LEVELS OF ASPIRATION AND OTHER-DIRECTION

DISSertation

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Most sociological studies of level of aspiration have been designed to document the differential distribution of aspirations throughout different social levels, but there have been very few studies of the correlates of aspirations within relatively homogeneous populations in spite of the importance of this problem to a society which has emphasized achievement and mobility.

Some recent analyses of contemporary America suggest that one of the characteristics differentiating high and low aspirers among youth of the middle and upper-middle classes is a preoccupation with conformity and peer group approval. This study is an investigation of the extent to which this concern with approval and conformity is related to aspirations for occupational success among college students.

Background of the Problem

The literature on level of aspiration has supported the assumption that middle class youth have both higher ambitions for the future and values more appropriate for occupational achievement than lower class youth even when some allowance is made for class differences in social perspectives. However, some recent analyses of contemporary
America suggest that changes are occurring in the classes believed to be the most achievement-minded.

Class and attitude surveys indicate strata differences in beliefs concerning opportunity and in values contributing to the possibility of mobility. These surveys have served as the theoretical background for a variety of studies of high school populations designed primarily to determine the extent to which there is a general mobility potential through the various social levels, as Merton claims, or whether it is limited to the higher strata, as Hyman implies. These studies of young people tend, on the whole, to support the view that although aspirations are present throughout all social levels, classes differ relatively, with upper status youth more ambitious and more optimistic about the future.

In addition to this, studies indicate that values which facilitate the translation of these aspirations into action are not as widely distributed as the mobility potential. Studying high school sophomores, Rosen found that achievement-oriented motives and values are more

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1 An excellent summary of class attitudes has been given by Herbert H. Hyman in "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," Class, Status, and Power, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-42.


3 Hyman, op. cit., 441-42.

characteristic of the middle than the lower strata. Other studies have been more specific concerning the values said to differentiate between strata. Schneider and Lysgaard point out that there are many scattered bits of evidence for what they call the "deferred gratification pattern," or the tendency of the middle class to put off present pleasures for the sake of future goals. The class and attitude studies of Centers further document the differential distribution of mobility-linked values.

This literature about the differential distribution of aspirations and supporting values presupposes an ideology of the value of discipline and hard work loosely termed the Protestant Ethic both on the part of American society and the social scientists who study it. The extent to which this ideological framework is adequate to explain changes in the behavior of American youth has been challenged by some recent analyses of contemporary America.

These analyses are part of a very large literature representing attempts on the part of the intellectuals to come to grips with the dilemma of an ideology of individualism inherited from the eighteenth

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7 There are a variety of these studies. See, for example, Richard Centers, "Children of the New Deal: Social Stratification and Adolescent Attitudes," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, IV (Fall, 1950), 315-35, and "Educational and Occupational Mobility," American Sociological Review, XIV (February, 1949), 143-44.

century Enlightenment and the restraints imposed on the individual by the growing bureaucratization of society. The focus of interest in much of this literature is on the growing personalization of social relations as an outcome of the dilemma and its consequences for both personal motivation and social structure. Some of the more recent analyses describe shifts away from the older individualistic ethic toward an increased interest in sociability on the part of the very young people who have been assumed to be the most achievement-oriented according to sociological research.

The Problem

In The Organization Man, William H. Whyte Jr. describes a shift from the Protestant Ethic of individualism to a "social ethic" emphasizing the morality of teamwork. The achievement-oriented business executive of an older generation is somewhat annoyed at the

9 It is beyond the limits of this research to describe this literature in detail. There are a variety of viewpoints, and the intellectuals themselves are not always in agreement on fundamentals. For an excellent review of the literature of alienation, see Sally Harris, "A Conceptual Analysis of Alienation" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of Political Science, Columbia University, 1953), pp. 1-112. For some fundamental disagreements among American intellectuals, see Granville Hicks, "Liberalism in the Fifties," The American Scholar, XXV (Summer, 1956), 283-96. A good understanding of the range of views may be secured by comparing C. Wright Mills, "The Competitive Personality," Partisan Review, XIII (September-October, 1946), 433-441, with William H. Whyte Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), pp. 267-392.

10 Whyte, ibid., pp. 11-32.
waste of time involved in the teamwork ethic. The younger generation sees "togetherness" as a positive value, and the ideal of the well-rounded man has replaced admiration for the striver.

Whyte does not argue that the younger generation of management trainees is entirely without ambition. Instead, he emphasizes that these young men look with an unfavorable eye on too avid acceptance of individualistic competitive norms and with approval on norms emphasizing sociability. Although he describes specifically trainees groomed for management levels of the large corporation, Whyte claims that these young men are setting the pattern for the rest of the younger generation.

In *The Lonely Crowd*, David Riesman describes this change from job-mindedness to people-mindedness as a shift in social character from the individualistic "inner-directed" type disciplined by internalized goals to the group-minded "other-directed" type governed by the desire for acceptance by his peers.

The essential meaning of the term "other-direction" is a radar-like sensitivity to the expectations of other people and a consequent striving to conform to these expectations. As a result of this preoccupation with people, the other-directed individual seeks adjustment rather than power and prefers approval to fame. In commenting on the other-directed person's need for approval and direction from others, Riesman says, "While all people want and need to

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be liked by some of the people some of the time, it is only the modern other-directed types who make this their chief source of direction and chief area of sensitivity.\textsuperscript{12}

The meaning of other-direction has been further clarified in an unpublished study by Elaine Graham Bell,\textsuperscript{13} who developed a scale to measure inner- and other-directed attitudes and investigated their psychological properties. According to Mrs. Bell, other-direction is correlated with perceptual field-dependence, suggestibility, and conformity to external standards in social-cognitive situations. In contrast to the inner-directed person, the other-directed individual has a weaker self-image and a greater tendency to subscribe to conventional social attitudes. He stresses the importance of adaptation to others rather than the urgency of his own personal goals.

The findings of Mrs. Bell's study caution against the assumption that the other-directed individual is a warm, out-going, genuinely friendly and responsive person because he is interested in people. According to Mrs. Bell's interpretation, the other-directed individual may exhibit a low level of self-awareness and an inability to get deeply involved emotionally, although he may appear superficially to be better adjusted and less withdrawn than the individualistic inner-directed person.

\textsuperscript{12} Riesman, \textit{ibid.}, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{13} Elaine Graham Bell, "Inner- and Other-directed Attitudes" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Psychology, Yale University, 1955), pp. 69-78.
The appearance of the other-directed type is connected historically with the bureaucratic, consumption-oriented society. In the life history of the person, it is likely to be the outcome of the impact of social change on the family and on practices in training the young. Permissive child care, which gives the child independence without providing working models, sensitizes him to the peer group, which will help him define the goals that parents have failed to provide. In describing the growing influence of the peer group and its effect on patterns of achievement, Riesman comments:

The peer-group has become the measure of all things; the individual has few defenses the group cannot batter down. In this situation the competitive drives for achievement, sponsored in children by the remnants of inner-direction in their parents come into conflict with the cooperative demands sponsored by the peer-group. The child therefore is forced to re-channel the competitive drive for achievement, as demanded by the parents, into his drive for approval from the peers.¹⁴

But the child's anxious peers simultaneously look to him for signs of approval; and the outcome is, in effect, a general abandoning of inner-directed goals in favor of the more tenuous aim of interpreting cues from the social environment correctly. Competitive drives do not entirely disappear, but individualistic competition becomes redefined as "antagonistic cooperation."¹⁵

¹⁴ Riesman, op. cit., p. 103.
¹⁵ Riesman, ibid., pp. 102-04.
The other-directed environment, then, which teaches the child to value and need peer group approval, also teaches him to fear exceeding these significant others lest he be cut off from the signals which define his experience, and this reluctance to go too far beyond the others is reflected in the ambitions young people express for the future.

Speaking explicitly of students, Riesman says they are not interested in great achievements, but prefer social security instead. They prefer not to develop talents that might involve too great competition with others. In short, he says, the old song "I Don't Want to Set the World on Fire" aptly expresses their attitudes toward the future. Similar views were expressed by the friendly, outgoing students in Whyte's analysis. The seniors, he says, would rather take the job with the organization that promises security than the riskier job which holds out the lure of higher pay.

Both Riesman and Whyte describe the behavior of well-educated young people, largely upper-middle class, whose environment presents the dilemma of a new morality of personalized relations in conflict with individualistic norms requiring some loneliness and opposition to the expectations of significant others. Their observations suggest

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16 Riesman, ibid., pp. 270-71.

17 Whyte, op. cit., p. 70.
that within this environment preoccupation with sociability is affecting the levels of aspiration of the very young people assumed in sociological research to be the most ambitious.

Statement of the Problem

This study is an attempt to determine whether low aspirers among college students are more preoccupied than high aspirers with the peer group approval and conformity to the expectations of others than Riesman has termed "other-direction."

Riesman and Whyte have both commented on the aspirations of college students, but their observations do not take explicit account of the variability within that population. According to Riesman, other-direction is unevenly distributed both occupationally, ecologically, and with respect to class and age. It is most prominent among the young, the new salaried businessmen and younger professionals, in the upper-middle class, and in the larger cities. The technically-oriented engineer, the non-urban resident, and the mobile youth from the working class are much less likely to get caught up in the round of the other-directed style of life.\(^\text{18}\)

Within the college population there are both students who have come from backgrounds similar to the other-directed environment described by Riesman and others who are farther removed in terms of age from the experiences of home and school which are believed to be the

\(^{18}\) Riesman, op. cit., chaps. I, VI, and XI.
training ground for the personalized society, whose education at college places less emphasis on the newer values of sociability, or whose background prior to college is closer to the older, more individualistic society. Whether the aspirations of these latter young people have been markedly affected by the general atmosphere of the other-directed society is not clear.

A comparison of high and low aspirers with respect to these two different types of backgrounds both provides a test for the generality of the hypothesis that low aspirers are more other-directed than high aspirers and at the same time tests the assumption that such a relationship is the outgrowth of experience in an environment which emphasizes the new values of personalized social relations.

This study, therefore, asks two related questions: are less ambitious college students more other-directed than high aspirers, and is a significant difference between high and low aspirers found chiefly in connection with background factors associated with the growth of other-direction?

It is hoped that this research will be a contribution to the currently limited literature of the correlates of level of aspiration within relatively homogeneous populations. The correlate investigated here is of particular interest and importance in view of the current concern with the growth of conformity among American youth and its possible consequences both for the maintenance of competitive norms and for the individual himself if his sociability should result in levels of aspiration incommensurate with the requirements of the occupational roles he is preparing to assume.
Method of Procedure

In order to investigate the problem of this study it is necessary to develop a conception of level of aspiration sufficiently precise to detect differences in aspirations within the homogeneous population of college students. This conception of level of aspiration will be discussed in the following chapter.

The background factors which distinguish between the newer personalized environment and the older individualistic background were modified from Riesman's observations concerning the social origins of the other-directed type. One factor, religion, not emphasized by Riesman, was added because of its relevance to the internalization of ideal norms and its possible effect on reducing dependence on other people as a source of direction. These background factors were defined operationally as the occupational orientation of the student, social status, urban and non-urban residence, religious affiliation, and attendance at college at the normal college age.

Other-direction is measured by a modification of Sub-scale B of the Bell ID-OD Inventory and defined operationally in terms of the description of that scale. According to Mrs. Bell, Sub-scale B measures "needs for friendship, popularity, intimacy, group adjustment and cooperation and a responsiveness to social pressures towards conformity on the basis of these needs." 19

The subjects in the study are male, white, native-born college students attending the Ohio State University.

19 Bell, op. cit., p. 42.
RELATIVELY SIMPLE OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF LEVEL OF ASPIRATION HAVE BEEN USED IN MOST OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF THIS SUBJECT. THESE DEFINITIONS, USUALLY IN TERMS OF OCCUPATION OR LEVEL OF INCOME, ARE ADEQUATE TO DOCUMENT DIFFERENCES IN ASPIRATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL LEVELS WHERE THE DIFFERENCES ARE LARGE AND OBVIOUS. THEY ARE NOT ADEQUATE TO THE PRESENT PROBLEM BECAUSE ASKING COLLEGE STUDENTS WHAT TYPE OF OCCUPATION THEY ARE PREPARING FOR TELLS MORE ABOUT DIFFERENCES IN OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCE THAN ABOUT DIFFERENCES IN THE HEIGHT OF ASPIRATIONS. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A GENERAL MEASURE WHICH CUTS ACROSS OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE AND IS AT THE SAME TIME PRECISE ENOUGH TO SEGREGATE DISTINCTIVELY DIFFERENT LEVELS OF ASPIRATION WITHIN A RELATIVELY HOMOGENEOUS POPULATION.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE LITERATURE ON LEVEL OF ASPIRATION, BOTH IN PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY, INDICATED THAT THERE IS NO PRECISE MEANING FOR THE TERM IN EITHER LITERATURE, AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES REVEALED SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS IN DEFINITION WHICH HAVE NOT ALWAYS BEEN TAKEN INTO consideration in the sociological literature.

IN THE VERY LARGE PSYCHOLOGICAL LITERATURE, THE TERM HAS BEEN USED IN LABORATORY STUDIES TO MEAN THE READINESS TO TAKE RISKS AND
is operationally defined as a discrepancy score in the performance of laboratory tasks.\(^1\) Other psychologists have raised fundamental questions about what the term is actually measuring. In one of the very few studies which took explicit account of social class, Gould interpreted level of aspiration as an attitude taken toward the future, claiming that for the dissatisfied, the aspiration response represents a rejection of the present and an anticipation of a future that will be more satisfactory.\(^2\)

The literal interpretation of aspiration responses has also been challenged by Holt in an investigation designed to determine the extent to which aspiration responses might represent ego-defense rather than realistic estimates of future expectations. Holt concluded that when ego-involvement is great, the level of aspiration becomes more complexly determined, and responses are not simply rational estimates of objective situations.\(^3\)

These studies point to a persistent problem in level of aspiration research that has not been solved satisfactorily. It is recognized that no aspiration study is free from what the psychologist

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\(^1\) The best summary of level of aspiration research in psychology, although not the most recent, is found in Kurt Lewin, "Level of Aspiration," Personality and Behavior Disorders, ed. J. McVeigh Hunt (New York: Ronald Press, 1944), I, pp. 333-78.


