Get a Job After High School		Trade or Vocational School		College	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	Black	0	-	2	67	0	-	1	33
	White	2	40	2	40	0	-	1	20
No education after high school	Black	0	-	4	80	0	-	1	20
	White	0	-	15	71	4	19	2	10
Technical or Vocational training or junior college only	Black	2	17	0	-	0	-	10	83
	White	3	5	8	13	14	23	37	60
Four years of college	Black	0	-	0	-	2	9	20	91
	White	3	1	11	6	13	7	171	86

(n=15) of the whites have best friends with similar plans. The agreement between student and best friend concerning educational plans is greater for blacks than for whites in these two areas.

HYPOTHESIS V: There will be a positive relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and the occupational and educational aspirations of white and black male high school students.

When examining occupational aspirations and participation in extracurricular activities, Gamma=.24 (n=171) for urban whites, Gamma=.47 (n=274) for rural whites, Gamma=.59 (n=35) for urban blacks, and Gamma=.19 (n=19) for rural blacks.

When examining participation in extracurricular activities and educational aspirations, Gamma=.34 (n=198) for urban whites, Gamma=.46 (n=240) for rural whites, Gamma=.24 (n=39) for urban blacks, and Gamma=.23 (n=22) for rural blacks. Participation in extracurricular activities appears to be related to both occupational aspirations and educational aspirations.

Individual Variables

HYPOTHESIS VI: Occupational and educational aspirations will be higher among blacks than among whites, and this difference will be greater in the comparison of low socioeconomic levels.

Our data indicate that white male occupational aspirations

are slightly though not significantly higher than black male occupational aspirations. This is not consistent with our hypothesis. The mean Duncan score for white male students was 41.01 as compared to 39.06 for black male students. However, when blacks and whites from low socioeconomic backgrounds are compared (Table 4-3), the blacks' occupational aspirations are slightly higher than those of whites.

The mean educational aspiration for all students regardless of socioeconomic status is 4.47 for whites and 4.59 for blacks. We see that black educational aspirations are slightly but not significantly higher than those of whites. On the average, most students aspired to at least two years of junior college. This is not unusual because of the closeness of a junior college to their home. Included in the computation of these mean scores are students who were not assigned a socioeconomic status because of their failure to report an occupation for their fathers. If we take the mean educational aspirations for only those students who were assigned a socioeconomic status, the mean for whites becomes 4.524 and for blacks 4.941.

If we look at Table 4-4, we see that the educational aspirations for black males from low socioeconomic backgrounds are higher than those of whites from similar backgrounds. The mean scores are 4.234 for whites and 4.929 for blacks. We hesitate to interpret the significance of this difference, for again students with low educational aspirations who did not

report father's occupation are not included. This phenomenon appears to be more prevalent among blacks.

The mean educational aspiration for students from middle socioeconomic backgrounds is 4.97 for whites and 5.00 for blacks. We thus see that black educational aspirations are slightly but not significantly higher.

HYPOTHESIS VII. The occupational aspirations of students in general will decrease from grades nine through twelve.

When examining occupational aspirations and grade in school, $\text{Gamma}=.18$ ($n=443$) for white males, and $\text{Gamma}=.21$ ($n=54$) for black males. This is not consistent with our hypothesis. Looking at Table 4-20, we see that the percentage of students aspiring to low status occupations decreases from grades nine through twelve, especially among black males. We also see that the percentage of students aspiring to middle status occupations increases from grades nine through twelve, especially among black males. When looking at high status occupational aspirations, we see that among white males, the percentage increases, but among black males the percentage decreases in grade ten, takes a sharp increase in grade eleven, and drops considerably in grade twelve. In grade twelve, more black students start looking toward middle status occupations. This result may be due to the small number of blacks in our twelfth grade sample.

TABLE 4-20

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY GRADE AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race															
	Black				White											
	Grade				Grade											
	9		10		11		12		9		10		11		12	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Low	7	64	13	62	8	57	3	38	84	63	65	64	54	49	46	48
Middle	3	27	7	33	3	21	4	50	34	24	24	24	37	33	32	33
High	1	9	1	5	3	21	1	13	16	12	13	13	20	18	18	19

HYPOTHESIS VIII: There will be a positive relationship between school grades and the occupational and educational aspirations of white and black male high school students.

