



Educational and occupational expectations of high school students on the Flathead Indian Reservation
by Robert Meyer Peregoy

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF
EDUCATION

Montana State University

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Abstract:

The purpose of this study was to determine whether significant relationships existed between the educational and occupational expectations of American Indian and white high school students with respect to sex, student grade level, parents' education, parents' occupation and family income.

The educational and occupational expectations of the subjects of this study were divided into low, medium and high categories. The study was based on 108 Indian and 418 white students attending high schools on the Flathead Reservation during the 1978-79 school year.

The raw data for this study consisted of information on eight independent variables and were tested using chi square. The statistical difference was considered significant at the .05 level of confidence.

The data for the variables were obtained by administering a questionnaire in seven high schools.

Significant relationships were found between the educational expectations of: (1) females with respect to ethnicity; (2) Indian males with respect to grade level; (3) Indian and white students with respect to high amount of fathers' education; (4) Indian and white students with respect to low amount of mothers' education; (5) all students with respect to category of fathers' occupation, category of mothers' occupation and level of family income.

Significant relationships were found between the occupational expectations of: (1) Indian students with respect to sex; (2) white students with respect to sex; (3) all students with respect to amount of fathers' education, amount of mothers' education, category of fathers' occupation, and level of family income.

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OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ON THE
FLATHEAD INDIAN RESERVATION

by

ROBERT MEYER PEREGOY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine whether significant relationships existed between the educational and occupational expectations of American Indian and white high school students with respect to sex, student grade level, parents' education, parents' occupation and family income.

The educational and occupational expectations of the subjects of this study were divided into low, medium and high categories. The study was based on 108 Indian and 418 white students attending high schools on the Flathead Reservation during the 1978-79 school year.

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Significant relationships were found between the educational expectations of: (1) females with respect to ethnicity; (2) Indian males with respect to grade level; (3) Indian and white students with respect to high amount of fathers' education; (4) Indian and white students with respect to low amount of mothers' education; (5) all students with respect to category of fathers' occupation, category of mothers' occupation and level of family income.

Significant relationships were found between the occupational expectations of: (1) Indian students with respect to sex; (2) white students with respect to sex; (3) all students with respect to amount of fathers' education, amount of mothers' education, category of fathers' occupation, and level of family income.

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Postsecondary educational and occupational opportunities for American Indians have greatly increased over the past decade. This burgeoning of increased opportunities is a reflection of positive responses of both the private and public sectors to the educational, economic, social, legal, and cultural needs of American Indian peoples.

Since the 1960's there has been a considerable change in the expressed policy of the federal government toward Indian people, a change that is a direct response on the part of the government to the expressed needs of Indian people for control over their own affairs. The United States government has begun to recognize the expressed needs set forth by Indian people as a legitimate basis for Indian social and economic self-sufficiency.

Public and private programs affecting Indian people are now being planned, implemented, and evaluated by Indian people. Indian community action programs, initiated by the Office of Economic Opportunity and now administered by the Administration of Native American Programs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, marked the launching point for local control and self-determination on an accelerated basis. The new policy of the federal government, "Self-Determination Without Termination," was expressed by the President of the United States on July 8, 1970 (U.S. President, 1969-1974, Nixon:1).

This, then, must be the goal of any new national policy toward the Indian people: To strengthen the Indian's sense of autonomy without threatening his sense of community. We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group. And, we must make it control without being cut off from federal concern and federal support.

On December 5, 1975, Public Law 93-638, "The Indian Education and Self-Determination Act," went into effect. This law allows for tribal governments to control and operate federal programs, including educational services, which relate to Indian people. The implications in terms of self-determination can be far-reaching. In both the public and private sectors affirmative action programs are opening doors of employment opportunities in government and business, heretofore generally inaccessible or closed to Indian people.

Some 18,680 Indian students received grants from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to enable them to attend college in 1976-77. This compares to approximately 1,700 students ten years ago, or an elevenfold increase during the last decade. Further, tribal scholarships and private grants have increased on an accelerated basis during the past ten years. In addition, more than 10,000 Indians received vocational training or on-the-job training in 1976-76 (Canan, 1976:1-2).

Yet, notwithstanding these opportunities, American Indian students and their elders lag behind the general population of the country in educational achievement and employment. The research is replete with studies documenting this lag with respect to school enrollment,

achievement as measured by standardized tests, overageness per grade level, number of years of schooling, school competition, college enrollment, college graduation, job placement and wages and salaries earned (Coombs, 1970:19). The United States Civil Rights Commission issued a report in August of 1978, providing current documentation focusing on social indicators of equality of minorities and women. Again, by almost every measure, Indian people ranked the lowest in education, employment, wages and salaries earned, housing, and other areas (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1978:5-93).

A review of the literature indicated that many high school seniors, regardless of ethnic background, aspire to educational and occupational levels without a realistic knowledge of the qualifications and skills necessary to attain their aspirations. The increased emphasis on career education and planning by the U.S. Government and school systems is a response to this. In order to better prepare high school students for postsecondary educational and occupational opportunities, additional information regarding factors affecting high school students' postsecondary educational and occupational expectations is needed.