\(^3\) Robert B. Holt, "Level of Aspiration: Ambition or Defense?" *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, XXXVI (October, 1946), 398-416.
calls the persistent non-adjustive phantasy response, that is, the unrealistically high response made by the frustrated subject. These high responses then contaminate the interpretation because they do not have the same meaning as equally high scores obtained by non-frustrated subjects.

Over-response has appeared both in laboratory studies of level of aspiration and in the sociological literature, although it is not always explicitly recognized in the latter studies. In the psychological studies, extremely high discrepancy scores are sometimes received by subjects who persistently predict high scores on tasks after repeatedly demonstrating that the predicted level is unrealistic in terms of past performance, and these subjects appear to have a variety of deviant psychological characteristics.

In the sociological literature, analogous responses were made by some of Chinoy's auto workers, who described plans for the future which were unrealistically ambitious in terms of their background and real mobility potential. Over-response because of blocked mobility may also have complicated the otherwise excellent study by Reissman, who found that young low achievers as a whole expressed higher aspirations than did a comparable group of young high achievers.

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4 There are a number of studies here. See, for example, Pauline S. Sears, "Level of Aspiration, Academically Successful and Unsuccessful Children," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXV (June, 1940), 498-536, and Julian B. Rotter, "Level of Aspiration as a Method of Studying Personality," Character and Personality, XI (May, 1943), 255-74.


There is probably an irreducible element of phantasy in every aspiration study. However, extensive contamination can be avoided in several ways: by making an explicit distinction between the level of expectation and the level of wish, by selecting a population which is not obviously mobility-blocked, or by using a large enough sample so that the statistical effects of over-response are minimized.

Some recent sociological studies have investigated discrepancies between what a person would like to do if he could have his wish and what he actually expects to achieve. These studies show that it is important not to confuse the level of expectation with the level of day dreams or wishes, since wishes tend to be higher than expectations. Confusion may be avoided in part by asking the aspiration question specifically within one or the other contexts, depending on the intent of the study. The present study deals with expectations, not day dreams, and subjects are asked what they expect to achieve, not what they would like to do if opportunity were unlimited.

Another way to minimize the possibility of extensive contamination in studies of occupational aspirations is through the selection of subjects for whom career advancement is a real possibility because for these subjects questions about expectations for economic success are more realistic, and the need for phantasy is reduced. For this reason, the more homogeneous college populations are probably more suitable for studies of the correlates of aspirations than the high school groups which have been used extensively in the investigations of level of aspiration.

7 Stephenson, op. cit., 211.
The effects of this distorting feature of any level of aspiration study are probably minimized in the present study because of the large sample, the choice of subjects not obviously mobility-blocked, and by the procedure of asking the aspiration questions explicitly on the level of expectation rather than wish.

The psychological studies discussed above deal with aspirations in the context of achievement motivation as a general psychological property of individuals. In contrast to this conception of aspirations, sociological studies have been largely attempts to investigate the status of the achievement theme in American society, and the concept usually represents acceptance of success norms either in terms of goals or mobility orientation.\(^8\)

In spite of fundamental differences in orientation, the concept of future goals is implicit in both the sociological and psychological research. In the present study, this concept of aspirations as goals has been extended to include the intent to implement them by putting job advancement ahead of other interests in order to develop a measure which would include not only the goals for which a person strives but also some measure of the strength of the motivation. In this view, an individual is expressing a higher level of aspiration if, in addition to aiming for high goals, he is also willing to give up something to secure them.

This conception of level of aspiration resulted from an examination of the sociological literature, which indicated an

alternative to the definition of aspirations as specific desires for income or occupations but was not clearly more adequate because it did not include the height of the goal for which the person is aiming.

Although in most sociological studies, level of aspiration is defined operationally as a particular income or occupational level, a few investigators have attempted to devise more general measures in order to solve the persistent problem of finding a common denominator for aspirations which are qualitatively different. Two basic dimensions appear in these attempts to construct more general measures: the subject can indicate a variety of goals he hopes to attain, or he can describe what he would do in order to secure them.  

In arguing for the superiority of the latter dimension, Reissman claims that it both provides a common denominator for various goals and forces the subject to make a more realistic assessment of the aspiration question itself. However, knowing what a person is willing to do to attain his goals gives no information about how high he is aiming. On the other hand, a knowledge of the height of the aspiration gives no clue to what he intends to do in order to secure the goal.

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10 Reissman, op. cit., 239.

11 Reissman, op. cit., 239.
The assumption that one of these conceptions of level of aspiration is more adequate than the other is largely gratuitous since they represent two different dimensions, both legitimate elements of the cultural pattern of success striving, which includes not only the prescription that a person should aim for high goals but also that he should be prepared to secure those goals through self-discipline and hard work. In other words, a person should have a career orientation consistent with his high goals.

The term "level of aspiration" as used in this study refers to a combination of the two conceptions of aspirations discussed above. The decision to use both dimensions instead of choosing one as is customary in studies of level of aspiration rests on the assumption that high aspirations for occupational success mean a desire to attain a position equalled by relatively few other people in one's field, and that realistic aspirations include the understanding that putting the job ahead of other interests, is usually the condition for achieving that position. Therefore, the high aspirer is best described as a person who both aims for high goals and has a strong career involvement.

Any departure from this combination of characteristics represents not only a lower level of aspiration but also a different type of aspirer. When subjects are cross-classified on these two dimensions, it is possible to develop four types of aspirers, one of whom is the high aspirer described above. A second type is the subject who expects to achieve high goals but is not exclusively career-oriented and who is somewhat selective about what he will do to achieve his goals. A
third type is the subject who for some reason does not expect to attain high goals but has, nevertheless, a strong career orientation. This type may describe the subject whose relatively modest expectations for the future actually represent for him a rather high goal level so that his aspirations are perhaps more similar to the high aspirer than to the low aspirer, who both entertains low expectations for future success and, furthermore, is not particularly job-minded.

Among these types, the high and low aspirer are clearly the highest and lowest level of aspiration. The two inconsistent types represent an intermediate level, although there is no good rationale for deciding which is lower than the other. They are, however, qualitatively different.

The definition of level of aspiration used here is not specific to the present study. It is assumed to be useful in any level of aspiration research involving occupational success, particularly in examining the levels intermediate between the highest and lowest which are usually not given much consideration in studies using a concept of high and low aspirations.

In the present study, it is expected that these intermediate levels will be particularly useful, especially if other-direction is related to unclarity in aspirations. This possibility is suggested by the fact that the "well-rounded" young men are sociable but not unambitious, and the "antagonistic cooperators" come from a social level typically associated with high ambitions.
In the following chapter the scales used to measure the two dimensions will be described, and in a subsequent chapter empirical data to validate the descriptions of the levels of aspiration will be presented.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Three scales plus a series of items to secure background data were used in this study: a scale to measure goals, an inventory of items describing interests that might hinder job advancement, and a modification of Sub-scale B of the Bell ID-OD Inventory to measure other-direction. Subjects were 589 male students attending courses required of students in the Colleges of Commerce, Engineering, and Arts at The Ohio State University. Data were collected during regular class sessions.

The Aspiration Scale

An aspiration scale to measure goals was constructed from the responses of 93 male college students enrolled in introductory sociology courses. A set of nine items was developed to measure Riesman's concept of inner-directed goals, which, he says, "usually involve money, power, fame or some lasting achievement in the arts or professions." These items were then administered to students attending five introductory sociology courses, but only male responses were used in the construction of the scale.

Each item had five alternatives ranging from "less than average" to "very highest," although the wording of the alternative varied

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1 Riesman, op. cit., p. 139.
according to the question. These responses were scored on a five-point scale with five representing high aspirations and one representing low aspirations. Item scores were summed, and subjects ranked from high to low on total score to determine whether the items formed a Guttman scale.\(^2\) Upon inspection, alternatives four and five, "highest" and "considerably higher than most people" were combined, the scales re-scored, and the subjects re-ranked. Errors of reproducibility were then counted. On this test, items three, six, and eight, measuring value of home, social leadership, and fame were discarded. The scales were again re-scored and re-ranked, and items were tested for reproducibility. On this second test items four and seven were dropped. These items measured leadership and standard of living.

Scales were re-scored and re-ranked a third time and again tested for reproducibility. The remaining items, measuring income, power, distinction in one's field, and influence in one's community formed a quasi-scale with a reproducibility of .87. It was decided not to combine alternatives further because this would have distorted the meaning subjects were assumed to express.

These remaining items were compared with Riesman's description of inner-directed goals and appear to be consistent with it, although "distinction" replaced "fame." Furthermore, the items have a sufficiently high reproducibility to suggest that for these subjects

they formed a cluster of goals. Therefore, the items remaining after the third test for reproducibility were retained for the final scale. Each item is scored on a four-point scale, with four indicating the highest aspirations and one the lowest. The scale has a possible range of four to sixteen points. A copy of this scale is included in the complete questionnaire for the study in Appendix I. A copy of the preliminary scale is found in Appendix II.

After the data for the study were collected, the reliability of the scale was re-tested by drawing a random sample of 100 cases from the total sample of 589 and running a split-half correlation test. The items have a split-half reliability of .83 with a standard error of .03 when corrected for attenuation by the Spearman-Brown formula. The scale is therefore assumed to be sufficiently reliable to justify its use in dividing subjects into high and low categories on the basis of total scores.

In the literal sense of validity, aspiration scales cannot be validated except by testing the truthfulness of the respondent. Comparisons with behavior are not a valid check because a person can truly expect to achieve something yet not do so because of circumstances entirely beyond his control or because he might simply change his mind in the course of time.

Some evidence for the validity of the scale, however, can be produced by showing that high and low scorers on the scale also differ with respect to other measures which are logically related to high and low aspirations. In the present study, the 44 subjects who scored
15 and 16 were compared with the 65 subjects who scored 8 or less on the aspiration scale with respect to three items relating to aspirations.

Subjects were asked whether they preferred a job offering prestige and high income to one offering enjoyment because of the type of work. In order to minimize the refusal to make such a choice, subjects were allowed first to choose a job offering both prestige and pleasure. Obviously, most of them chose this alternative first. The rank order of the second and third alternatives, which forced a choice between prestige and enjoyment were used in comparing the high and low groups. The results of this comparison are shown in Table 1. High scorers chose prestige and income nearly twice as often as enjoyment. The difference between high scorers and low scorers is highly significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Score</th>
<th>Prefer Prestige and Income</th>
<th>Prefer Enjoyment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High scorers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>h4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low scorers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>h4</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square - 10.40. Significant beyond the .01 level.
Next, subjects were asked to state their income aspirations in dollars. These responses were then divided into subjects who expected to earn under $20,000 per year and those who expected to earn $20,000 or more. A comparison of high and low scorers with respect to income aspirations appears in Table 2. High scorers appear in the high income group five times as often as they appear in the low group. On the other hand, low scorers appear in the low group four times as often as they appear in the high group.

TABLE 2. Numbers of high and low scorers indicating income aspiration of $20,000 per year and $20,000 per year and over

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Score</th>
<th>Under $20,000 per Year</th>
<th>$20,000 per Year and Over</th>
<th>Total(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Scorers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Scorers</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) Chi-square - 41.59. Significant beyond the .01 level.

\(^b\) Two high scorers and nine low scorers did not answer this item.

Finally, subjects were asked to state their occupational aims in an open-ended question. Responses were divided into subjects who had no definite ideas, those who simply stated an occupational aim as a job title with no comment, those who indicated that they expected to own their own businesses, and subjects who spontaneously used the language of high aspirations, that is, indicated that they expected
to be, for example, the head of a firm, the best doctor in town, or a top criminal lawyer. The results of this comparison are presented in Table 3. Only the high scorers in this group used the language of high aspirations spontaneously or wanted to own their own businesses, although the numbers here are very small. Substantially more low scorers than high scorers had no definite ideas about what they wanted to do.

**TABLE 3. Numbers of high and low scorers on aspiration scale by answer to open-ended question**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>High Scorers</th>
<th>Low Scorers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Used language of high aspirations spontaneously</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expected to own a business</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used job title only</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had no definite ideas about job</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*a No chi-square was calculated because of insufficient frequency in second category.

*b Two subjects did not respond to this item.

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**The Job Advancement Inventory**

The intention to put the job ahead of other interests was measured by an instrument developed by Leonard Reissman.³ On this

³ Reissman, op. cit., 240.
instrument the respondent is asked to indicate which of eleven items might stop him from making an advance in a job or occupation, which might be a serious consideration but would not stop him, and which would not stop him at all. The reasoning behind this instrument is that the person who would permit many things to stop him from making such an advance has lower aspirations than the person who would permit few things to stop him.

Only responses to the first alternative, "might stop me from taking the job," were scored. The other alternatives were assumed to help the respondent clarify his reactions to the items. This method of using the instrument follows the method used by Dynes, Clarke, and Dinitz in their study of levels of aspiration and attitudes toward family experience.4

Both the number and type of items chosen are taken into consideration in the calculation of the job advancement score. Items checked "might stop me from taking the job" were given the weights used in the Dynes study. These weights represent the frequency with which items were chosen by the subjects in Reissman's study, a varied population of both old and young employed males. These weights were used in this study in order to keep the results of studies using this instrument comparable.

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Total score on this instrument represents the sum of the weights of the items checked. Possible scores range from zero to sixty-six. In this study, a high score indicates a low level of interest in job advancement. A list of the weights used in scoring the job advancement inventory is found in Appendix III. A copy of the instrument is included in the complete questionnaire in Appendix I.

Reissman reported in his unpublished study that these items do not form a scale. Since this is the case, there is no test for internal consistency. A test-retest check for reliability would have been desirable but was impractical in the present case because students had been promised anonymity.

The Other-direction Scale

Other-direction was measured by a modification of Sub-scale B of the Bell ID-OD Inventory. The complete instrument, which contains twenty-eight items, partly open-ended and partly situations requiring an inner- or other-directed choice among alternatives, was too long for use in a fifty minute class period along with the other information necessary for this study.