When examining GPA and occupational aspiration, $\text{Gamma}=.35$ ($n=437$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.48$ ($n=53$) for blacks (Table 4-21). For both blacks and whites, the percentage of students aspiring to low status occupations decreases with increased GPA, and the percentage of students aspiring to middle and high status occupations increases with increased GPA. The two groups differ in that no black with a GPA of D or below aspired to a high status occupation, while 5 percent ($n=4$) of the whites with a GPA of D or below aspired to high status occupations.

When examining educational aspiration and GPA, $\text{Gamma}=.41$ ($n=438$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=.30$ ($n=58$) for blacks. Those planning to attend four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year college increases with increased GPA in both groups (Table 4-22).

HYPOTHESIS IX: Fatalism will be negatively related to occupational and educational aspirations, GPA, and SES, and fatalism will be higher among blacks than among whites.

When examining fatalism and occupational aspiration, $\text{Gamma}=-.29$ ($n=444$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma}=-.36$ ($n=52$) for blacks. Looking at Table 4-23, we see that 89 percent ($n=8$) of the

TABLE 4-21

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY GPA AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race															
	Black								White							
	GPA															
	D or Below		C		B		A		D or Below		C		B		A	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Low	14	82	14	50	3	38	0	-	59	78	132	57	51	44	4	22
Middle	3	18	10	36	3	38	0	-	13	17	67	29	40	35	9	50
High	0	-	4	14	2	25	0	-	4	5	34	15	24	21	5	28

TABLE 4-22

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY GPA AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race															
	Black						White									
					GPA											
	D or Below		C		B		A		D or Below		C		B		A	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Do not plan to graduate	1	5	2	6	0	-	0	-	6	9	2	11	0	-	0	-
No education after high school	4	21	1	3	0	-	0	-	15	23	19	18	6	5	2	11
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	8	42	8	25	1	11	1	100	26	40	66	28	18	15	1	5
Four years of college	6	32	21	66	8	89	0	-	18	28	149	63	94	80	16	84

TABLE 4-23

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION BY FATALISM AND RACE

Occupational Aspiration	Race	Number of Fatalistic Responses							
		None		One		Two		Three	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Low	Black	5	42	10	53	6	50	8	89
	White	73	48	107	53	53	74	15	79
Middle	Black	5	42	6	32	5	42	1	11
	White	46	31	64	32	16	22	3	16
High	Black	2	17	3	16	1	8	0	-
	White	32	21	31	15	3	4	1	5

blacks and 79 percent (n=15) of the whites who responded positively to three fatalistic statements had low occupational aspirations as compared to 42 percent (n=5) of the blacks and 48 percent (n=73) of the whites who responded negatively to all three fatalistic statements. We also see that the percentage of students with high occupational aspirations decreases with increased fatalistic responses.

When examining fatalism and educational aspirations, $\text{Gamma} = -.22$ (n=438) for whites, and $\text{Gamma} = -.21$ (n=57) for blacks. Fatalism is not as related to the educational aspirations of blacks as it is to their occupational aspirations. As seen in Table 4-24, 75 percent (n=12) of the blacks and 71 percent (n=108) of the whites who answered negatively to all fatalistic statements planned on four years of college at a junior college and/or a four year college as compared to 44 percent (n=4) of the blacks and 50 percent (n=7) of the whites who responded positively to three fatalistic statements. The percentage of students planning on four years of college decreases with increased fatalistic responses (except a slightly larger percentage of blacks who gave three fatalistic responses planned on four years of college than blacks who gave two fatalistic responses).

The mean number of fatalistic responses for white males was .924, and the mean number of fatalistic responses for black males was 1.274. As seen in Table 4-25, 40 percent (n=36) of the blacks and 21 percent (n=132) of the whites answered positively

TABLE 4-24

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION BY FATALISM AND RACE

Educational Aspiration	Race	Number of Fatalistic Responses							
		None		One		Two		Three	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do not plan to graduate	Black	0	-	1	5	2	17	0	-
	White	3	2	3	1	2	3	0	-
No education after high school	Black	2	13	0	-	2	17	1	11
	White	12	8	18	9	10	15	2	14
Technical or vocational training or junior col- lege only	Black	2	13	7	35	4	33	4	44
	White	29	19	54	26	23	35	5	36
Four years of college	Black	12	75	12	60	4	33	4	44
	White	106	71	132	64	30	46	7	50

to two or more fatalistic statements.