Statement of the Problem

The general problem of this study was to determine whether significant relationships existed between the educational and occupational expectations of American Indian and white high school students

attending schools on the Flathead Indian reservation with respect to sex of the student, grade level, amount of parents' education, category of parents' occupation, and family income. A secondary purpose was to determine whether there were significant differences between the educational and occupational expectations of Indian and white students in the tenth and twelfth grades.

Contribution to Educational Literature

A review of the literature revealed that a considerable amount of research has been completed on the educational achievement of Indian children. However, only a small portion of this research has addressed the postsecondary educational and occupational expectations of Indian and non-Indian students in a comparative sense. Two studies have been conducted in four rural Montana high schools, comparing selected characteristics affecting educational aspirations of Indian and white students. Another study focused on parents' influence on white and Indian students' educational aspirations and expectations. No studies, to this researcher's knowledge, of the nature of the one proposed herein have been conducted in Montana or the Pacific Northwest. The study proposed herein will provide data regarding postsecondary educational and occupational expectations of students attending high schools on the Flathead Reservation. The data can be used in high school career

education programs and by community colleges and universities in program planning, counseling and guidance.

General Questions to be Answered

This researcher attempted to answer the following questions:

1. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of male Indian and male white students?
2. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of female Indian and female white students?
3. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian males in the tenth and twelfth grades?
4. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of white males in the tenth and twelfth grades?
5. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian females in the tenth and twelfth grades?
6. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of white females in the tenth and twelfth grades?
7. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of male Indian and female Indian students?
8. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of male white and female white students?

9. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to amount of fathers' education?

10. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to amount of mothers' education?

11. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to category of fathers' occupation?

12. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to category of mothers' occupation?

13. Are there significant differences between the educational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to family income?

14. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of male Indian and male white students?

15. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of female Indian and female white students?

16. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian males in the tenth and twelfth grades?

17. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of white males in the tenth and twelfth grades?

18. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian females in the tenth and twelfth grades?

19. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of white females in the tenth and twelfth grades?

20. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of male Indian and female Indian students?

21. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of male white and female white students?

22. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to amount of fathers' education?

23. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to amount of mothers' education?

24. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to category of fathers' occupation?

25. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to category of mothers' occupation?

26. Are there significant differences between the occupational expectations of Indian and white students with respect to family income?

General Procedures

This researcher solved the problem by administering a twelve item questionnaire to sophomores and seniors attending high schools on the Flathead Reservation. The questionnaire was designed to gather personal background information, as well as postsecondary educational and occupational expectations. Data were analyzed in cooperation with the Testing and Counseling and Computer Centers at Montana State University. Students from the following high schools on the Flathead Reservation were interviewed: Arlee, Charlo, Hot Springs, Polson, Ronan, St. Ignatius, and the Two Eagle River School.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to: (1) only those sophomores and seniors attending high schools on the Flathead Reservation the day the questionnaire was administered; (2) the information supplied by the respondents during the interviews; and (3) the recognition that educational and occupational expectations are subject to change; therefore, the findings herein are no guarantee of actual behavior.

Definition of Terms

Educational Expectation

For the purposes of this study, educational expectation was defined as (1) the number of years of secondary or postsecondary education, either higher education or vocational education, which the student expected to attempt or complete, and (2) the level of completion (associate, bachelor's, master's, doctoral, professional degrees or vocational competency certification) which the student expected to attain.

Occupational Expectation

For the purpose of this study, occupational expectation was defined as the occupational classification delineated by the Bureau of the Census, which the student expected to enter after completion of his or her formal education.

American Indian

For the purpose of this study, the Title IV definition of American Indian was used. Title IV defines an American Indian as an enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe or a descendant in the first or second degree of an enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe.

Summary

The process of career development is lifelong and contingent upon many factors, including a person's sex, ethnicity, amount of parents' education, category of parents' occupation and family income. Educational and occupational opportunities for American Indians have greatly increased during the past decade. These opportunities can facilitate the social, legal, economic, and cultural self-determination of American Indian people. The rate and extent to which this becomes realized is highly dependent upon the postsecondary educational and occupational decisions of American Indian youth. The purpose of this study was to examine selected factors affecting the educational and occupational expectations of Indian and white youth attending high schools on the Flathead Reservation during the 1978-79 school year.

Chapter II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature is divided into five sections. The first section presents information concerning general theories of career development. The second section is a review of studies relating to the occupational expectations of youth, while the third section of the chapter focuses on studies concerning the educational expectations of youth. The fourth section is a presentation of educational attainment of American Indian youth, and the fifth section is a review of education on the Flathead Indian Reservation in northwestern Montana.

General Theories of Career Development

The role of work holds an important place in an individual's life. Educators, social scientists, and psychologists have established theoretical constructs in an effort to gain insight into and understand why people choose different varieties of work. Osipow (1968:10-12) offered a classification of four distinct approaches to theories of career development.

The oldest theoretical approach has been known commonly as the trait-factor approach (1968:10). This system accepts the thesis that individuals have interests and abilities which can be matched with the world's many vocational opportunities. Once this process is completed, through aptitude and vocational testing, the individual is encouraged

to follow a particular vocational pattern commensurate with his or her abilities, interests, and aptitudes; when this is accomplished the problems of vocational choice for the individual are solved.