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6 Bell, op. cit., pp. 82-93.
Sub-scale B was first pre-tested in its original form, except for changing one open-ended item to closed alternatives which were selected from the scoring key for open-ended items provided by Mrs. Bell. At this time, subjects were asked to comment on the clarity of the items. As a result of this pre-test, two items were deleted and several of the items were re-worded slightly. Since it appeared that subjects would have time to respond to more items than the scale now included after the revisions, seven items were added from the complete inventory. It was felt that the items added did not depart markedly from the description of Sub-scale B. This revised scale, which now contained eighteen items, was then pre-tested again. No further changes were made, and the revised scale was used in the final study. This revised scale appears in the questionnaire in Appendix I.

The original scoring of items was followed except for a slight modification in scoring the "paths of life," which are a series of descriptions of ways to live and appear as the final items in the scale. Other-directed responses receive a score of four, and inner-directed responses a score of two, with the exception of the paths. Only the first two paths (numbered two and three in the original inventory) were actually included in the final score and were scored according to how the respondent ranked them with reference to the entire set of paths. If the path appeared in first or second place or fifth or sixth place, it was given a score of one or five, depending on whether it was an inner- or other-directed choice. Choices appearing in third or fourth place were given the neutral score of three. Items
omitted also received this neutral score. Possible scores range from thirty-four to seventy-four, with high scores representing a greater degree of other-direction. A key to the method of scoring is found in Appendix IV.

Mrs. Bell reported a split-half reliability of .79 when corrected for attenuation. This reliability coefficient is for the entire scale. On the final pretest of this study, the revised version showed a split-half reliability coefficient of .87 with a standard error of .03 when corrected for attenuation by the Spearman-Brown formula.

A final check was made on the reliability of the scale after the data were collected. One hundred cases were drawn at random from the final sample for this test. This sample of 100 cases yielded a split-half reliability coefficient of .86 with a standard error of .03 when corrected for attenuation by the Spearman-Brown formula.

There are two lines of argument for the validity of this instrument. The first argument rests on the fact that according to Mrs. Bell, the items were made up largely from situations taken from Riesman's work, and that both Riesman and Nathan Glazer, who collaborated with him, read most of the items Mrs. Bell used. This argument simply says that the persons who were responsible for developing the concept of other-direction agreed that these items seemed to be correct descriptions of the behavior they were analyzing.

A second argument for validity is that the person-oriented individual should seek out the company of other people more often
than the individual who is not so preoccupied with socializing. On this theory, the high scorers on the other-direction scale should, on the whole, attend more social gatherings, have more dates, attend fewer events alone, read fewer books (because reading is a solitary occupation), have a roommate rather than live alone, and dine alone less often.

For this attempt to validate the other-direction scale, subjects in the study who scored 60 or more were compared with those scoring 49 or less. Married subjects were not included in this comparison because the questions are not applicable to them. There are 96 low scorers in this comparison and 103 high scorers.

The results of this examination are shown in Table I. According to these responses, high scorers on the other-direction scale attend more parties, have more dates, go to events alone less frequently,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>High Scorers (N=103)</th>
<th>Low Scorers (N=96)</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended no parties during last four weeks</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.37a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had no dates during last four weeks</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attended no movies, etc., alone during last four weeks</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6.66a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read no books other than class assignments during last four weeks</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.37a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ate no dinners alone during last four weeks</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.32a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not have roommate</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>2.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\* At or beyond the .01 level of significance.
read fewer books, eat dinner alone less often, and have roommates less often than do low scorers. From this evidence it appears reasonable to conclude that high scorers on this scale are more person-oriented than low scorers, at least in the sense of actively seeking companionship.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study is composed of three scales: the aspiration scale, the job advancement inventory, and the other-direction scale. In addition to these scales, it includes a number of items designed to secure background data about the subjects as well as items used in validating the aspiration and other-direction scales. A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix I.

The Sample

The subjects in this study are male Ohio State University students attending courses required of all students in each of three colleges: Arts, Engineering, and Commerce. These colleges were chosen because they have different potentialities for encouraging other-direction. Commerce students represent a business orientation, Engineering students a technical orientation, and Arts students, on the whole, a professional orientation. The sample was designed to
include 200 students from each of these colleges. Females, Negroes, and foreign-born students were not included in the sample.

In order to ensure that subjects would be fairly representative of the types of aspirations to be found in these colleges, only students attending classes required of all students in each of the colleges were used. It was assumed that since required courses are generally taken early in the college program, most of the subjects would be underclassmen, thus controlling somewhat for the length of time the student has been in college.

This limitation to required courses meant that a limited range of classes met the requirements of the sample design, and it was necessary to get access to these particular classes. This restriction to required courses was adhered to consistently, and no students are included in the study who do not meet the qualifications imposed.

All students in the College of Commerce are required to take Introduction to Business in their freshman or sophomore year. There are very few upperclassmen in these courses, representing for the most part transfer students from other colleges. Six sections of this course were made available for the study.

Arts students were chosen from six classes of Fundamentals of Sociology, a course required of all students in the Arts program. Four sections of History 423, also required of all Arts students, were added when the Fundamentals course failed to yield a sufficient number of respondents.
Engineering students are required to take Sociology 512, an introductory course designed especially for the Engineering College. Since these classes were readily available, they were included in the sample. They did not, however, yield as high a proportion of underclassmen as expected, but were predominantly juniors and seniors. An attempt was made to get more underclassmen directly from the College of Engineering. Here the problem was both that there are very few courses required of all Engineering students, and that the program is a very heavy one. Instructors, although sympathetic, were reluctant to give up entire class periods to outside research. However, two classes of Engineering Drawing 401 were obtained.

In all, 814 questionnaires were collected. Of these, 225 were discarded because they were outside of the categories of students included in the study. The following students were not included: 143 females, 7 foreign students, 44 students not enrolled in the expected college, and 9 Negro students. After the questionnaires were scored, an additional 22 responses were discarded as too incomplete to use. The remaining sample included 180 Commerce students, 192 Engineering students, and 217 Arts students, a total of 589.

The resulting sample of 589 cases has two limitations. In the first place, it is not possible to secure a random sample in the classroom situation, and thus the possibility of generalizing to the populations of the various colleges is severely limited. The second limitation is the uneven distribution of subjects according to class
rank in college. The Engineering sample differs from both Arts and Commerce in the proportions of upperclassmen included, and the Commerce sample is considerably more homogeneous with respect to class rank than either of the other two. This limitation will be taken into consideration when comparisons are made between the colleges.

Summary and Method of Analysis

A scale to measure aspirations was constructed and tested for reproducibility. Sub-scale B of the Bell ID-OD Inventory was pre-tested and modified. These two scales, plus Reissman's job advancement inventory and additional items to secure background data and information for use in validating the instruments, were assembled into a questionnaire and administered to 589 male students enrolled in courses required by the Colleges of Arts, Commerce, and Engineering. After the questionnaires were scored, the aspiration and other-direction scales were re-tested for reliability, and an attempt was made to assess the validity of these instruments.

In the following analysis, subjects will be divided into high and low scorers on the aspiration scale and the job advancement inventory and cross-classified into four categories of aspirers. A comparison of the distribution of responses on the job advancement inventory will be presented.

Hypotheses will be tested by comparing mean other-direction scores among the various levels of aspiration in connection with
background factors related to other-direction. The critical ratio will be used to evaluate the significance of observed differences between means except where the number of cases is less than 30. In these cases, a t-test will be used.
CHAPTER IV

THE ASPIRATION TYPES

The concept of level of aspiration used in this study includes two dimensions: expectations for achieving high goals and a preference for job advancement ahead of other interests. Categories of aspirers representing the possible combinations of these two dimensions were obtained by measuring subjects on each dimension separately and cross-classifying responses according to total scores on each of the scales. An examination of responses to the job advancement inventory items plus the meaning of inner-directed goals yielded a description of the types used in the study.

Cross-classification of Responses

After the aspiration scale was scored, the entire sample of 589 cases was divided into subjects who had a total score of 12 points or above and subjects who scored less than 12 points. This division also provides a meaningful rationale for the terms "high scorer" and "low scorer" since the high subjects, on the whole, aspire to be at least somewhat above average on each of the items on the scale. Forty-five per cent of the sample were classified as high scorers and fifty-five per cent as low scorers.

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The job advancement inventory was then scored and the entire sample divided into high and low scorers on this instrument at score 21. The high category scored 21 points or less, the low category more than 21 points. A high score implies a low drive toward job advancement since it means that the subject would permit many things to take precedence over his career. Fifty-two per cent of the sample were classified high on preference for job advancement, and forty-eight per cent were classified as low on this dimension. This division resulted in a nearly even division of the sample.

The sample was then cross-classified according to scores on both scales to yield the four types of aspirers used in the analysis. Subjects who appeared in the high scoring group on both scales were classified as high aspirers. Subjects who appeared in the low group on both scales were called the low aspirers. If a subject scored high on the aspiration scale and low on the job advancement inventory, he was classified as an inconsistent high aspirer. Subjects who scored low on the aspiration scale but high on the job advancement inventory were called inconsistent low aspirers.

Twenty-four per cent of the sample were classified as high aspirers, twenty-seven per cent as low aspirers. The inconsistent high aspirers include twenty-one per cent of the sample, while the remaining twenty-eight per cent represent the inconsistent low aspirers. If the two measures of aspirations used in this study were simply alternative ways of measuring the same dimension, most of the subjects should have appeared in the highest and lowest types. The
fact that this did not occur shows that each of the scales is measuring a different variable.

Means on the aspiration scale for each of the four types are presented in Table 5. According to this table, high aspirers and inconsistent high aspirers are nearly identical in mean aspiration scores, as are the low and inconsistent low aspirers.

TABLE 5. Mean aspiration scores for sample by aspiration type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Sample</th>
<th>Mean Aspiration Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median job advancement inventory scores for each of the four types are presented in Table 6. According to these data, high and inconsistent high aspirers are slightly lower in median scores on the job advancement inventory than the corresponding low and inconsistent low aspirers. This difference in median scores is accounted for by the slightly different pattern of choices shown by these types on the items composing the inventory.
TABLE 6. Median job advancement inventory scores for sample by aspiration type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total Sample</th>
<th>Median Job Advancement Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A distribution of responses to items on the job advancement inventory is shown in Table 7. According to this table, differences between high aspirers and inconsistent low aspirers, who theoretically should be similar in responses, are largely accounted for by the tendency for the inconsistent low group to choose health and family somewhat more frequently than the high aspirers. Since these items receive a high rank in the scoring of the inventory, they probably account for the small difference in the median scores for these two groups.

The small difference in median job advancement scores for the inconsistent high aspirers and the low aspirers, which should theoretically be similar, is probably accounted for by the tendency of the low aspirers to dislike moving around the country more than the inconsistent high aspirers.
TABLE 7. Per cent of aspiration types who might let items stop them from making an advance on a job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>High Aspirers (N-143)</th>
<th>Inconsistent Low Aspirers (N-163)</th>
<th>High Aspirers (N-122)</th>
<th>Low Aspirers (N-161)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Endanger your health</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Leave your family for some time</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Move around the country a lot</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Leave your community</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Leave your friends</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Give up leisure time</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Keep quiet about political views</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Keep quiet about religious views</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Learn a new routine</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Work harder than you are now</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Take on more responsibility</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Description of the Aspiration Types

A description of the types of aspirers can be derived from the pattern of choices in the job advancement inventory and the type of goals described in the aspiration scale. These descriptions are, of course, highly general and apply to the types as a whole and not to individual subjects.

High aspirers in this study expect, on the whole, to exceed their peers in income, in distinction in their chosen fields, in power, and in influence in their communities. They usually value health above job advancement, but for most of them, work takes precedence over family.
They can tolerate a degree of rootlessness, may prefer work to leisure, and either have no deep religious and political convictions or are willing to keep quiet about them if they threaten the achievement of their goals.

Relative to the high aspirer, the low aspirer expects much less in the way of income, power, distinction, and influence in his community. He, too, is concerned about health; but he is also preoccupied with family, prefers not to be constantly on the move, values his leisure time, and either has religious and political convictions, or verbally expresses the intention to follow ideal norms.

The inconsistent high aspirers, like the high aspirers, expect to achieve high goals, but they do not share the other characteristics of the high group. In other characteristics they resemble the low aspirers, except for a slightly greater willingness to move around the country in order to take a better job.

The inconsistent low aspirers resemble the low aspirers in their relatively low level of expectation for future achievement. However, they are more like the high aspirers in their willingness to put job advancement ahead of other interests, except that they appear to place a little more emphasis on health and family than the high group.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA

In a complex and rapidly changing society, new values may modify older ideological systems. In contemporary America, it is believed that our individualistic ethic of competitive striving for economic success is currently challenged by a new concept of the morality of personalized social relations which has the unintentional effect of modifying the aspirations of the young people who until now have been assumed to be the most involved in competitive achievement norms.

The new values in interpersonal relations are believed by David Riesman to result not simply in an interest in socializing, but in an intense preoccupation with peer group approval and a consequent value placed on conformity to group-oriented values. It is this "other-direction," as Riesman calls it, that is said to be redirecting the ambitions of the young away from competitive norms toward conformity to the expectations of the peers.

Not all segments of American society have been equally affected by the changes in life style and ideology which favor the growth of other-direction, and young people who have been less exposed to the newer values may persist in their adherence to the older individualistic orientation. In this case, their aspirations would not be
affected by other-direction because they have not been affected by the changes in ideology.

The analysis presented in this chapter is designed to test these observations concerning the relationship between levels of aspiration and other-direction in order to determine how strong the relationship is and how widespread it is among college students. If the relationship is strong, high and low aspirers should differ significantly in other-direction; if it is generally characteristic of college students, it should not be much affected by variations in background.