TABLE 4-25
FATALISM BY RACE

Race	Number of Fatalistic Responses							
	None		One		Two		Three	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Black	24	27	30	33	23	26	13	14
White	207	33	290	46	108	17	24	4

When examining fatalism and socioeconomic status (Table 4-26), Gamma = -.22 (n=318) for rural whites, Gamma = -.33 (n=16) for rural blacks, Gamma = -.29 (n=205) for urban whites, and Gamma = -.52 (n=34) for urban blacks. When looking only at urban blacks, 25 percent (n=7) of the low socioeconomic status blacks as compared to 67 percent (n=4) of the middle socioeconomic blacks answered negatively to all of the fatalistic statements, and 43 percent (n=12) of the low socioeconomic blacks as compared to 17 percent (n=1) of the middle socioeconomic blacks responded positively to two or more fatalistic statements. A larger percentage of urban middle socioeconomic blacks gave no fatalistic responses than any other group both black and white.

TABLE 4-26

FATALISM BY SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS, COMMUNITY SIZE, AND RACE

Number of Fatalistic Responses	Socioeconomic Status															
	Low								Middle							
	Community Size															
	Urban				Rural				Urban				Rural			
	Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
None	7	25	26	29	3	20	74	25	4	67	51	44	0	-	23	35
One	9	32	49	55	6	40	112	44	1	17	55	47	1	100	35	53
Two	7	25	11	12	3	20	54	21	0	-	9	8	0	-	7	11
Three	5	18	3	3	3	20	12	5	1	17	1	1	0	-	1	2

When examining GPA and fatalism (Table 4-27), $\text{Gamma} = -.15$ ($n=629$) for whites, and $\text{Gamma} = -.11$ ($n=90$) for blacks. The only place a great difference is seen is among those students who gave no fatalistic responses; 24 percent ($n=7$) of the D or below black students as compared to 50 percent ($n=1$) of the A black students gave no fatalistic responses, and 22 percent ($n=25$) of the D or below white students as compared to 55 percent ($n=12$) of the A white students gave no fatalistic responses.

Fatalism appears to be related more to socioeconomic status (as measured by father's occupation) than to ability as measured by grade point average.

TABLE 4-27
FATALISM BY GPA AND RACE

Number of Fatalistic Responses	Race															
	Black				White											
	GPA															
	D or Below		C		B		A		D or Below		C		B		A	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
None	7	24	12	26	4	36	1	50	25	22	112	33	58	38	12	55
One	10	35	17	36	2	18	0	-	58	50	151	45	76	50	5	23
Two	8	28	12	26	3	27	0	-	25	22	62	18	17	11	4	18
Three	4	14	6	13	2	18	1	50	8	7	13	4	2	1	1	5

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Although white male occupational aspirations are slightly higher than those of blacks, and although black male educational aspirations are slightly higher than those of whites, the differences are not great. The similarities in plans are unusual because the two samples differ on major variables that have been found to be correlated with the occupational and educational aspirations of students in previous studies. For the purpose of summary, Table 5-1 presents Gamma coefficients of the relationships between the major variables.

Socioeconomic status has been demonstrated in previous studies to be strongly correlated with educational and occupational aspirations. Yet, in this sample the mean Duncan score for father's occupation was 34.55 for whites and 20.63 for blacks. The mean Duncan score for mother's occupation was 28.77 for whites and 19.72 for blacks. When examining socioeconomic status (as measured by father's occupation) and occupational aspirations, $\text{Gamma} = .61$ for whites and $.23$ for blacks, and when comparing socioeconomic status and educational aspirations, $\text{Gamma} = .44$ for whites and 0.00 for blacks. Although socioeconomic status appears to be related to the occupational and educational