A second approach recognized by Osipow (1968:11) has been described as the sociological model of career development. This approach considers one's environment as a central tenet; certain circumstances beyond the control of the individual contribute significantly to the career choices one makes. The central task confronting people is the development of techniques to cope effectively with the environment. According to Osipow, this approach is illustrated in the work of Hollingshead (1949), Miller and Form (1951), and Caplow (1954).

A third theoretical approach identified by Osipow is referred to as the development or self-concept model. This approach embodies as its central tenets that (1) individuals develop more clearly defined self-concepts as they grow older, although these are modified to conform to changes in one's view of reality as one increases in age; (2) people develop images of the occupational world which they compare with self-concept images in attempting to make career decisions; and (3) the adequacy of the eventual career decision is based on the similarity between an individual's self-concept and the vocational concept of the career he or she eventually chooses. According to Osipow, the works of Ginzburg and his associates (1951) and Super (1953) exemplify this approach.

A fourth category Osipow termed (1968:11-12) the personality approach to the study of career development. He noted the ideas range from lists of needs involved in the process of vocational choices as seen by Hoppock (1957) and the detailed personality types for career areas delineated by Holland (1959) to the assorted studies of Roe (1957) and others. Osipow (1968:12) concluded that these types of career development models are not independent of one another; they are closely interrelated and often draw upon one another in terms of actual practice and in empirical research.

Hollingshead (1949), Miller and Form (1951), Caplow (1954) and others have set forth theories that deal with social influences and career development. Hollingshead (1949:441-447) noted that vocational choices correspond with job patterns associated with each social class in the adult work world. Based on this, Hollingshead postulated that adolescents' ideas of desirable jobs are a reflection of their experiences in the class and "family culture complexes."

Miller and Form suggested (Hoppock, 1967:90) a career development theory based on a network of interrelated social factors associated with occupational levels. Social background, native ability, historical circumstances, and acquired personality traits are the influences determining a given career pattern.

Ginzburg (1951), Super (1953), and Tiedeman (1963,1975) postulated that there are logical relationships from birth to death which affect

one's career choice. Ginzburg (1951:185-198) and his associates proposed that vocational development occurs in three developmental stages: fantasy, tentative, and realistic. During the fantasy, or prevocational stage before the age of eleven, a variety of activities occur which have a tendency to promote the readiness of the individual to deal with issues of vocational concern raised during adolescence. During this stage, the youngster thinks about an occupation for adulthood, believing he or she can assume any occupation desired, without regard for abilities or other requirements.

In the tentative period, occurring between the ages of twelve and seventeen, the individual focuses on the identification and analysis of likes and dislikes, and concern about abilities, skills, and performance characteristics. Near the end of this period, the individual realizes that many subjective factors have characterized his or her tentative choices, and that more realistic considerations must be undertaken in order to achieve a relationship between knowledge of abilities and interest and values.

During the realistic stage, a transition occurs when the individual recognizes a need for a realistic vocational preference and actual choice. This period includes seeking additional training or entry into the job market.

Super (1953:188-189) identified five phases of career development in his theoretical constructs: growth, exploration, establishment,

maintenance, and decline. He emphasized the life span rather than limiting attention on the adolescent period and dealt with the notion of the interaction between the development of vocational preferences and the attempt to implement one's self-concept through a career (1953:189). A basic assumption in this approach is that a person will be more satisfied and effective in a career to the degree the individual is able to implement his or her self-concept through the career each chooses.

Tiedeman (1963; 1975:15-16) divided his theoretical construct of career decision making into the two concepts of anticipation and accommodation. The anticipation aspect, including the stages of exploration, crystallization, choice, and clarification, consists of a person's preoccupation with facts, alternatives, options, and consequences. From these a career decision is made with aspirations, hopes, and expectations. The accommodation aspect, including the stages of induction, reformation, and integration, is reached when imagination meets reality. In the accommodation stage, the individual is acting upon a decision that has been thought about, however well made or clarified.

Hoppock (1957) and Holland (1959) followed theoretical approaches similar to Super. Hoppock (1967:91-92) offered a "composite" theory of vocational development:

1. Occupations are chosen to meet needs.
2. The occupation that we choose is the one that we believe will best meet the needs that most concern us.
3. Needs may be intellectually perceived, or they may be only vaguely felt as attractions which draw us in certain directions. In either case, they may influence choice.
4. Career development begins when we first become aware that an occupation can help to meet our needs.
5. Career development progresses and occupational choice improves as we become better able to anticipate how well a prospective occupation will meet our needs. A capacity thus to anticipate depends upon our knowledge of ourselves, our knowledge of occupations, and our ability to think clearly.
6. Information about ourselves affects occupational choice by helping us to recognize what we want and what we have to offer in exchange.
7. Information about occupations affects occupational choice by helping us to discover the occupations that may meet our needs, what these occupations offer to us, and what they will demand of us.
8. Job satisfaction depends upon the extent to which the job that we hold meets the need that we feel it should meet. The degree of satisfaction is determined by the ratio between what we have and what we want.
9. Satisfaction can result from a job that meets our needs today, or from a job that promises to meet them in the future, or from a job that we think will help us to get the job we want.
10. Occupational choice is always subject to change when we believe that a change will better meet our needs.