In the following sections, these problems will be investigated with reference to five background factors comparing experience which emphasizes the newer values with experience more closely connected with the persistence of the older individualistic ideology relatively unchanged. A series of questions will be asked in each of the sections. What is the evidence that the backgrounds differ with respect to other-direction? Does the most other-directed background produce noticeably larger numbers of low aspirers? Within the background assumed to be associated with changing values, are low aspirers more other-directed than high aspirers? And finally, is this relationship found chiefly in connection with the background associated with changing values? Answers to these questions should provide evidence for re-examining the relationship between levels of aspiration and changing values.
In order to compare high and low aspirers from environments with varying potentialities for producing other-direction, background factors were chosen for the most part from Riesman's statements concerning the social origins of the other-directed type or were modified from his observations. One factor, religion, which was not emphasized by Riesman, was added because of its relevance to the internalization of ideal norms.

**Occupational Orientation**

Changes in values associated with work have been the focus of interest in the shift from the production-oriented to the consumption-minded society. In this study, the role of work in changing values is examined in the context of the occupational training of students for three types of work: business, professional, and technical.

In training for business careers, values implicit in the current emphasis on human relations in industry are reflected in the almost unchallenged assumption that the most valuable skill to acquire is the handling of people adroitly.\(^1\) While business students are trained nominally in competitive business norms, this value placed on skill in handling people may also train them quite inadvertently to be very much concerned about their own interpersonal skills.

\(^1\) For a description of this in action, see Whyte's description of the General Electric training program in *Whyte, op. cit.*, pp. 121-125.
Engineering students, on the other hand, are trained to handle material rather than people and are taught by men whose emphasis on the "hardness of the material" rather than on human cooperation has kept them closer to the older production-oriented society where impersonal competitive norms were dominant. In contrast to these two types of training, which differentiate rather clearly between the old and new values and have decidedly different potentialities for favoring the development of other-direction, professional training is in a somewhat ambivalent position, for much of it emphasizes the broad background as a preparation to the highly competitive occupational training to follow.

The problem in this section is to determine the effects of occupational training on levels of aspiration. Is it among the students trained for careers in business that preoccupation with peer group approval and conformity is affecting the level of aspirations? If the values of the personalized society are affecting levels of aspiration, Commerce students in this study should be more other-directed than the other types of students, more of these students should be in the low aspiring group, and low aspirers in this college should be significantly more other-directed than high aspirers.

Mean other-direction scores for the total sample by college are presented in Table 8. Table 9 shows similar scores for underclassmen only.

---

2 Riesman, op. cit., p. 135.
TABLE 8. Mean other-direction scores of total sample by college

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>55.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>53.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>53.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between means<sup>a</sup> 2.03<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Difference between highest and lowest means.

<sup>b</sup> .01 level of significance.

TABLE 9. Mean other-direction scores of underclassmen only by college

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>55.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>54.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>53.98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between means<sup>a</sup> 1.59<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Difference between highest and lowest means.

<sup>b</sup> .05 level of significance.
There is practically no difference in other-direction scores between Arts and Engineering students, and both are more individualistic than Commerce students. There is also a slight tendency for other-direction scores to be higher for underclassmen only regardless of college, indicating a tendency for other-direction to decrease with time spent in college or for the more other-directed students to drop out. However, this difference between under and upperclassmen is not large enough to bias the Engineering sample critically in the direction of lower other-direction means because it is very small.

According to these other-direction means, training for business is more closely associated with other-direction than training for either the professions or a technical career.

Distribution of the samples by aspiration type and college is presented in Tables 10 and 11. Since the samples vary in size, percentages are used to facilitate comparisons.

TABLE 10. Percentage distribution of sample according to aspiration type by college

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Commerce (N=180)</th>
<th>Engineering (N=192)</th>
<th>Arts (N=217)</th>
<th>Total (N=589)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 11. Percentage distribution of underclassmen only according to aspiration type by college

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Commerce (N=159)</th>
<th>Engineering (N=56)</th>
<th>Arts (N=1145)</th>
<th>Total (N=360)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since this is not a random sample, no claim should be made that this particular distribution of responses accurately reflects the distribution of aspirations in these colleges beyond the students represented in this study. Theoretically, students should appear in each of the colleges in the same proportions as in the total sample if occupational orientation is not related to levels of aspiration. Actually, there is considerable fluctuation showing that these colleges represent different populations with respect to the distribution of aspiration types.

The variability in the distribution of aspiration scores among the inconsistent types is quite marked. Arts students seem more inclined to be selective about what they will do to achieve their goals than the other groups. Engineers, on the other hand, show a greater tendency toward a strong career involvement without associating it with high goals.
This distribution of responses does not reveal any tendency for the most other-directed background to produce a noticeably larger number of low aspirers. In fact, there is a tendency for the reverse to be the case, and the largest proportion of high aspirers is found in the most other-directed category.

The next problem to determine is whether low aspirers among the Commerce students are more other-directed than high aspirers and whether this relationship, if any, holds for the more individualistic Arts and Engineering students.

Other-direction scores for the levels of aspiration are shown in Table 12. In the following comparisons among aspiration levels,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>Commerce</th>
<th>Engineering</th>
<th>Arts</th>
<th>Differencea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53.69</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>51.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>55.09</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differenceb</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>55.13</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>55.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differenceb</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>1.54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51.61</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differenceb</td>
<td>3.97d</td>
<td>3.27d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Difference between highest and lowest means.
b Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.
c .05 level of significance.
d .01 level of significance.
the highest level represents the goal-minded, ambitious inner-directed type. The purpose of comparisons with the inconsistent types is to avoid the assumption that the relationship between other-direction and aspirations is a simple difference between high and low aspirers since there are some grounds for believing that unclarity in aspiration patterns may be related to increases in other-direction.

When high and inconsistent high aspirers are compared, there is no significant difference between levels of aspiration for Commerce students, although the small difference is in the expected direction. Instead, arts students are the group who respond most like the "well-rounded" young men, whose interest in sociability is linked both to high aspirations and to a reluctance to make these the only goals. Engineering students, in contrast to both of the other groups, show more individualism within the lower level, and high aspiring students are very much like highs among the Commerce students.

In comparing high and inconsistent aspirers, all differences between the aspiration levels are in the expected direction, although they are not very large. This comparison involves differences in goals rather than the differences in values implied in the previous comparison. The consistency of response for all groups in this comparison compared with the variability in the previous one suggests that there may be a fairly stable relationship between other-direction and the goal dimension of aspirations, but that when values are involved, groups do not respond so consistently.
When the highest and lowest levels are compared, the expected differences both between levels of aspiration and between colleges appear when the joint effect of the two dimensions of aspirations is in operation. A statistically significant difference in other-direction between aspiration levels is found for the Commerce students, a somewhat less but still significant difference for Arts students, while the technically-oriented engineers differ scarcely at all.

Variability in other-direction scores within the lower levels of aspiration is considerably greater than within the highest level, indicating that whatever basis there may be for predicting other-direction from level of aspiration probably lies within the highest level rather than the lowest.

The above analysis does not take into consideration the fact that these students were not controlled for year in college. The Engineering sample is composed mainly of juniors and seniors, while the other groups are predominantly underclassmen. Since the numbers of Engineering underclassmen are too small for statistically reliable analysis, the following comparisons are suggestive only.

Other-direction scores for levels of aspiration for underclassmen only are presented in Table 13. As in the previous comparison of high and inconsistent high aspirers, the Arts students show the only significant difference, and the difference between levels of aspiration for the Engineers is in a direction opposite from the other colleges.
TABLE 13. Mean other-direction scores for levels of aspiration by college for underclassmen only

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>Commerce N</th>
<th>Engineering N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Arts N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>55.45</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>55.66</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>4.28&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55.27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>2.10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>57.87</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4.42&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>3.05&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.

<sup>b</sup> .05 level of significance.

<sup>c</sup> .01 level of significance.

When other-direction scores for high and inconsistent low aspirers are compared, there is again no evidence of significant differences between levels of aspiration for any of the colleges. There is, however, a tendency for Arts underclassmen to show a larger difference than the total Arts sample and for the Engineers to differ in a direction opposite from the other two colleges.

In the comparison between the highest and lowest levels, the relationship between aspirations and other-direction for students of different colleges, which appeared when subjects were not controlled for class rank, differs little from a similar analysis when class rank
is controlled. In both cases, high and low aspirers among the Commerce students show the largest difference, Engineering students tend to move in a direction opposite to the other colleges, and Arts students are in a position intermediate between Commerce and Engineering. The levels of significance for Arts and Commerce students are also similar to those in the previous analysis.

On the basis of this examination of underclassmen only, it does not appear that differences in the composition of the sample with respect to class rank greatly distorted the analysis when the entire sample was used as a basis for comparing the highest and lowest levels of aspiration. Comparisons involving the inconsistent low aspirers showed some differences, but they do not appear to be very large. It is probably the case, then, that the inconsistent low aspirers absorb most of the distortion present in the sample.

Summary. This analysis suggests that there is a relationship between aspirations and other-direction, but that it is related to both aspiration type and occupational orientation. As expected, the highest total other-direction scores were found among the Commerce students in accordance with the theory that this type of occupational training is more closely connected with the newer values of the personalized society. But these higher scores seem to result not from a larger proportion of low aspirers but rather from the presence of low aspirers who are significantly more other-directed than the corresponding low aspirers in the other colleges.
Comparisons involving the intermediate levels of aspiration revealed more complex relations between aspirations and other-direction than the comparison involving the highest and lowest levels. In this analysis, a highly significant difference in other-direction requires a comparison between the extremes on the aspiration measures.

It was hoped that an examination of the intermediate levels, in combination with the description of the types, would yield observations not readily obtainable when simple high and low levels are used. However, the difficulty of interpreting responses of Engineering and Arts students who are ambivalent in their acceptance of success norms shows that this type of subject may require a more complex type of analysis, probably involving qualitatively different types of aspirations. The small but significant difference between high and inconsistent high aspirers among Arts students and the large difference between the inconsistent types of Engineers may perhaps be explained by this intrusion of other values, since the inclusion of these students in the inconsistent instead of the high and low categories is dependent on a series of value choices.

It is felt, therefore, that confirmation of the hypothesis should rest on the responses of the students who are clearly high and low aspirers, and that the responses of the inconsistent types should be reserved for a later interpretation of the findings.

In this view, the hypothesis that low aspirers are more other-directed than high aspirers does not apply generally to the sample
in this study, but is confirmed for Commerce students and to a lesser
degree for Arts students. It does not appear to be particularly
relevant to the aspirations of the Engineers.

It should also be noted that variability was more pronounced within
the highest level, suggesting that high aspirers may be more like each
other regardless of occupational orientation than are the various types
of lower aspirers.

Social Status

The upper-middle classes in contemporary America are generally
assumed to be the locus of changing values. In this section the
purpose of the analysis is to determine whether it is among students
from this background that other-direction appears to be affecting
levels of aspiration while students from the working class remain
relatively unaffected.

Riesman describes the rise of other-direction among the upper-
middle classes and the persistence of inner-direction among the mobile
youth from the working class. Practices in training the young appear
to account for differences in needs for peer group approval and con-
formity between these groups of young people since the discipline and
hard work emphasized by parents attempting to motivate children to
change status are replaced in the upper-middle classes by permissive

child rearing which entails considerable concern over how well the children get along with other children.¹

In order to separate mobile from upper-middle class subjects, students were asked to report their father's occupations. These occupations were then ranked according to the North-Hatt method of assigning prestige ratings to occupations.⁵ An extended version of the original list of occupations reported by North and Hatt was used, and occupations not appearing on the revised list were given a score approximating a similar occupation.

The sample was first divided into six divisions using a five point interval on the rank order as breaking points, but the resulting categories contained too few cases for the type of analysis used in this study. Since the North-Hatt method of ranking occupations is assumed to result in a continuous rank order, arbitrary breaking points yielding at least thirty cases in each category were used in the analysis.

The resulting arrangement of subjects represents a continuum of mobility with subjects whose fathers scored 69 or less on the extended list of rankings representing the most mobile students, and subjects

¹ For a description of these "getting ahead" parents, see Joseph Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (Summer, 1953), 186-203.

whose fathers scored 75 or above representing upper-middle or near upper-middle class students. Upper-middle class students are called Class I, mobile students, Class III. Class II represents students in a position intermediate between the least mobile and the most mobile subjects.

The first task of the analysis is to determine whether these very different status backgrounds differ in other-direction. Mean other-direction scores for the total sample by social status are presented in Table I. Contrary to expectations, there is very little difference in other-direction among the various status levels, although Class III students are somewhat more individualistic than either of the other groups. This similarity among students from such obviously different backgrounds, which is rather surprising given the almost universal tendency for status levels to differ, may be accounted for by the probability that college both selects and trains students with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Status</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class I</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>51.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class II</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>51.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>53.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between means

\[ a \] Difference between highest and lowest means.
similar values so that the mobile college student is already more like his peers from upper levels than he is like his class of origin.

The next question to be examined is: are more upper-middle class students found among the low aspirers than is true for the other status groups? Percentages of students in each of the aspiration categories by status is presented in Table 15. It should be pointed out that the lower status students appear less frequently in the high and inconsistent high categories, the upper-middle class students appear less frequently in the lower levels of aspiration, while the middle group is about equally divided. This distribution appears to be more dependent on expectations for achieving high goals than on career involvement and parallels the customary findings of distribution studies in level of aspiration. In spite of their motivation, it seems that mobile working class students carry over their lower expectations for goals into the college situation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Class I (N=171)</th>
<th>Class II (N=209)</th>
<th>Class III (N=188)</th>
<th>Total (N=568)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is felt that no conclusions should be drawn concerning the proportions of students in the category assumed to represent the most other-directed environment, or rather, in the two categories which were slightly higher in other-direction than the mobile students, because the distribution of aspirations so obviously depends on the effects of status, and the contribution of training in other-direction to the distribution of responses is obscured.