TABLE 5-1
 INTERRELATIONS AMONG KEY INDEPENDENT
 AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variable	Race	Occupational Aspiration		Educational Aspiration	
		Gamma	No.	Gamma	No.
Community size	Black	.08	54	.41	61
	White	.55	445	.53	438
Socioeconomic status	Black	.23	32	.00	34
	White	.61	378	.44	368
Paternal education	Black	.32	49	.41	52
	White	.33	440	.37	433
Maternal education	Black	.15	53	.38	58
	White	.37	438	.32	431
Paternal educational encouragement	Black	.32	49	.49	50
	White	.33	440	.52	420
Maternal educational encouragement	Black	.15	53	.80	56
	White	.37	438	.60	426
Family size	Black	-.42	53	-.32	59
	White	-.11	442	-.11	435
Nonworking mother	Black	-.08	41	-.44	45
	White	-.01	415	.15	410

TABLE 5-1 (Continued)

Independent Variable	Race	Occupational Aspiration		Educational Aspiration	
		Gamma	No.	Gamma	No.
Status of mother's occupation	Black	--	--	.20	26
	White	--	--	.54	216
GPA	Black	.48	53	.30	58
	White	.35	437	.41	438
Grade in school	Black	.21	54	--	--
	White	.18	443	--	--
Participation in extracurricular activities	Black	.42	54	.20	61
	White	.39	445	.27	438
Friend's educational plans	Black	.38	33	.63	42
	White	.59	273	.54	286
Fatalism	Black	-.36	52	-.21	57
	White	-.29	444	-.22	438

aspirations of whites, it does not appear to be related to those of blacks.

Family size has been shown to be important in previous studies in the determination of occupational and educational aspirations. In our sample, the mean number of siblings (not including the student) is 3.656 for whites and 5.818 for blacks. When examining siblings and occupational aspirations, $\text{Gamma} = -.11$ for whites and $-.42$ for blacks, and when examining siblings and educational aspiration, $\text{Gamma} = -.11$ for whites and $-.32$ for blacks. The number of siblings in a family is lower for whites and is only slightly negatively related to their aspirations. Yet, the aspirations of the blacks still parallel those of the whites.

These are only a few of the discrepancies mentioned throughout this research. In general, the findings on the white students in this study were similar to those of previous studies. But the findings on the black students in this sample deviated in many cases from the findings of previous studies. This leads us to an hypothesis on the cause of this difference.

The educational and occupational aspirations of blacks appear to be distinct. For whites they appear to be more closely associated because if an independent variable is related to one, it is usually related to the other at approximately the same magnitude. This is not true for blacks. For blacks community size is not related to occupational aspirations ($\text{Gamma} = .08$), but

it is strongly related to educational aspirations (Gamma=.41). Socioeconomic status is slightly related to occupational aspirations (Gamma=.23) but not related to educational aspirations (Gamma=0.00). Maternal education is only slightly related to occupational aspirations (Gamma=.15) but related to educational aspirations (Gamma=.38). A nonworking mother is not related to occupational aspirations (Gamma=-.08) but is negatively related to educational aspirations (Gamma=-.44). There is a weaker relationship between peer influence and occupational aspirations (Gamma=.38) than peer influence and educational aspirations (Gamma=.63). Extracurricular activities are related to the occupational aspirations of urban (Gamma=.59) but not rural (Gamma=.19) blacks and not highly related to educational aspirations (urban--Gamma=.24 and rural--Gamma=.23).

Because of these numerous differences, it is possible that within the black community educational and occupational aspirations are separated. One reason for this would be that many blacks are over-educated for the jobs they hold. Due to the low occupational status of the majority of the members of the black community, education could easily become the measure of status. Instead of parents placing emphasis on occupational achievement with educational achievement as a means to the end as is done in the white community, black parents may place an emphasis on educational achievement as an end in itself.

Variables that have to do with the black parent's

educational achievement, the black community, and the black peer group are related to educational aspirations and only slightly related to or not related at all to occupational aspirations. Variables that expose the black to the white peer group, variables that are associated with the occupational structure, and variables that reflect a greater chance of the student learning about the occupational structure are related to occupational aspirations.