Hoppock (1967:96-97) stated that illogical occupational choice behavior has three primary sources: when people have inadequate

information about themselves, inadequate information about occupations and an inability to think clearly. Holland (1959:40-41) noted that persons with more information about the occupational environments make more adequate occupational choices than do persons with less information. Adequacy is a function of age, "since time alone provides more learning opportunities."

The literature reviewed in this section presented theoretical concepts that indicated a variety of factors are inherent in the development of occupational choice. From these readings, it is evident that, as Osipow has suggested, the various theories cited are somewhat inter-related.

Osipow (1975:12) noted that while the theories have some validity, their concepts do not universally apply to all populations. He stated that attempts have been made to apply concepts and theories to varied populations under a multitude of conditions and that most investigators fail to differentiate among subgroups studied. He (1975:13) asserted that "the notion of increasing differentiation in the application of career development concepts" to special groups is important. The following section addresses factors influencing occupational expectations of youth.

Occupational Expectations

Several researchers have compiled extensive bibliographies addressing the occupational expectations of youth. Kuvelsky and Ohlendorf (1966), Kuvelsky and Reynolds (1970), and Horner, Baterbaugh, and Carefoot (1967) have delineated various categories in their bibliographical presentations, including socioeconomic, family, personal, and ethnic factors affecting occupational choice.

Researchers who have studied the educational and occupational orientations of youth have emphasized the importance of distinguishing between aspirations and expectations. Kuvelsky and Bealer (1966:273-276) noted two types of projections. The one dealing with desires is aspiration and the other, dealing with anticipation, is expectation. The authors (1966:273) stated, "expectations should not be equated with aspirations, for the object involved with an expectation need not be desired and, therefore, need not be a goal." An aspiration refers to a person's orientation toward a goal, whereas expectation is the individual's estimation of probable attainment of that goal.

A variety of factors influence occupational aspirations and expectations. Studies have been conducted to determine the effect of socioeconomic background on aspirations and expectations. Reissman (1953:241) found that the relationship between social class and aspiration is not a simple one: successful achievement in the past does not

necessarily mean higher aspirations in the future. Several researchers have reported that the majority of youth from all socio-economic groups aspire to high occupational levels (Campbell and Parsons, 1972:416-417; Heinsohn, 1978:36). Heinsohn (1970:36-37) surveyed 18,612 high school seniors and found that 50 to 80 percent of each group of students by race and sex aspired to enter prestigious occupations. Although the percentages of each group actually expecting to hold high prestige occupations was less than those who aspired to these occupations, more expected to enter high status jobs than expected to enter low status occupations.

Simmons and Rosenberg (1971:239-241) reported that children in Baltimore schools in grades three through twelve did not appear to accept the doctrine of equality of opportunity; 70 percent of the respondents stated that some students do not have as good a chance as others in their occupational aspirations. The majority (97 percent), however, were confident they had a good or better chances than anyone else for upward social mobility.

Sewell, Haller, and Strauss (1957:69) found that females from high status families more frequently chose high level occupations than those of lower status families, but that the relationship was not as consistent as the relationship between status and aspiration to attend college. Males from high status families were likely to have higher level occupational aspirations than were those from lower status families.

They concluded that socioeconomic status makes an independent contribution to occupational aspirations.

Caro and Philbrand (1965:468) scrutinized sources of social class differences in the occupational goals of male high school students. Their findings were consistent with previous studies showing that upper social class students aspire to higher occupational levels than lower class students. The data also indicated a larger disparity between occupational aspirations and expectations for lower-class students.

Empey (1956:708) found that the absolute occupational status aspirations of male high school seniors from the middle and upper classes were significantly higher than those of seniors from the lower classes. He suggested that lower class youth have limited their occupational aspirations to the class horizons. He concluded that while lower class youngsters aspired to get ahead, they aspired to occupations at different station levels than those from higher strata, and that lower class youngsters may be more strongly motivated to achieve (relatively speaking) than those in strata above them.

Recent studies have found strong support for the effect of socioeconomic status on the occupational expectations of youth and indicated that children from higher socioeconomic background tend to have higher occupational expectations than children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Oberle, Stowers, and Darby, 1974:101; Cosby and Picou, 1975: 17-20; Bogie, 1976:253-254; McLaughlin, Hunt and Montgomery, 1976:

161-162; Harvey and Kerin, 1978:265-266). Picou and Cosby (1975:17-20) found that socioeconomic status had the greatest effect on occupational aspiration and that the effect of race was negligible when controls were applied.

Studies reviewed indicate clearly that parental occupational and educational status are correlated with occupational aspirations and expectations of children. Simpson (1962:519) found strong support for the hypotheses that parental influence is associated with family aspirations among working-class boys, and also with ambition among middle-class boys. Cohen (1965:425) noted that the fewer working class jobs the parent finds acceptable for any offspring, the higher is the probability of having a mobile son.