Other-direction scores according to levels of aspiration are shown in Table 16. Contrary to expectations, the comparison between

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
<th>Class III</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53.66</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53.63</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>54.20</td>
<td>54.62</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>51.08</td>
<td>3.74c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>3.01c</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>55.06</td>
<td>54.56</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>53.62</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>2.75c</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>55.08</td>
<td>56.31</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>53.85</td>
<td>2.46c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>.50d</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Difference between highest and lowest means.
b Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.
c .05 level of significance.
d .01 level of significance.
high and inconsistent high aspirers shows very little difference for Class I students for whom the effect of the value choices in the job advancement inventory on levels of aspiration and other-direction appears to be minimal. These value choices are important to both Class II and Class III, but the effect in the first case is to increase other-direction, while for the lower status students, individualism appears to be related to a reluctance to make success the only goal.

When high aspirers and inconsistent low aspirers are compared, again, contrary to expectations, significant differences do not appear between aspiration levels among Class I students, although the difference that does appear is in the expected direction. In other words, differences in goals are somewhat related to differences in other-direction, but not to the extent suggested by the theoretical framework of this study. As before, Class II students show a fairly marked tendency to associate higher other-direction scores with the lower level of aspiration. Class III highs and inconsistent lows are practically identical in their responses, showing that for these students, who agree on career orientation values but not on goals, other-direction has little relevance to the internalization of high goals. This finding suggests that the hypothesis of a relationship between aspirations and other-direction in the sense of the actual height of the aspiration does not apply to these more mobile students, as was predicted in the formulation of the problem of the study.
When the highest and lowest levels of aspiration are compared, the pattern of findings for Class II's in the preceding comparisons reappears, but the fairly low level of significance becomes highly significant when both the height of the goal and the appropriate mobility values are taken into consideration. As before, there is a small difference in the expected direction for Class I's and practically no difference for the most mobile students. This tendency for the largest difference in other-direction to occur between the highest and lowest levels of aspiration, which appeared in the preceding examination of occupational orientation, shows that although the two dimensions of level of aspiration used in this study are relatively independent of each other with respect to other-direction, when one logically reinforces the other, higher other-direction scores appear. In other words, there is a tendency for needs for approval and conformity to become more salient for some categories of students whose low expectations for actual achievement are reinforced by a lack of career involvement.

**Summary.** The evidence that other-direction is the outcome of experience in the upper-middle classes is unclear, and the most that can be said is that it does not appear to be the outcome of the more individualistic background. No conclusions were drawn from the distribution of responses among the aspiration types.
Class II students, who probably represent the mobile middle class in this study, displayed a quite marked tendency to associate other-direction with lower aspirations at all levels, while Class I's, who were theoretically expected to show this response, showed only small differences in the expected direction. These differences did not appear to be related to value preferences but were associated mainly with the internalization of goals.

There was a tendency for Class III students to show extremely small differences or to move in a direction opposite to the other classes. This finding shows that the relationship between aspirations and other-direction probably does not apply to the mobile working class students and offers further evidence that such a relationship is not a general characteristic of high and low aspirers. In agreement with the previous examination of occupational orientation, the range of other-direction scores suggests that the basis for predictability in this study probably lies within the highest level of aspiration in view of the similarity of high aspirers across status backgrounds as compared with the greater amount of variability within the lower levels.

**Urban and Non-Urban Residence**

The changes in social character and values which are the focus of interest in this study are said to be most prominent in the larger urban centers and their satellite suburbia. Smaller cities, towns, and farms, although not unaffected by changes in life style in the
metropolis, retain longer an orientation toward traditional norms, and conformity is to community values, not to the shifting requirements of the peers.

Have the aspiration levels of students who have spent all their lives exposed to influences generated by the urban environment been affected by the newer styles in interpersonal relations originating in the large urban centers?

In order to differentiate urban and non-urban students, subjects were asked to report all the places they had lived in before coming to college and then to place a check mark next to cities with a population of 100,000 or more. If a student checked none of the responses, he was classified non-urban. If all the responses were checked, the student was considered urban. The student was classified as having mixed experience if he gave both checked and unchecked responses. Obvious errors in checking were corrected before the student was classified.

Subjects with military experience were not included in this analysis because the focus here is on the total experience of the student until he arrived at college, and the moving about entailed by military service is not comparable with civilian experience. Omitting veterans also produces a more homogeneous sample for the comparison by controlling in large part for age.

Before examining the levels of aspiration of these students who vary widely in their experience with the urban environment, it is necessary to determine whether urban students are actually more other-
directed than non-urban students and whether the urban environment appears to produce a larger number of low aspirers.

Mean other-direction scores by residence experience are shown in Table 17. Differences among the background categories are insignificant; and the lowest mean, although the difference is very small, is associated with the urban students, which is contrary to expectations. These data do not support the assumption that urban students are as a whole more other-directed than non-urban students.

**TABLE 17. Mean other-direction scores of total sample by residence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>54.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed experience</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>55.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-urban</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>55.73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between means

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Difference between highest and lowest mean.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages of students in each of the aspiration types according to residence experience are presented in Table 18. The distribution among the types is fairly consistent across the background categories except for a slight tendency for a larger proportion of low aspirers to appear among the urban students. This concentration of urban students in the lowest level of aspiration is not, however, associated with a higher other-direction mean.
TABLE 18. Percentage distribution of sample according to aspiration type by residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Urban (N-164)</th>
<th>Non-Urban (N-115)</th>
<th>Mixed (N-106)</th>
<th>Total (N-385)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data do not present any evidence that the urban environment is generating more other-direction although it contains a slightly larger proportion of low aspirers. An examination of the levels of aspiration of these students should show whether or not these low aspirers are more other-directed than the high aspirers.

Mean other-direction scores for the various levels of aspiration according to residence experience are presented in Table 19. A comparison of the high and inconsistent high aspirers shows that there are no significant differences either within or between aspiration levels although the small differences between levels are all in the expected direction. In other words, all of these students show a slight tendency to associate lower career involvement with a small increase in other-direction.

A comparison of high and inconsistent low aspirers, which shows slightly larger differences than the preceding comparison, offers further evidence that when expectations for achieving goals are varied,
TABLE 19. Mean other-direction scores for levels of aspiration by residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>All</th>
<th></th>
<th>All Non-Urban</th>
<th></th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Differencea</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>53.57</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>53.66</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53.86 .29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>54.81</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>55.00</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>54.52 .48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differenceb</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>55.00</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55.90</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>55.74 .90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differenceb</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>55.51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>58.21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>56.31 2.70c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differenceb</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>4.55d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Difference between highest and lowest means.

b Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.

c .05 level of significance.

d .01 level of significance.

other-direction scores show a slight tendency to be larger than when actual career involvement is compared.

When the highest and lowest levels of aspiration are compared, the largest difference appears among the non-urban students, who are supposed to be the most committed to individualistic norms of any of the students in the comparison. However, both of the other groups show differences in the expected direction which are slightly larger than in either of the other comparisons.
Summary. In this section, the more other-directed low aspirers are more likely to appear, not in the large cities where the new life styles are created, but in the environment where the older individualistic norms may persist the longest. Although all categories show some tendencies in the expected direction, the hypothesis appears to be most relevant to the non-urban group. This conclusion is supported by the examination of total other-direction scores which did not show that the urban environment per se generates more other-direction than the non-urban environment with which it was compared.

It will be noted that means were somewhat high as a whole in this comparison. This is probably explained by the omission of veterans from the analysis, controlling the sample both for age and complexity of experience. As in other sections, high aspirers are much more like each other in other-direction across background factors than are the lower levels, which tend to show more variability within levels.

Religious Background

The purpose of this section is to examine aspirations and other-direction with reference to the potentialities of religious institutions for maintaining an older, more traditional view of social relations. In addition to relating the individual believer to a universe transcending human experience, religious institutions provide a set of standards to guide behavior in the social world.
In Max Weber's famous thesis, Protestantism and individualism were linked during an era characterized by a change in economic behavior. Now, during another era of rapid social change, it seems appropriate to reverse, not the thesis that this religious outlook is associated with change, but the ideology with which it may be associated.

The assumption made in this study is that the more highly institutionalized and orthodox faiths are better fitted to regulate individual behavior in accordance with traditional values because it is tradition that largely validates their authority. But the traditional values may have changed in meaning since the time Weber wrote his essay, and it is possible that individualism is now the traditional viewpoint being challenged by an increasing emphasis placed on the group. If this is the case, acceptance of a traditional faith may function in opposition to the growth of other-direction because these institutions emphasize the more traditional value of individualism, and young people may be taught the morality of guiding their behavior somewhat independently of the exigencies of the immediate situation because these faiths emphasize dependence on absolute standards.

The following analysis will attempt to determine whether other-direction and aspirations are related to the acceptance of a traditional religious faith. Does this type of religion provide a climate of belief which works against the growth of other-direction,

and are the aspirations of its adherents less affected by the new values than are the aspirations of those affiliated with religions more responsive to social change?

In order to examine these questions, students were divided into those affiliated with traditional religions and those affiliated with the less highly organized and orthodox faiths. This division cuts across the more conventional Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish classification.

Catholics, Lutherans, orthodox Jews, and members of the Greek Orthodox faith are included in the traditional category. Other Protestant denominations and conservative and reformed Jews are included in the non-traditional category. The religious composition of the total sample is shown in Table 20. The thirty-two students who disclaimed all religious affiliation are not included in the analysis.

TABLE 20. Religious composition of total sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other protestant</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthodox Jew</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative and reformed Jew</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek orthodox</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atheist</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mean other-direction scores for the total sample by religious affiliation are presented in Table 21. Although the difference is very small, these data offer some evidence to support the assumption that traditional students are more individualistic than non-traditionals.

### TABLE 21. Mean other-direction scores of total sample of religious affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>53.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-traditional</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>54.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between means 1.58a

a .01 level of significance.

If other-direction is affecting aspiration levels of the non-traditional students, and the relationship is strong, there should be more low aspirers among this group. Proportions of subjects in each of the aspiration types according to religious affiliation are shown in Table 22. Here the most noticeable difference is a tendency for larger proportions of low aspirers to appear in the category associated with lower rather than higher other-direction scores. Probably no conclusion should be drawn from this distribution, however, because Catholic students are often mobile from the working class, and this class bias may have distorted the distribution. A final decision
TABLE 22. Percentage distribution of sample according to aspiration type by religious affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Traditional (N=173)</th>
<th>Non-Traditional (N=379)</th>
<th>Total (N=552)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

on the effects of religious affiliation will depend on the examination of other-direction and levels of aspiration.

Mean other-direction scores for the levels of aspiration are shown in Table 23. When high and inconsistent high aspirers are compared,

TABLE 23. Mean other-direction scores for levels of aspiration by religious affiliation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>Traditional N</th>
<th>Non-Traditional N</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>93 53.27</td>
<td>35 52.74</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>78 54.97</td>
<td>38 52.76</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference^a</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>106 55.28</td>
<td>45 53.56</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference^a</td>
<td>2.01^b</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>102 55.79</td>
<td>45 53.76</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference^a</td>
<td>2.52^c</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.
^b .05 level of significance.
^c .01 level of significance.
high aspirers are very much like each other in other-direction regardless of religious affiliation, but the lower level of aspiration is more variable when religious affiliation is taken into consideration. The negligible difference between aspiration levels for the traditional students shows that the association of other-direction with ambivalence regarding success norms is less marked for students whose religious training has probably taught more dependence on impersonal standards.

Differences between high and inconsistent low aspirers parallel the findings in the previous comparison except that they are somewhat larger, and in the case of the non-traditional group attain a low level of statistical significance. This comparison, which varies goals, again shows that other-direction is more closely related to the internalization of goals. This relation between aspirations and other-direction is not, however, so clear for the traditional students.

In a comparison between the highest and lowest levels, both categories show a tendency for low aspirers to be more other-directed than the high aspirers, but the trend is much more marked for the non-traditional students.

These comparisons of aspiration level support the argument that the effect of changing values on aspirations is more noticeable among students whose religious background is associated with more flexibility in responding to social change. The foregoing analysis, however, does
not take into consideration whether or not the students actually attend church. Perhaps the fact of going to church per se is more important than the type of church attended. A division was therefore made between church attenders, defined as subjects who report attending church at least once a month and subjects who report less regular attendance or none at all.

Table 24, which presents the other-direction means for students by church attendance, shows a significantly lower mean for students who do not go to church. It appears from these data that church-goers have stronger needs for meeting the expectations of other people.

TABLE 24. Mean other-direction scores of total sample by church attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church Attendance</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Church attenders</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>54.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-attenders</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>52.52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Difference between means 2.22a

.01 level of significance.

The lower mean of the non-attenders may be accounted for by the fact that religious conflict appears to result in lower other-direction scores. Some of the non-attenders are avowed atheists, and other students indicated some religious conflict in their backgrounds. Atheists are extremely low in other-direction compared to other subjects in the study, with a mean other-direction score of only 47.0. Students
who seemed to have some religious conflict in their backgrounds, that is, whose parents differed in religion, or who differed from their parents in religious affiliation, also tended to be low in other-direction with a mean score of 51.17 compared to 54.51 for students with no conflict.

Table 25, which shows the distribution of the sample according to aspiration type, indicates a higher proportion of the more other-directed church attenders in the lowest level of aspiration. The higher aspirations of the non-attenders are due, in part, to the tendency of subjects with religious conflict to appear more frequently in the highest level of aspiration.

TABLE 25. Percentage distribution of sample according to aspiration type by church attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Church Attenders (N=361)</th>
<th>Non-Attendents (N=221)</th>
<th>Total (N=582)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence in Table 25 suggests that church attendance has some relevance to the relationship between aspirations and other-direction. This question is examined further by comparing levels of aspiration and other-direction scores. These scores are presented in Table 26.
TABLE 26. Mean other-direction scores for levels of aspiration by church attendance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>Church Attenders</th>
<th>Non-Attenders</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>3.01^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference^a</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2.52^b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference^a</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference^a</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^a Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.

^b .05 level of significance.