Some examples are as follows. Socioeconomic status as measured by the Duncan score of father's occupation is not related to the educational aspirations of blacks. Socioeconomic status is slightly related to the occupational aspirations of blacks. The children of fathers who have a somewhat higher status occupation should have a better knowledge of the occupational structure. Maternal and paternal educational achievement are both related to educational aspirations, but only paternal educational achievement is related to occupational aspirations. Although the mother's educational achievement is not significantly related to occupational aspirations, her educational encouragement is related to educational aspirations ($\text{Gamma}=.80$). This is the strongest relationship for both blacks and whites. Paternal educational encouragement is related to educational aspirations, but this relationship is not as strong ($\text{Gamma}=.49$). The relationship between maternal educational encouragement and occupational aspiration is not significant

(Gamma=.15), and the relationship is greater between paternal educational encouragement and occupational aspiration (Gamma=.32). The black mother appears to be the link to the student's educational aspirations, and the black father appears to be the link to the student's occupational aspirations.

Among blacks the relationship between peer influence and educational plans (Gamma=.63) is greater than the relationship between peer influence and occupational plans (Gamma=.38). For whites, they are approximately the same. The relationship between community of orientation and educational aspirations is significant (Gamma=.41), but the relationship between community of orientation and occupational aspiration is not significant (Gamma=.08). Within the urban community, there would be more interaction within the black peer group because of proximity. But when we look at participation in extracurricular activities where the black would be placed within a predominantly white group because of the low ratio of blacks in this area, we see that participation in extracurricular activities is not related to his educational aspirations but is strongly related to his occupational aspirations (Gamma=.42).

An alternative interpretation of these findings would emphasize the chances a black student feels he has of realizing his goals. There is more opportunity for discrimination in the occupational structure than in the educational structure. Because of federal guidelines, a school will find it hard to

reject a student without good reason. But in the job market, one can be turned down for a job for many reasons that are discriminatory. There is some support for this explanation in our findings that there is a stronger negative relationship for blacks between fatalism and occupational aspirations ($\text{Gamma} = -.36$) than between fatalism and educational aspirations ($\text{Gamma} = -.21$). Fatalism was also negatively related to socioeconomic status for blacks, and socioeconomic status was positively related to the occupational aspirations but not related to the educational aspirations of blacks.

Due to the nature of our sample, we were limited in our analysis of the role of socioeconomic status. Our sample was taken from an area that had a relatively small black population. We were also unable to study the effects on black students of attendance at a predominantly black as compared to a predominantly white school. The findings and conclusions lead us to suggest further research into the roles that education and occupation play in determining the status of members of the black community, the importance of each, and the results these roles have on the occupational and educational aspirations of black students.

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APPENDIX A

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE*

You are being asked to give us your help in a scientific study being done by the Institute of Urban Research at the University of Mississippi. Junior and senior high school students in several counties are aiding us by filling out this questionnaire. Many of the questions deal with your interests and future plans; others have to do with people you know. We think you will find the questions interesting to answer.

- A. This is not a test, so there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. Any answer is right if it is the true answer for you.
- B. Please answer every question, after reading it carefully. Check the answer that comes closest to what you think. If you come across a question that you simply cannot answer because it does not apply to you, put "x" beside it and leave it blank.
- C. Most of the questions require a check-mark (x) to show your answer. Please be careful to check between the lines, so we can tell which answer you meant to check. Except where you are given other directions, you are to check only the one answer which comes closest to what you want to say.

1. Your Name: _____
(First) (Last)

2. Sex:
 Male
 Female

*Only the questions used in this research are presented. All questions are preceded by a number. This number indicates their order of appearance in the total questionnaire.

3. Grade in school: (Circle one)

8 9 10 11 12

5. Name of your school:

9. What is your race:

Black

White

Other

12. How many brothers do you have?

13. How many sisters do you have?

22. What was your approximate overall grade average for the last term?

A to A-

C+ to C

A- to B+

C to C-

B+ to B

C- to D+

B to B-

D+ or below

B- to C+

23. Which one of the following statements applies most to your future plans?

I do not plan to graduate from high school.

I plan no educational training after high school.

I plan to go to technical or vocational school after high school.

I plan to enter a junior college after high school and then go to work.

I plan to enter a junior college after high school and then later enter a four-year college or university.

I plan to enter a four-year college or university after high school.

I am undecided.