Picou and others (1974:17) found that mothers' education significantly influenced black and white females' career aspirations, while school performance and peer modeling significantly influenced male career aspirations. Wijting, Arnold, and Conrad (1978:257-259) reported that childrens' work values were most similar to those of their like-sexed parent at early grade levels, but twelfth grade boys' and girls' work values were most like their fathers.

The effect of ethnicity on an individual's occupational aspirations and expectations has been the subject of the literature, particularly in the past ten years. Venegas (1973:91) concluded in a study of El Paso high school students that all students, regardless of

ethnicity, have high aspirations and expectations for education and occupation. Thomas (1976:49) found black and white boys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen years aspired to and expected to enter jobs at similar socioeconomic levels. Debord (1977:95) reported that career expectations of blacks depend less on socioeconomic status than do career expectations of whites.

Pentecoste (1975:439) suggested that minority inner-city children differ in their perceptions of the world of work depending upon the occupational level of their families. The number of visible models for superior or high aspiring students may be very limited in small towns or areas that have a low socioeconomic level. Uzell (1961:669) recognized that the general occupational structure of minority groups is not likely to include a representative cross section of occupations nor a concentration of high status ones, but rather a concentration of low status ones. Lorenz (1972:371-398) postulated that racially patterned differences in the status attainment process should be expected as membership in a racial group has a great impact in all facets of life.

Kuvelsky and Monk (1975:31) found that non-metropolitan Mexican-American teenage boys and girls in the border area of Texas did not experience much change in the nature or level of educational and occupational status projections between 1967 and 1973. The youths surveyed maintained a relatively high level of mobility aspirations and expectations and a strong intensity of desire for achieving goals. The

authors found a slight, consistent shift towards managerial type jobs and a movement away from lower prestige professional jobs. Berman and Haug (1975:175) reported that blacks who aspire to high educational and occupational goals are as optimistic about attaining their objectives as high aspiring whites.

Other studies have focused on the interrelationship of ethnicity, sex, and grade level as these variables affect occupational expectations. Sollie (1974:12-13) reported that occupational goal deflection (discrepancy between aspirations and expectations) varied among youth surveyed in five southern states. Females experienced less goal deflection than males and whites experienced less goal deflection than blacks. The author concluded that race appeared to be the major determinant of occupational goal deflection. Boyd found (1974:2-5) that expectations of low status jobs increased among black boys and decreased among white girls between 1967 and 1973.

Cosby (1969:16-17) reported data that indicated a high proportion of students in all social subclasses had high level occupational aspirations. Approximately one-half of the students in the more disadvantaged groups had high level aspirations. For example, 53 percent of the rural black students whose fathers had low level occupations and education had high level occupational aspirations. He concluded that the variables exerting the most influence were fathers' education and occupation. Kelley and Wingrove (1975:54-55) found that occupational

expectations of blacks reach a low point in the ninth grade and increase afterwards up to the twelfth grade.

Spencer (1973:1-3) studied the aspirations and expectations of Mississippi high school students from the Choctaw Tribe. She found that occupational aspirations and expectations appeared to have been limited largely to those occupations which were visible on or near the reservation area. Spencer suggested this finding indicated a lack of knowledge of the range of occupations that currently exist. One explanation she rendered is there may be a lack of exposure to or acquaintance with persons who occupy a wide range of moderate and high status occupations.

Kuvelsky and others (1976:36-42) attempted to determine the extent to which ethnic variability existed in reference to male and female occupational aspirations and expectations. They surveyed 385 Arizona Navajos, 192 Texas Blacks, 206 Texas Anglos, and 379 Texas Mexican-Americans. Significant results were (1) Navajo youth had the lowest level of occupational aspirations and the weakest intensity of desire; (2) Mexican-Americans had the highest and strongest intensity of aspirations; (3) Mexican-American females had the highest level of aspirations; (4) Mexican-Americans had the highest level of expectations and Navajos had the lowest level; (5) Anglo expectations paralleled those of the Navajos, and Anglo females had the lowest expectation

level; (6) Navajos and Anglos were considerably more certain about occupational expectations than Blacks who were relatively uncertain.

Roulston (1971) and Wall (1976) surveyed the postsecondary projections of Alaska Natives. Roulston (1971:56-61) interviewed BIA boarding school students from Anchorage, Fairbanks, Southeast Alaska, Bethel, and Nome. The findings indicated that 97.8 percent intended to finish high school, 28 percent planned to go to college, 12 percent planned to attend a vocational school, 20 percent planned to get a job after high school, and 30 percent had no definite plans. Wall (1976: 1-2) provided information about 1970-1975 graduates from Kotzebue Bureau of Indian Affairs day school. The respondents had participated in Kotzebue career education programs. Of 83 graduates between 1970 and 1975: 40 percent entered college, 17 percent entered technical training, 7 percent entered the military service, 25 percent chose full-time employment, and 11 percent opted for seasonal employment and subsistence living.

The volume of literature reporting the effect of a person's sex on occupational expectations has increased over the past few years. Several studies indicated that female high school students expected to enter less prestigious occupations than males (Drabick, 1974:7; Burlin, 1976:102; Bogie, 1976:253-255; High School Student Survey, 1977:4). The authors attributed these findings to traditional sex-role stereotyping and the effect thereof on the occupational expectations of youth.