No statistically significant differences appear for any comparisons between aspiration levels. Comparisons involving the inconsistent types show somewhat larger differences for church-attenders. When the highest and lowest levels are compared, the larger difference appears in connection with the non-attenders, contrary to expectations. These comparisons do not present any clear evidence that church attendance is related to the questions posed in this section. However, they are not entirely satisfactory because they do not take type of affiliation into consideration. The most that should be claimed here is that identification with a particular type of religious faith seems to differentiate the other-direction scores of high and low aspirers more clearly than does the fact of attending church per se.
Summary. In this section it was found that students affiliated with traditional religions are less other-directed than those from less highly institutionalized faiths. It is also among this latter group, whose religion is probably more flexible with respect to social change, that the relationship between aspirations and other-direction is the strongest. Although students who do not attend church were more individualistic than church attenders, church attendance did not appear to differentiate between these two categories of students as well as church affiliation. As in previous comparisons, high aspirers from the two religious backgrounds had very similar other-direction scores while there was more variability within the lower levels.

Age

Almost the entire college population is young, but relatively small differences in age may take on significance if they represent qualitatively different kinds of experience. Many students in college today have not come directly from high school either because they have had to work for money to attend college, or because they have served in the Armed Forces. Compared with students who have come to college directly from high school, these older students are farther removed both in time and quality of experience from the influences of home and school which are believed to emphasize the values of the other-directed society.
A comparison between these two very different segments of the college population is probably the best test of the generality of the hypothesis that low aspirers among college students are more other-directed than high aspirers because it draws the sharpest distinction between qualitatively different kinds of background and experience. The purpose of this section is to examine the other-direction scores and aspirations of these two categories of students. Are low aspirers among students of normal college age more other-directed than high aspirers, and does this relationship also hold for the older students?

In order to divide the sample into students of normal college age and those over the normal age, overage students were defined as freshmen twenty years of age or older, sophomores at least twenty-one years of age, juniors twenty-two years or older, and seniors at least twenty-three years of age. Fifth year Engineering students were classified as seniors and were allowed an extra year in that category.

Other-direction scores for the entire sample according to age are presented in Table 27. A division by age yields the largest difference in other-direction scores found in connection with any of the background factors in this study. As anticipated, the normal age college population is significantly more likely to be concerned with peer group approval, conformity, and personal popularity than the more individualistic older students.
TABLE 27. Mean other-direction scores of total sample by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Normal college age</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>55.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over normal college age</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>51.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference between means</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.54&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>.01 level of significance.

These higher other-direction scores of the younger students are not associated with any tendency for higher proportions to appear in the lowest level of aspiration. This distribution of responses according to aspiration type is shown in Table 28. The disproportionate differences observed in the intermediate levels probably represents the greatest complexity of experience of the older students, which has apparently persuaded some of them that high goals may be somewhat unrealistic.

TABLE 28. Percentage distribution of sample according to aspiration type by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspiration Type</th>
<th>Normal Age (N=373)</th>
<th>Over Age (N=216)</th>
<th>Total (N=589)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mean other-direction scores of the levels of aspiration are presented in Table 29. According to these data, differences between age groups are more important than differences between aspiration levels. When high and inconsistent high aspirers are compared, the contribution of the value choices in the job advancement inventory to variations in other-direction for both groups appears to be minimal.

TABLE 29. Mean other-direction scores for levels of aspiration by age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Aspiration</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Normal Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Over Age</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High aspirers</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>51.07</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50.96</td>
<td>3.11c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent high aspirers</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>51.86</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50.56</td>
<td>1.40c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differencea</td>
<td></td>
<td>.79</td>
<td></td>
<td>.50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconsistent low aspirers</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>55.31</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>52.70</td>
<td>2.61b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differencea</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low aspirers</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>56.64</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>51.83</td>
<td>4.81c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Differencea</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.57c</td>
<td></td>
<td>.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a Difference between means of high aspirers and the lower level.

b .05 level of significance.

c .01 level of significance.

Inconsistent low aspirers are more other-directed than high aspirers for both groups, although differences between aspiration levels are not very large. However, when the highest and lowest levels are compared,
low aspirers among the younger students are significantly more other-directed than high aspirers, while low aspirers among the older students are scarcely less individualistic than the high aspirers.

**Summary.** In this section, the normal age college population was found to be significantly more other-directed than the students who have had experience intervening between high school and college. The younger students do not have larger proportions of low aspirers, but low aspirers among these students are significantly more other-directed than high aspirers.

**Summary**

The other-direction means supported assumptions made concerning the relation between background factors and other-direction with the exception of urban and non-urban residence and some unclarity with respect to upper-middle class status. Differences, however, were usually quite small although the large number of cases often make them statistically significant.

The distribution of responses according to aspiration type failed to show that the higher other-direction means were consistently associated with the lowest level of aspiration. However, the difficulty of estimating the relationship between aspirations and other-direction is probably due to the effect of the background factors on aspirations independently of any connection with other-direction, as in the distribution for social status.
The findings in this study support the hypothesis that low 
aspirers are more other-directed than high aspirers under certain 
limited conditions, but the backgrounds assumed to produce such a 
relationship were not always the factors associated with the largest 
differences between high and low aspirers.

In only one case, non-urban residence, was a highly significant 
difference opposite to expectations found in connection with background 
factors believed to be associated with individualistic norms, and these 
backgrounds were usually lower in other-direction scores although in 
some cases differences were very small. Responses of the more in-
dividualistic students often showed trends in the direction predicted 
by the level of aspiration comparisons, but differences were usually 
small and never statistically significant.

The most other-directed low aspirer in this study probably came 
to college directly from high school and enrolled in the College of 
Commerce in preparation for a business career. He has probably lived 
in a small town or city rather than in a large urban center before 
coming to college, and his father has a middle class rather than an 
upper-middle class occupation. In religion, he is probably a Pro-
testant, or perhaps a conservative or reformed Jew.

The most individualistic low aspirer, on the other hand, did not 
come to college directly from high school, but probably served in the 
Armed Forces or worked at some job in order to earn money for college. 
He is probably mobile from the working class, is preparing for a career
in engineering, comes from a large urban center, and may be Catholic, or perhaps Lutheran.

An attempt was made to match a sample in order to show the accumulated effect of these variables on other-direction scores. This was done for all factors except residence, since this comparison did not involve veterans, who made up most of the overage group. When the sample was matched on the other four factors, there were 16 other-directed and 10 individualistic low aspirers. Corresponding high aspirers include 15 high aspirers similar in characteristics to the other-directed lows and 4 individualistic high aspirers.

Mean other-direction scores for the other-directed low aspirers average 59.18, which is higher than the means for any of the categories reported in the separate analyses of background factors. By comparison, the high aspirers with similar characteristics average 52.61. The difference between these levels of aspiration is 6.57.

The individualistic low aspirers, when controlled on four variables, average 49.70, or 9.48 less than the other-directed lows. The mean scores of the four individualistic high aspirers average 55.00, which is more like the mean for the other high group than like the individualistic lows.

These comparisons, which are suggestive only because of the very small numbers, support the conclusions drawn from the examination of separate background factors.
Since the differences in other-direction means are so small, the following conclusions are offered as tentative rather than conclusive and are based both on trends and the larger significant differences.

In the first place, the frequency of differences in the expected direction suggests that among the students in this sample, there is a persistent undercurrent of other-direction which is related to a lowered level of aspiration.

Secondly, high aspirers, regardless of differences in background, seem to share more similar views concerning other-direction than do low aspirers, although some low aspirers are more individualistic than the high aspirers.

Thirdly, among low aspirers there is a limited number of background factors which appear to be closely related to an increase in other-direction. These factors tend to yield the highest other-direction means, and categories of low aspirers from these backgrounds are never less other-directed than high aspirers.

Finally, the above conclusions refer principally to students who are fairly consistent in their acceptance or rejection of success norms. The inconsistent types in this study were not differentiated clearly on background factors.

An interpretation of these conclusions will be offered in the next chapter along with an evaluation of the methodology and some of the implications for further research in level of aspiration.
CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

The findings of this study are suggestive rather than conclusive. The inconsistent types did not differentiate as well as was hoped, and the range of other-direction means was very small, although the possible range of $3b$ to $7b$ on the scale offered a wide enough latitude for larger differences to appear.

The difficulty was due in part to the fact that in a sample as restricted as the one in this study, similarities in attitudes are bound to be fairly marked, and perhaps one should not be surprised that there were so few significant differences. Unfortunately, at the time of collection of data the college paper ran a series of editorials on conformity. It should be pointed out that students expressed considerable interest in the study, and some may have recognized that the subject of the study was related to the views expressed in the editorials. The salience of the topic may have biased the responses to the other-direction scale in the direction of nonconformity.

The levels of aspiration used in the present study were an attempt to develop a more complex measure which would make fine discriminations among students who were ambivalent in their acceptance of achievement norms. In evaluating the method of sorting students
into levels of aspiration, it is immediately evident that it was more effective in discriminating between the highest and lowest levels than in differentiating within the intermediate levels. It was expected that the aspiration types, which differed considerably among themselves both in the logic underlying their construction and in the actual test scores that went into the cross-classification, would pick out distinctive differences which could then be further interpreted by the description of the types.

It was expected, for example, that the high and inconsistent high types would differentiate more clearly between the goal-minded, job-minded, inner-directed student and the "well-rounded" man of Whyte's analysis, who is not unambitious but is somewhat naive about the conditions for achieving the high goals he has in mind and does not see "togetherness" as a possible source of future ambivalence toward success. There was only one comparison where this type of interpretation was justified, and interestingly enough, it did not appear in connection with the students trained for business, where it should logically have appeared, but among Arts students.

If the inconsistent low level had consistently yielded significantly higher other-direction means than the other levels, or if there had been consistent reversals in the expected direction between the high and inconsistent highs, this could have been interpreted in terms of the lack of urgency of personal goals said to characterize the other-directed type according to Mrs. Bell's study, from which the
items used to measure other-direction in this study were taken. This interpretation would have followed from a reinterpretation of the meaning of the job advancement inventory so that subjects were not only withdrawing from success goals but also from the other goals implied in the items in the inventory.

The findings of the study did not merit such an elaborate interpretation. The function of the inconsistent types in this study was mainly to show that other-direction is probably more closely related to the internalization of success goals than to the career involvement aspect of aspirations, but that the joint operation of both dimensions was more effective than either one alone in differentiating other-direction means of high and low aspirers.

The greater effectiveness of the aspiration scale was to be expected since it closely resembles Riesman's concept of the goals of the inner-directed person. The fact that it was not effective enough to pick out highly significant differences in other-direction offers some evidence that the study is free from circularity and that the interpretation of the job advancement inventory should be made in terms of alternatives to success striving rather than simply achievement motivation.

It might be argued that inner-directed goals are part of the intrinsic meaning of inner-direction rather than the ends the inner-directed person seeks, and conversely, that the lack of goals of the other-directed person is part of the meaning of the term rather than
a possible outcome of preoccupation with other people. In this case, the finding that high aspirers are ordinarily a little more individualistic than low aspirers would simply be demonstrating the obvious. However, the scale used to measure other-direction in this study does not contain items directly relating to occupational aspirations, and the low degree of relationship between levels of aspiration and other-direction supports the assumption made in this study that goals are extrinsic to the essential meaning of inner- and other-direction.

Significant differences between high and low aspirers required the addition of value choices described in the job advancement inventory. The effect of this combination of success goals and values is to reinforce the choice of goals with a series of value decisions relatively appropriate to the level of aspiration. This method of isolating the highest and lowest levels made these groups homogeneous enough with respect to values to provide the sensitive measure of aspirations required to detect at least some differences in conformity in the relatively homogeneous population of college students.

The failure of the aspiration types to pick out large mean differences in other-direction is probably due to a combination of factors, one of which may be the narrow range of possible responses within a general atmosphere of conformity on a college campus. However, the fact that the mean other-direction scores were, on the whole, in the middle range of possible scores rather than markedly toward the upper range offers some evidence that while students may be in
general agreement in attitudes toward conformity, this agreement does not necessarily imply that they agree in emphasizing it.

In the second place, a longer scale to measure other-direction might have been more productive of the type of findings which had been anticipated from the theoretical background of the study. But here it should be pointed out that the attempt to validate the other-direction scale showed that it was very sensitive to differences in behavior logically related to preoccupation with other people.

A third possible explanation for the small range of response involves alternative definitions of the responses themselves, and the subsequent interpretation of the findings will be made in the context of possible differences in interpreting the current preoccupation with socializing.

It is clear that no prediction can be made about similarities in other-direction among the low aspirers in this study without knowing some rather specific features about the student's background and experience, and even then the prediction is rather tenuous. No such unclarity surrounds the responses of the high aspirers, perhaps because in contrast to the possible variety of goals of the low aspirers, these students emphasize one, namely, occupational success. There was very little evidence in this study of large and significant differences in other-direction among these students, in contrast to the very great variability within the lower levels of aspiration. The single exception to this general finding was in the comparison between
older and younger students, and even here the size of the difference was smaller for the highest level.

The point to be made here is not that the high aspirers were always more individualistic than the low aspirers, because there were some exceptions to this, but that they were similar to each other. The failure of the highest level to be consistently the more individualistic may mean that high aspirations for occupational success are typically associated with some willingness to get involved with people, and that the stereotype of the goal-driven, individualistic striver may be inappropriate to describe the realistic high aspirations of a newer generation. The generally lower degree of other-direction of the high aspirers in this study along with the fairly small differences between high and low aspirers probably reflects both a redefinition of competitive striving and the mobility-oriented individual's time-orientation to the future with a consequent tendency to de-emphasize the importance of personal ties to the present.

If this similarity of attitudes and values is a general characteristic of high aspirers, whatever their social origin and experience, it has considerable theoretical importance for level of aspiration studies because of the importance customarily attached to differences in background in such research. This finding suggests that in the investigation of the correlates of aspiration, considerably more complex investigations into the genesis of achievement motivation will probably be necessary in order to explain why high aspirers from
such a variety of backgrounds may come to have similar attitudes while the same background factors continue to differentiate among the lower levels of aspiration.

The interpretation of the major findings of this study will be made in the context of three questions: why was there a persistent tendency for differences between high aspirers and the lower levels to be in the expected direction? Why was there a tendency for the larger differences to cluster in certain types of backgrounds? And why was it impossible to predict other-direction responses from a knowledge of the level of aspiration?