NOW, SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY

27. What is your family's religion?

Protestant--What church? _____

Catholic

Other--What church? _____

None

28. How important would you say religion is in your family?
 Crucially important, the most important part of family life
 Very important
 Fairly important
 Not too important
29. Are your parents: (Check one)
 Both living
 Mother not living
 Father not living
 Neither is living
30. If your parents are living, are they: (Check one)
 Living together
 Separated or divorced
 (What Year?) _____
 Other (Please specify)

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE TO BE ANSWERED ABOUT THE PEOPLE WHO RAISED YOU.

IF YOU WERE RAISED BY A MALE PERSON OTHER THAN YOUR FATHER, ANSWER ABOUT THAT PERSON. OTHERWISE, ANSWER ABOUT YOUR FATHER.

IF YOU WERE RAISED BY A FEMALE PERSON OTHER THAN YOUR MOTHER, ANSWER ABOUT THAT PERSON. OTHERWISE, ANSWER ABOUT YOUR MOTHER.

32. Which one of the following statements applies most to your future plans?
 My father has expressed a strong desire for me to go to college.
 My father has mentioned college to me, but he has not expressed a strong desire for me to go.
 My father has expressed no desire one way or the other.
 My father has expressed a strong desire for me not to attend college.
33. Which one of the following statements applies most to your future plans?
 My mother has expressed a strong desire for me to go to college.
 My mother has mentioned college to me, but she has not expressed a strong desire for me to go.
 My mother has expressed no desire one way or the other.
 My mother has expressed a strong desire for me not to attend college.

34. How far did your father (or the male person who raised you) go in school? (Check one)
- Did not attend school
 - Less than 6th grade
 - 6th to 8th grade
 - Some high school
 - Graduated from high school
 - Some college
 - Graduated from college
 - Trade or vocational school.
35. How far did your mother (or the female person who raised you) go in school? (Check one)
- Did not attend school
 - Less than 6th grade
 - 6th to 8th grade
 - Some high school
 - Graduated from high school
 - Some college
 - Graduated from college
 - Trade or vocational school.
39. What is the exact job(s) your father does?
- _____
- _____
40. Does your mother work?
- Yes, full time
 - Yes, part time
 - No
 - Don't know
42. If your mother works, outside the home, what is the exact job(s) she does?
- _____
- _____
49. What kind of work do you expect to be doing for most of your life?
- _____
- _____
52. Who would you say has influenced you most in making your occupational choice? (Check only one)
- Father
 - Mother
 - Brothers or sisters
 - Teachers or guidance counselors

- Friends of the family
 School friends
 Other relatives
 Others: (Who) _____
 No one

63. If your best friend is in school, what are your friend's educational plans?

- Plans to go to college
 Plans to go to a trade or vocational school after high school
 Plans to get a job immediately after high school
 Does not plan to finish high school
 I don't know what my friend's plans are.

Here are some questions about which there is no general agreement. People differ widely in the way they feel about each item. There are no right or wrong answers. The purpose of the survey is to see how different people feel about each item. We would like your honest opinion of each of the statements.

PLEASE READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY AND PLACE A CHECK IN THE SPACE OVER THE PHRASE THAT BEST EXPRESSES YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THE STATEMENT.

Wherever possible, let your own personal experience determine your answer. Do not spend much time on any item. If in doubt, put a check above the phrase that seems most nearly like your present feelings about the statement.

WORK RAPIDLY. PLEASE ANSWER EVERY ITEM.

73. When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already in the cards.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

78. Planning only makes a person unhappy since plans hardly ever work out anyway.

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

82. Lots of people cannot get what they want in life, even if they try very hard.

()	()	()	()	()
STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE

118. List all of the school groups, clubs, teams, or organizations you belong to now.

NOW LOOK BACK THROUGH THE QUESTIONS TO BE SURE YOU HAVE ANSWERED EACH ONE.

THANK YOU

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR

Melissa Hall Clark was born on August 28, 1949 in Meridian, Mississippi, the daughter of Henderson Strain Hall and Jo Ann Gower Hall. At the age of nine months, she moved to Jackson, Mississippi, where she attended public schools until her graduation from Calloway High School in June of 1967.

In September of 1967, she enrolled at the University of Mississippi where she received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology, Psychology, and English in June of 1971. Since January, 1971, she has been working toward a Master of Arts degree in Sociology. Ms. Clark is presently teaching sociology at Northwest Junior College in Senatobia, Mississippi.