Edington (1975:35) reported in a study of American Indian, Mexican-American and white tenth and twelfth graders that significant differences in occupational expectations were found due to sex; females expected to enter significantly less professional occupations than males. In contrast to these findings, Aldag (1975:312-318) found the occupational expectations of males and females to be similar. Debord (1977:98-100) noted that sex differences among Mississippi high school students were of less importance among black students than white students.

This section of the chapter has been a presentation of the literature dealing with occupational expectations of youth. There are many factors influencing one's vocational development. Those reviewed included socioeconomic status, including occupation and education of parents, ethnicity, grade level, and sex of students. The following section addresses factors influencing educational expectations.

Educational Expectations

Closely associated with the process of developing occupational aspirations and expectations is the process of developing educational aspirations and expectations. Education is seen as an intervening factor between people and employment and has been largely recognized as a primary vehicle in achieving social mobility. Several researchers have compiled extensive bibliographies consisting of works dealing with

educational aspirations and expectations. Kuvelsky and Reynolds (1966; 1970) and Ohlendorf and Kuvelsky (1966) have reviewed the literature and categorized studies addressing educational aspirations and expectations in topical areas of education, residence, income, and family orientations.

Heinsohn (1974:36) and Schwarweller (1974:464) have completed studies that indicate one-half or more high school seniors aspired to higher education. Campbell and Parsons (1972:412) reported that a majority of students perceive school as the primary vehicle as a means to achieving their vocational plans and exhibit a readiness for planning at an early age.

The correlation between a person's socioeconomic background and educational expectations has been the subject of many empirical studies. Sewell and Shah (1967:22-23) reported that children of higher status socioeconomic origins are more likely to aspire to high educational goals than are children of lower status socioeconomic backgrounds.

Gibbons and Lohnes (1966:66-70) reported that youths in higher income families expect to go to college, while students in lower income levels usually do not think in terms of college. Powell (1970:33) noted that the level of living or income of the student's family was directly and consistently related to the student's expected level of education.

Havighurst (1962:107-108) found that students from low socioeconomic status were more likely to have unsuccessful school careers and to drop out of school before graduating. Coster (1959:62) reported that high school pupils from higher socioeconomic strata are more likely than those from middle and lower status homes to continue their education. Rehberg and Westby (1967:362; 374) suggested that the educational level an individual attains is one of the most important determinants of his occupational level, with both educational and occupational achievements being major determinants of the family social status. Kerckhoff and Campbell (1977:25) found that socioeconomic status is a much more significant source of influence for whites than blacks.

Social goals and values are transmitted to the young through the process of socialization. Kohn (1959:344-345) reported data indicating that these transmitted goals and values are greatly influenced by the level of education, occupation and status which the parents attain. Keller and Zavalloni (1964:60; 69-70) noted that parents in the middle and upper social strata generally transmit more positive attitudes and values toward educational and occupational achievement and social mobility. As a result, youth from middle and upper class families have to climb less distance on the "social ladder" to secure a higher education and prestigious occupational position than do those from lower class families.

Researchers have conducted studies which indicate that educational aspirations and expectations are related to parental influence and background. Rehberg and Westby (1967:362) reported that the proportion of adolescents expressing an expectation to enroll in a four-year college or university varies, positively with the occupational level of the parents, positively with the intensity of parental educational pressure, stress, and encouragement and, negatively with size of family. Mondart, Curtis, and Dobbins (1970:52-55) noted a significant relationship between fathers' occupation and students' expected educational levels. Picou and others (1972:10-11) found that the levels of fathers' occupations were a more powerful predictor of the educational plans of white women than black women.

Smith and Jilcoa (1971:15; 24) suggested that the occupational characteristics of parents tended to influence the educational aspirations and expectations of children. Banduice (1967:263; 267) found a trend for youths whose mothers were employed to have higher educational aspirations and expectations than youths whose mothers were not employed. The study also indicated that children of employed mothers in the lower socioeconomic levels expected to complete more education than children of unemployed mothers in the lower socioeconomic levels. Krauss (1964:867) found high occupational status within the working class to be associated with college aspirations in the offspring. Forty-seven percent of the students whose fathers were craftsmen or

foremen planned to attend college, in contrast to 36 percent whose fathers were employed in semi-skilled, service, or labor occupations. This relationship was strongest when the father completed high school.

In a study entitled Seventy-Five Thousand Seniors (1970:38-39), researchers reported that seniors with parents employed in the professional levels were more likely to attend college full time than any other group. The researchers reported that two-thirds of the seniors planning vocational training came from homes where parents' employment was in the skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled occupations.

Other studies have investigated the relationship between the educational attainments of parents and youths' educational aspirations and expectations. Lee, Ray, Vetter and others (1971:18) concluded that plans for increasing amounts of education were significantly related to higher educational achievement of both parents. Smith and Jilcoa (1971:14-15) reported that while the educational expectations of youths were similar to the educational achievement of parents, the educational aspirations tended to exceed the educational achievement of parents. Gribbons and Lohnes (1966:69) found that most of the students in their study aspired to educational goals at the same level or a level above the educational attainment of their parents.