Before examining these questions, the meaning of other-direction as used in this study should be reviewed briefly in order to avoid misunderstandings about this admittedly difficult term. The items used in this study were taken from a scale designed explicitly to measure the concepts of inner- and other-direction as they appear in Riesman's work. In the original study these items were found to correlate with a variety of psychological tests measuring perceptual field-dependence, personality, and the stability of attitudes in the face of pressures to change, and the other-directed individual was found to be extremely sensitive to cues from the environment both in terms of actual perceptual processes and in terms of responsiveness to the attitudes and beliefs of the persons around him.¹

¹The techniques used included the Witkin tilting-room, tilting-chair test, Gottschalk embedded figures test, Rorschach, the auto-kinetic phenomenon, personality measures, a variation of the F test, and some measures of attitude change. See Bell, op. cit., pp. 1-3.
In this study, high and low scorers on a shortened and somewhat revised version of the scale were found to avoid situations where they would be away from the company of other people. For example, they seldom eat alone, do little reading, do not go to movies alone, and in general indicate a preference for the company of other people to solitary behavior.

The meaning of other-direction as used in this study should not be confused with vague usage of the term "conformity" which may mean anything from conformity to ideal norms to a near-compulsive fear of departing from convention. As used in this study, other-direction refers quite explicitly to needs for approval and response from other people, a concern for personal popularity, and tendencies to respond to the expectations of one's associates. It is the association of these needs with levels of aspiration that has been the focus of this research.

According to the findings of this study there was a fairly consistent tendency for lower aspirers to be more other-directed than high aspirers although in many cases the differences were very small. This persistent tendency probably means that many students are somewhat more concerned about meeting the expectations of their peers in the college situation than they are about a relatively remote future. A more important question is whether this tendency to respond to others and its effect on levels of aspiration reflects a stable set of attitudes that will continue to act as a mechanism for coping with future experience or whether it is a useful response to the college situation
which will be modified rather readily with increasing experience. There were some slight hints that the latter might be the case from the fact that other-direction scores for upperclassmen were slightly lower than for the underclassmen.

If other-direction, and by implication, its consequences, should be thus responsive to shifts in experience, Riesman's portrait of American youth may be a little overdrawn. It should be acknowledged, however, that Riesman himself is not always sure of the continued effects of other-direction. He expresses concern about the effects of other-direction on American society, but ends his analysis with the possibility that autonomy may be developed from other-direction.²

But this persistent tendency may also have another meaning. The other-direction scale was sensitive to a measure of aspirations which explicitly asks the person to compare himself with other people. The range of aspiration response was very wide, in fact, it covered the entire range of the scale. The very sensitivity of the aspiration scale and the generally wide distribution of aspirations in this study pose some interesting questions concerning the psychological connotations in aspiration research in sociology.

Earlier in this study it was pointed out that psychologists have raised fundamental questions concerning what aspirations are actually measuring, and the role of self-evaluation in the definition of the term was raised. It may very well be that the aspiration measure

² Riesman, op. cit., 318-49.
used in this study, by asking the student to compare his probable achievements with other people, was getting at self-evaluations as well as realistic expectations for the future.

This function of aspiration measures is not necessarily contradictory to a conception of aspirations as a measure of the acceptance of achievement norms or as a description of desired goals. Aspirations may describe both self-evaluations and intentions for the future. The point to be made in this discussion is that the persistent tendencies for responses to be in the expected direction in connection with a scale which explicitly asks for a self-rating may require a more complex interpretation than has been customary in sociological studies, in order to avoid over-simplified interpretations of data.

For example, in the present study, atheists were extremely low in other-direction and extremely high in level of aspiration. Does it follow from this that students who explicitly reject religion are ambitious, individualistic high aspirers, or is this evidence for the phantasy response on the part of frustrated subjects mentioned earlier in the study? The psychological dimension of aspirations has not been given a great deal of attention in the sociological literature. It probably merits more attention than it has received.

The second question posed in the interpretation of the findings involves the tendency for other-directed low aspirers to appear more obviously in connection with certain types of background. It was argued that other-direction is affecting levels of aspiration in certain environments which emphasize a new concept of interpersonal
relations, and some predictions were made about where evidence for this would appear. It was recognized at the outset of the study that the hypothesis was probably a limited one, and the limits to it were set with reference to the potentialities of certain environments for teaching the newer values of the personalized society.

But when data were analyzed, it appeared that not all the assumptions were borne out. As expected, the hypothesis turned out to be severely limited, but the limitations in two cases were contrary to expectations. It was expected that both the urban environment and the upper-middle class would facilitate the production of other-directed low aspirers. Instead, it was found that low aspirers were more other-directed than high aspirers in the "middle-middle" class and among students whose whole life experience had been in the non-urban setting.

After some unsuccessful attempts to subsume all the findings under a single rubric, the best interpretation seems to be that the background which poses the sharpest dilemma between competitive norms and personal relations is probably the background where the older norms are still stressed, however nominally. This will explain the student trained for business, the middle class and non-urban students, and the young students who have lately come from a home and school experience which probably attempts to indoctrinate them with both older achievement themes and newer concepts of intimacy.

However, the role of religion is left unclear in this interpretation, since in this view, the traditional groups should probably
have produced the other-directed low aspirers. It is felt that the question of aspirations and religion requires a different approach than the simple fact of affiliation.

In the examination of church attendance, the interesting feature was not the analysis actually presented, but the incidental observation that lack of commitment to religion at all or the presence of religious conflict were more likely to result in individualism, while attendance at church was accompanied by some degree of other-direction. Although the findings of the section on religion were somewhat inconclusive from the point of view of this particular research, further investigation of the role of religion in both aspirations and other-direction seems to be warranted, but the focus of the research should be on the conflict aspect, not on the simple fact of affiliation with a particular religious faith.  

The third problem of interpretation concerns the restriction of the hypothesis to a rather limited range of backgrounds. It is clear from this study that no prediction can be made about similarities in other-direction among low aspirers without knowing some rather specific features about the student's background and experience. Perhaps as experience becomes more extensive, as in the case of the average college student, the relationship between aspirations and

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3 Compare the findings of this study with Raymond W. Mack, Raymond J. Murphy, and Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, XXI (June, 1956), 295-300. These investigators found no relationship between religion and aspirations using a conventional measure.
other-direction becomes less clear, and dependence on others as a source of direction assumes less importance as other values take precedence over antagonistic cooperation with the peers.

The outcome of the wider experience of the older student may well be the learning of values which modify the definition of what constitutes success, and any level of aspiration study has this persistent problem of interpreting the responses of the low aspirer. Perhaps a redefinition is occurring among American youth which is in opposition with the competitive ideology which forms the implicit background of level of aspiration research.

An analysis of the responses to the job advancement inventory used in this study as part of the definition of aspirations provides some hints concerning what values may be replacing some of the competitive values for the lowest aspirers in this study. A review of the description of the highest and lowest levels of aspiration suggests some of the values that the low aspirer may be substituting for the older values.

The high aspirer, it will be recalled, usually values health over job advancement, but usually work takes precedence over family. He can tolerate a degree of rootlessness, may prefer work to leisure, and either has no deep religious and political convictions or is willing to keep quiet about them if they threaten the achievement of his goals.
In comparison, the low aspirer, too, is concerned about health; but he is also preoccupied with family, prefers not to be constantly on the move, values his leisure time, and either has religious and political convictions, or verbally expresses the intention to follow ideal norms.

These differences center mainly about family and community, leisure time, and perhaps the social values implied in religion. They suggest a change in values for these young people from the work-centered, competitive-minded style of life to a life style emphasizing more things in the present, an unwillingness perhaps in an uncertain world to bank too heavily on the future which is unpredictable at best.

These values may be the outgrowth of the consumption-oriented society which teaches a shift in time-orientation and a preference for leisure, friends, family—but now, not in some unforeseeable time in the future. If this is so, the concept of deferred gratification may require some re-evaluation, and the ideological framework of aspiration studies might be revised to ask, aspirations for what?
CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The purpose of this research was to investigate the relationship between levels of aspiration for occupational success and the pre-occupation with approval and response to the expectations of other people that David Riesman has termed "other-direction." This problem was suggested by the work of Riesman and of William H. Whyte Jr. and is based on the theory that the dilemma between an ethic of competition for occupational success and a growing need for personalized response generated by an other-directed environment is affecting the levels of aspiration of American youth.

The problem of the study was to determine whether low aspirers among college students are more other-directed than high aspirers and whether this relationship is an outgrowth of experience in an environment which emphasises the new values of personalized social relations.

Background factors were chosen for the most part from Riesman's observations on the social origins of the other-directed type or were modified from his work. They include the occupational orientation of the student, social status, urban and non-urban residence, traditional
and non-traditional religious affiliation, and attendance at college at the normal college age.

Level of aspiration was defined as a combination of two variables: expectations for high goals and a strong career orientation, and four types of aspirers were derived from a cross-classification of these dimensions. These types include high aspirers, who both expect to achieve high goals and are strongly oriented toward a career, low aspirers, who exhibit the opposite characteristics, and two intermediate types whose goals and career orientation are inconsistent.

Other-direction was defined in accordance with Sub-scale B of the Bell OD-ID Inventory as "needs for friendship, popularity, intimacy, group adjustment and cooperation and a responsiveness to social pressure towards conformity on the basis of these needs."

Three scales plus a series of items to secure background data were used: a scale to measure Riesman's concept of inner-directed goals, Reissman's aspiration scale to measure interests that might hinder job advancement, and a modification of the Bell OD-ID inventory to measure other-direction. Subjects were 589 white, male, native-born students attending courses required in the College of Commerce, Engineering, and Arts at The Ohio State University. Data were collected during regular class sessions.

Subjects were divided into high and low scorers on the aspiration scale and the job advancement inventory and cross-classified into four levels of aspiration. The relationship between levels of aspira-
tion and other-direction was investigated by comparing mean other-direction scores among the various levels of aspiration in connection with background factors related to other-direction.

There were differences within background factors both in mean other-direction scores and in the distribution of subjects into aspiration types, but there was no tendency for low aspirers to appear in larger proportions in background categories with the highest other-direction means. In other words, the relationship between aspiration and other-direction was not strong enough to influence the distribution of high and low aspirers. Commerce students, non-traditional religious students, and students attending college at the normal college age were more other-directed than the corresponding categories of Arts and Engineering students, traditional religious students and students attending college over the normal college age. Class and residence categories did not differ significantly in other-direction.

Differences in other-direction between high aspirers and the various lower levels tended to be in the expected direction whether or not these differences were statistically significant. There were, however, some exceptions, which were always related to individualistic backgrounds.

Comparisons of the highest level of aspiration with the intermediate levels yielded very few significant differences, although in most cases these differences were in the expected direction. Comparisons between high and inconsistent low aspirers yielded slightly
higher differences than comparisons involving inconsistent high aspirers, indicating that lower expectations for actually achieving high goals were more closely associated with other-direction than simply being career-oriented.

When the joint effect of both dimensions of aspirations was operative in comparisons of the highest and lowest levels, highly significant differences appeared, but they were not always related to the background factors assumed to be associated with the growth of other-direction.

Significant differences were found, as expected, between high and low aspirers from the Commerce and Arts Colleges, among those belonging to non-traditional religious institutions, and the normal age college population. Contrary to expectations, significant differences were not found for urban or upper-middle class students. Instead, the largest differences were found to be associated with a non-urban background and a middle status position.

There were differences in other-direction among the high aspirers from different backgrounds, but they were statistically significant only in the comparison between young and older high aspirers. Differences in other-direction within the lower levels of aspiration were considerably more variable across background factors.

The following conclusions were drawn from the analysis of data: the frequency of small differences in the expected direction suggests that there is present among students in this sample a persistent undercurrent of conformity and need for personalized response which is
related to a lowered level of aspiration. These trends in the expected direction offer some confirmation for the hypothesis suggested by the work of Riesman and Whyte.

High aspirers, regardless of differences in background, seem to share more similar views concerning other-direction than do lower aspirers, although they are not always the most individualistic students. The failure of the highest level to be consistently the more individualistic may mean that high aspirations for occupational success are typically associated with some willingness to get involved with people, and that the stereotype of the goal-driven, individualistic striver may be inappropriate to describe the realistic high aspirations of a younger generation.

Training for a business career, a middle status position, lifelong residence in a non-urban setting, affiliation with a non-traditional religious faith, and attendance at college at the normal college age appear to be associated with the other-directed low aspirer. These background factors describe, on the whole, backgrounds which still nominally stress older competitive norms but pose a sharp dilemma between the older norms and personal relations.

These conclusions refer principally to students who are fairly consistent in their acceptance or rejection of success norms. The inconsistent types in this study functioned more to show the complexity of the relationship between aspirations and other-direction than to differentiate clearly between the backgrounds associated with it.
The implications of the study are twofold: one concerns the future experience of these more other-directed young low aspirers in a society which emphasizes achievement and competitive values along with a growing preoccupation with human relations; the other, level of aspiration studies in general and the appropriate method for such research.

The first implication is related to the probable future tension in the occupational experience of young people whose heightened preoccupation with sociability accompanied by a lowered level of aspiration suggests that they have failed to internalize the detachment from the present which is the *sine qua non* of occupational mobility.

If the findings of this study are reliable, and the type of sample suggests some caution here, future occupational experience may become highly problematic to these young people who have accepted the ideology of "togetherness," as Whyte describes it, or who have learned needs for conformity and peer group approval, as Riesman suggests, so that as a result they are oriented to the demands of the present rather than the future.

It is unlikely that cultural norms of success will be wholly ignored by such young people coming from the colleges today; but following individualistic norms, which may be forced on the person if he is caught in the web of occupational advance, may be accompanied by considerable ambivalence and psychological tension which cannot fail to have some repercussions both on the person and on the organizations in which he must play his occupational role.¹

¹ For a good discussion of this, see Whyte, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-67.
The second implication of this study relates to further research in level of aspiration. Although this research was moderately successful in securing answers to the questions posed, it is probable that other background factors might have yielded a more refined distinction between the other-directed and the individualistic background. Early childhood training, both at home and school, and a further cross-classification of urban and upper-middle class status are suggested as possible guidelines for further investigations of aspirations and other-direction. It should be emphasized, however, that in studies of college students the overage college population should be treated separately since these students appear to be so highly selected with respect to individualism.