Mondart, Curtis, and Dobbins (1970:59; 114-115) concluded that expected educational levels of students were highly influenced by parents' educational levels. Parents of seniors who attended college

were more likely to have more formal education than the parents of seniors who did not plan to attend college. Uzell (1961:202-209) reported that black high school seniors in North Carolina who aspired to higher educational levels had parents whose educational and occupational status was somewhat higher than parents of respondents who aspired lowest. Sewell and Shah (1968:209) found both fathers' and mothers' educational achievement are positively and significantly related to college plans, college attendance, and college graduation.

Hatfield (1976:113-116) reported in a study of young women in the South that parents' education exerted significant influences on the respondents' educational and occupational aspirations. Salter and Falk (1978:29-31) surveyed young white women in the rural South and reported that mothers' education had a greater effect on the educational and occupational orientations of the respondents than fathers' education.

The effect of ethnicity on the educational aspirations and expectations of youth has been widely investigated. Moerk (1974:295) found the educational aspirations of white, black, and Mexican-American males high for all three groups. Kuvelsky and Monk (1975:31) found that non-metropolitan teenage Mexican-American youth maintained a relatively high level of mobility aspirations and expectations between 1967 and 1973.

Larson (1971:11-15) found in a study of American Indian and white students in Montana that fathers in high income groups were reported to

have put more pressure on students' educational expectations, whereas mothers from low income families applied more pressure than fathers. In a similar study, Larson (1971:1-5) noted that female students were more likely to choose mothers and male students were more likely to choose fathers as the persons exerting the most influence on students' educational expectations. He concluded that socioeconomic status exerted a greater influence than ethnicity in students' educational expectations.

DeHoyos studied 439 Pima students in grades seven through twelve (1971:49-53). She reported that educational aspirations are especially high, whereas occupational aspirations are somewhat lower.

Sherarts and others surveyed parents of Menominee students in Minnesota (1972:16-17). They found (1972:117) that 83 percent of the parents placed a high value on formal education. Nearly all the respondents (97 percent) appeared to have given consideration to the educational needs of their children.

Selinger (1970:77-80) investigated what happened to American Indian students following high school graduation, as well as characteristics of the graduates and how the graduates viewed the impact of their educational experiences on their post high school careers. His sample consisted of 287 high school graduates of the class of 1962 from schools in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota. He found that about 70 percent of the students continued into

academic or training programs following high school graduation, and that about half of the graduates who entered post high school programs completed them. Of these, the large majority completed technical-vocational rather than academic programs, with many students failing to complete the programs they initially entered. Of the sample, there were no graduates or potential graduates in the field of medicine.

Kleinfeld and Kohout (1974:27-31) studied all Indian, Eskimo, and Aluet students who enrolled for the first time in an academic program at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks from 1968-72. They found that the college success of these students markedly increased, particularly for Natives with low and medium academic performance, and that a main reason for this increase was due to the Special Services Program with its emphasis on transitional and academic skills development courses.

The effect of a person's sex and grade level on educational expectations has been the subject of empirical studies. In a survey of rural Kentucky high school seniors, Bogie (1976:16) reported that high proportions of both sexes aspired to attend college and about as many males as females expected to enter college. Picou and Howard (1976:7-8) found support for the general theme of sex-role stereotyping and indicated that males received more college encouragement and achievement training from parents than females. Kelley and Wingrove (1975:54-55) reported that black males were consistently below whites and black females in educational expectations; black females, with the exception of ninth

graders, were consistently equal or above whites in educational expectations.

Boyd (1970:4-5) investigated the educational aspirations of sophomore and senior males and females in South Carolina. Her findings indicated small differences between the educational aspirations of students as sophomores and as seniors. There was an increase in the educational aspirations for males and a decrease for females between the sophomore and senior years. A higher proportion of white students than non-white students reported the same level of educational aspiration during their sophomore and senior years.

Edington (1975:36-37) surveyed the educational expectations of American Indian, white and Mexican-American males and females in New Mexico. He found significant differences related to grade level and sex by ethnic group interaction. Seniors expected more education than did sophomores and American Indian males expected less education than did Indian females or white males.

This section of the chapter has been a review of the literature as it relates to the educational expectations of youth. There are many factors affecting postsecondary educational projections of young people. Those addressed included socioeconomic status, occupation and education of parents, ethnicity, sex and grade level. The next section addresses the academic achievement of American Indian students.

Socioeconomic Status, Educational Attainment
and American Indian Students

Studies reviewed in the previous sections of this chapter indicated that educational and occupational expectations are positively correlated with socioeconomic status, including parents' education, parents' occupation, and family income. Successful academic achievement has been viewed as a means to further educational attainment and, subsequently, to better employment and career opportunities. The purpose of this section is to review the educational attainment of American Indian youth as it relates to socioeconomic status.

Berry (1968) and Edington (1969) compiled extensive bibliographies on recent works concerning the educational attainment of American Indian youth. These bibliographies were divided into different categories, including socioeconomic status and educational achievement of Indian youth.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights (1978:5-93) issued a report entitled, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women in August 1978. The report indicated the following:

1. In 1976 the high school non-attendance ratio for American Indian and Alaska Native males was 2.80 times greater than the ratio for majority males and 3.0 times greater for American Indian and Alaska Native females than majority males;
2. In 1976 the high school completion ratio for American Indian and Alaska Native males was 20 percent below the completion ratio for majority males; for American Indian

and Alaska Native females, the completion ratio was 33 percent below the completion ratio of majority males.

3. In 1976, the college completion ratio for American Indian and Alaska Native males was 76 percent below the ratio for majority males; the college completion ratio of American Indian and Alaska Native females was 88 percent below the college completion ratio of majority males;

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission developed the term "occupational overqualification" as one indicator of social inequality and phrased it as follows: "for the same job or for jobs with similar skills or educational requirements, do most minorities and women demonstrate greater skill or more educational accomplishments of majority males?" In response to this, the report continued:

4. In 1976 the high school overqualification rate for American Indian and Alaska Native males was 37 percent higher than the ratio for majority males and 20 percent higher for Alaska Natives and American Indian females;
5. In 1976 the college overqualification ratio for American Indian and Alaska Native males was 16 percent higher than the ratio for majority males and 4 percent higher for American Indian and Alaska Native females;
6. In 1975 American Indian and Alaska Native males with four or more years of college earned 77 percent of the average dollars for majority males with the same educational attainment; and American Indian and Alaska Native females earned 63 percent of the average dollars for majority males with the same educational attainment;
7. In 1976 the American Indian and Alaska Native male unemployed ratio was 2.07 times as high as the ratio of majority males; for American Indian and Alaska females the unemployment ratio was 2.64 times as high as the ratio of majority males;

8. In 1976 American Indian and Alaska Native male teenage unemployment rate was 5.92 times the majority male total unemployment rate; for American Indian and Alaska Native female, the teenage unemployment rate was 6.1 times higher.

Havighurst (1970:67) noted that it is generally known that Indian children do not achieve as well on tests of school achievement as do the children of the white majority. He cited several studies that show that Indian children score about the same as white children in mental alertness and basic mental development. He noted, however, that Indian children do not achieve as well in school as do white children. He suggested that differences in family background account for more variations in school achievement than do differences in school characteristics, but that achievement of Indian students depends more upon school factors than does achievement of non-Indian students.

Kayser researched (1963:27-30) the scholastic performance of 207 southern Ute Indians in grades seven through twelve. She found that Ute graduates of the high school class of 1963 ranked proportionately lower than their Spanish and Anglo classmates in scholastic achievement. Kayser suggested that the higher performance of Anglo children beginning with the sixth grade may be explained by their ethnicity in that college attendance is a more realizable goal for them and this, plus the necessity for achieving scholastically if they are to do, forms a stronger motivation for higher scholastic performance in the secondary grades.

Kersey and Greene (1972:26-27) studied the educational achievement of Seminole Indian children from the Brighton, Hollywood, and Big Cypress reservations in Florida. They found that Seminole children as a group fell substantially below the national norms on the Wide Range Achievement Tests. They indicated that the achievement of the Indian children correlated closely with the acculturational level of their reservation group, with the more acculturated groups achieving greater educational success.

Havighurst (1970:12-13) found in a study of the achievement of American Indian children that Indian pupils follow a pattern of other low-income and non-English speaking children: the children drop behind the national norms of achievement almost from the start of school.

Selinger (1968:129-133) compiled a statistical report on the progress and dropouts of Indian students in grade eight from 1962 through 1967 in Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota. The five year average for dropouts per state was: Oregon - 29.3 percent; Washington - 38.5 percent; Idaho - 34.4 percent; Montana - 41.7 percent; North Dakota - 51.5 percent; South Dakota - 57.8 percent. The total was 399 dropouts in a total number of 840 students or 47.7 percent (1968:137). His data demonstrated that Indian graduates of BIA schools were less likely to enter college than graduates of public schools and that the completion rates for vocational-technical programs were lower for graduates of BIA schools than for

public school graduates. However, in his study, he indicated that completion rates for college and junior college were higher for graduates of BIA schools.

In a study similar to Selinger's completed in the Southwest, Bass (1969:10-18) sampled Indian students who graduated from high school in 1962 from schools in New Mexico, Oklahoma, Southern Colorado, and Southern Utah. His study revealed that over half of all Indian high school graduates sampled completed a post-high school program, although not necessarily the program which they began. Of those who continued in post-high school programs, one in three completed vocational-technical programs. Less than 10 percent completed either two or four year colleges. Family background proved to be one of the most important characteristics differentiating Indians who continued their education from those who did not. The higher the level of parental education, the more likely the graduate was to continue his schooling.

Patton and Edington identified (1973:20-21) factors which were related to Indian student persistence in higher education at the University of New Mexico and New Mexico State University from 1967 to 1971. Those factors which showed significantly at New Mexico State University and not the University of New Mexico were sex, Indian Club membership, age, and high school: 62 percent of the persisters were members of the campus Indian Club, while only 44 percent of the non-persisters were members; 41 percent of the persisters were female; while