A second problem suggested by this study is a longitudinal study of the relationship between aspirations and other-direction throughout the entire college experience to see if and under what conditions it persists over a period of time and changing experience. This problem has considerable importance in estimating the weight that should be given to large-scale analyses of American youth. If other-direction should decrease as a result of the college experience, its consequences for competitive adult behavior are perhaps less problematic than would be the case if it is a very stable set of attitudes.

This study has also suggested the possibility that the internalization of high aspirations tends to minimize the effects of background characteristics which continue to differentiate subjects in the lower levels of aspiration. Whether this finding is specific to
other-direction or whether it is a general characteristic of high aspirers is, of course, problematic and poses a significant problem for future research.

Finally, experience with this study has revealed some basic difficulties in studies of the correlates of aspirations which involve the method appropriate to such studies. It is clear in this research that analysis stopped rather quickly because it was impossible to deal with the determinants of either aspiration or other-direction without grossly overgeneralizing from very tenuous grounds.

Level of aspiration research to date has been concerned chiefly with broad differences between strata where the contribution of background factors is fairly obvious, and the survey techniques used are probably adequate to the problems posed. Studies of the correlates of aspirations within more limited populations require a different method because they deal in the final analysis with individual motivation, and the general features of achievement motivation are not yet well known.¹

In this study an initial attempt was made to get at some of the more subtle aspects of aspirations both by developing a more complex method of measurement and by attempting to deduce some of the subtleties, such as religious conflict, from background items in the questionnaire. But such information, although extremely

suggestive, could not be used because of the large numbers needed for reliable comparisons with other much larger background categories.

The point here is that most of the material particularly relevant to aspirations within a homogeneous population, which in principle is obtainable from questionnaire items, gets obscured in survey analysis because the cases appear in too few numbers for statistically reliable interpretation. It is felt, therefore, that if future research in level of aspiration is to be productive, the focus should shift from surveys to detailed case analysis because of the complexities of the problems involved.

It is the opinion of this investigator from attempting to apply the survey technique to this type of research that the problems raised by the psychological studies in level of aspiration mentioned previously in this study ought to be taken seriously in level of aspiration research in sociology, particularly with reference to the meaning to be ascribed to the term itself.

Part of the complexity in aspiration research in sociology proceeds from the restriction of the concept of aspirations to economic aims, thus making it difficult to interpret the responses of subjects who may have ambitions not adequately described by competitive success norms. Probably the difficulty of predicting from the lower levels of aspiration in this study was due in large part to defining incorrectly some subjects as low aspirers when they may simply have had other goals.

Furthermore, there was considerable informal evidence from the comments of students written on the questionnaires themselves and in
personal conversations that this study was tapping psychological material, probably relating to self-evaluations, which was not surprising, given the nature of aspirations and other-direction.

It is felt that the interview technique plus a concept of aspirations as achievement motivation rather than economic aims would yield considerably more insight into this problem than the survey technique used in this study, which has functioned here chiefly to raise problems for further research which probably require more detailed investigation. These more detailed investigations would then provide the theoretical background required for larger scale inquiries into the correlates of aspirations.
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APPENDIXES
APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

There are no right or wrong answers to this questionnaire; you are only asked to give your honest opinion on each question. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential. Read each question carefully but try not to spend too much time on any one question.

1. The seniors at F high school were asked for their major social studies project to turn in a report on some aspect of the American Civil War. Susan got very interested in her topic and found that she had written 25 pages even before she had half-finished her outline. She mentioned this to one of her friends, who told her that the others in the class had pretty much agreed among themselves to hold their reports down to 35 pages. If Susan was going to hand in 50 or 60 pages, all the others would have to put in more work on their reports in order to get a decent grade. Therefore, said her friends, it was only fair to the others for Susan not to put in all the extra material she had planned. What do you think Susan should do? (Circle one number)

1. Turn in a shorter paper than planned
2. Turn in paper as originally planned

2. Suppose there were a student in your class who took no part in group activities of any kind, whether athletics, student government, political discussions, social events, or any other. He did no harm to anyone in the class; he simply ignored them. He did what school work he had to, and devoted all his other time and energy to working at his music—which was his consuming passion. What would you think of such a person? (Circle one number)

1. He would be justified; it's his own business.
2. He wouldn't be justified; he should combine his music with other activities.

3. Stan is the outstanding student at X high school and is also very good in sports. But, although he has a few close friends, he is not very popular with most of the other fellows. This is probably because they resent his always being "first"—although he's not boastful or conceited about it. What would you do if you were Stan? (Circle one number)

1. Give less time to school work and athletics and more to making friends.
2. Be satisfied with a few close friends and not worry about being more popular.
4. Marge T. is a junior in high school. She has asked permission from her parents to stay out until 1:30 A.M. on the night of the next school dance. Her parents were considering giving her permission, but then Marge found out that most of her girls friends had been given a deadline of 12:30 for being home. At the same time, several of these other parents asked Mr. and Mrs. T. to join them in imposing a 12:30 curfew so as to avoid needless argument and confusion if one girl should be allowed to stay out later than the others.

What should Mr. and Mrs. T. do? Should they change their minds about letting Margo stay out until 1:30 and join the parents in a 12:30 curfew? (Circle one number)

1. 1:30 curfew
2. 12:30 curfew

5. Janet belongs to a large group of friends—both boys and girls in their senior year at high school—who are planning a five-day trip to Washington, D.C. Almost all the parents have given their permission except Janet's; they feel strongly that there should be an older person along to act as chaperone. They have taken the matter up with the other parents. Most of the other parents feel that the group is old enough to go to Washington without a chaperone. Other parents don't really think so, but feel that they can't keep their children from going if the others go.

Feeling as they do, should Janet's parents let her go on the trip as it is planned or not? (Circle one number)

1. Let her go
2. Not let her go

6. Suppose you are starting on your first job. Two possible men are available to teach you "the ropes." Mr. S. is a very warm, friendly person who has only recently started working at the place himself and is therefore not too familiar with the act-up as yet. Mr. L., on the other hand, knows all the operations inside and out but is reserved and rather impersonal in his manner. If these were the only two men available, which would you prefer to supervise your work? (Circle one number)

1. Mr. S
2. Mr. L.
7. Recently a magazine featured two articles on the topic "A Better Life for American Factory Workers," by Mr. K and Mr. Y. Mr. K. felt strongly that industrial engineering with some imagination could do a great deal to make factory life pleasanter; for example, if assembly work were reorganized to make it more interesting and if plants were brought nearer to workers so that they didn't have to waste hours traveling to their jobs. Looking toward the future, he felt that ideally (i.e., if the unemployment problem could be solved), Americans could perfect impersonal automatic factories which would take over from the workers many routine time-consuming tasks. This would both make the work more pleasant and cut down the working day. Thus factory employees would be left with plenty of free time to do what they really want, whether it be a more creative kind of work or increased recreation.

Mr. Y's article, on the other hand, stressed the need for a more human and personal atmosphere in the factory, one which would encourage friendships among the workers and a real interest on the part of management toward the individual problems of their employees. He looked forward to a time when everybody in a factory would feel a strong sense of participation in a common enterprise; at such a time, industry would meet some of the personal and social needs of the workers—as well as the economic needs, as at present.

Which emphasis do you think is the more important? (Circle one number)

1. First article
2. Second article

8. What do you think of someone who always tries to be "the best" in almost every thing he does? (Circle one number)

1. I admire this kind of person very much.
2. He's all right, if he isn't conceited and doesn't step on other people's toes.

9. Frank is one of the leaders of the senior class at Y high school. The class has collected quite a bit of money from the sale of its yearbook and, at a class meeting, the majority vote is for spending it on a senior class rollerskating party at the city rink, instead of on a picnic as first planned. Frank tells his friends later that it's perfectly all right with him if the class has a rollerskating party but he has always disliked roller-skating and probably won't come.

What do you think of Frank's decision? (Circle one number)

1. Strongly object to it
2. Mildly object to it
3. In favor, if that's the way he feels
10. Since the age of 13, Stewart—now a high school senior—has set his heart on becoming a great chemist. He daydreams about it frequently and reads all he can about famous chemists and chemistry. Recently, a close friend of his advised him to concentrate more on making a success of the present. He pointed out that if Stewart were more sociable and really gave some energy and time to it, he could easily be among the real leaders of his class—in extracurricular activities and general popularity.

Do you think Stewart should follow his friend's advice? (Circle one number)

1. Yes
2. No

11. When shopping for something at a department store, which type of sales person do you prefer? (Circle one number)

1. Someone who knows the merchandise very well and so can answer any question about quality and price
2. Another type who doesn't know the merchandise so well but will take a real personal interest in helping you

12. Imagine you are a business executive deciding between two women for the position of personal secretary. Miss G has had much more experience and is more skilled, but Miss H impresses you as being more sincere. Which would you hire? (Circle one number)

1. Miss G
2. Miss H

13. Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith are both in the studio audience at a television show. The idea of this show is for the master of ceremonies to have individuals come up from the audience and do various stunts. This particular night, the first man who is called up has to whistle Yankee Doodle with crackers in his mouth. Mr. Jones is the third to be asked up on the stage, but he has already decided that he doesn't want to take part in the show. Although several people in the audience boo and somebody shouts loudly, "Aw, be a good sport," he refuses to budge from his seat.

Mr. Smith is then asked to do a stunt and he walks up to the stage, although he is not very anxious to be embarrassed in front of an audience. Everyone applauds him heartily for his cooperation and good humor. He manages to get through his stunt amid much laughter and applause by the audience, and he is given a wristwatch by the sponsor.
Which man do you most admire? (Circle one number)

1. Mr. Jones
2. Mr. Smith

14. William is 10 years old. He and his family live in a community where most of his friends and their families only go to church on rare occasions. The boys his age usually go on all-day hikes or excursions on Sundays. But William's parents are quite religious and the family custom is for all to go to church every Sunday. William likes going to church pretty well, but all his friends and several of the other parents feel that it's a shame that he should have to be left out of the Sunday excursions.

Do you think William's family should encourage him to continue going with the rest of the family to church every Sunday or should they permit him to join the other boys on their trips? (Circle one number)

1. Church with the family
2. Trips with the other boys

15. Joe is a six foot junior at B high school. He played some basketball during his first two years at school and, even then, his height made him a very effective player. But this year he has told the coach that he has no time to go out for basketball because he is so busy (with school work, an after school job, and his hobby, building radios). The other boys on the team feel let down; they have decided to avoid him in order to teach him a lesson.

If you were Joe, how would you react to this? (Circle one number)

1. Just ignore them until they got over being mad
2. Begin to feel that perhaps you had been a bit of a bad sport and try to find time for the team

16. Which of the following would you rather be? (Circle one number)

1. A great medical scientist who has a world-wide reputation even during his lifetime, but whose own community thinks he is "queer" and who lives alone without having any close friends
2. A competent general practitioner who is not and never will be famous but who enjoys the respect of his community and the warm friendship of many
Here are some different ways to live which various persons at various
times have recommended and followed. Don't think about whether it's
the kind of life you are living now, or whether it would be good for
other persons to live that way, or whether it would be wise to live
that way in our society. Just judge it according to the way you
personally would like to live. After you have read the following
"paths of life" you will be asked to rank them in your own order of
preference. Try to react to the general "tone" of each paragraph.

Path 1. I like for the most part to "go it alone," making sure I have
privacy where I live, having much time to myself, attempting to control
my own life. I enjoy being self-sufficient, reflective and meditative,
knowing myself. I want to direct my interest away from close associations
with social groups, and away from managing and trying to control my
physical environment. These things I believe would make me happiest:
simplifying my external life, moderating desires which can be satisfied
only through outside forces over which I have little control, and con­
centrating my attention on refinement, clarification, and direction of
my own self. I would not enjoy "living outwardly." I wish to avoid
depending upon persons and things. I want the center of life to be
within myself.

Path 2. I don't want to hold on to myself, withdraw from people, keep
aloof and self-centered. I would much rather merge into a social group,
enjoy cooperation and companionship, and join with other people in
purposefully working to fulfill common goals. I believe people are
social and people are active. My life will be happiest if I can have
both energetic group activity and cooperative group enjoyment. I do
not believe in meditation, restraint, worrying about my independence,
liking ideas for the sake of ideas, living by myself, thinking a great
deal of my possessions; these things don't make for good neighbors.
I want to live "outwardly" with gusto, enjoying the good things of life,
working with other people to get the things which make a pleasant and
energetic life.

Path 3. I believe that the secret of a rewarding life lies in using
the body's energy. Our hands need material to make into something; they
need lumber and stone for building, for instance, and food to harvest,
and clay to mold. I think action is the only way to make my muscles
alive to joy—climbing, running, skiing and the like. I am satisfied only
when performing an active deed, when I am living for the present in a
daring and adventuresome deed. I dislike cautious foresight and relaxed
ease. If I could choose how I'd like to live, it would be in outward
energetic action, in the excitement of power in my day-to-day life.
Path 4. I think that enjoyment is the most important thing in life. I don't mean a wild search for intense and exciting pleasures. I believe in the enjoyment of the simple and easily obtainable pleasures: the pleasures of just existing, of tasty food, of comfortable surroundings, of talking with friends, of rest and relaxation. I want the place I live to be a warm comfortable home, with soft chairs and bed, a kitchen well-stocked with food, and a door always open to the entrance of friends. I dislike driving ambition and I dislike the sort of super-enthusiasm which believes in self-discipline and throwing out the comforts of life. These things are the signs of discontented people who have lost the ability to appreciate simple, care-free wholesome enjoyment.

Path 5. I think that life tends to become sluggish, too comfortable, unchanging because of too much thought and no action. I want to resist this tendency. I am eager for constant action—physical action, adventure, meeting and solving each problem as it comes up, improving techniques for controlling the world and society. For myself, I put my trust in technical advances made possible by scientific knowledge. My goal in life is to solve my own and society's problems. I will not be satisfied with something that is merely good if there is something else which is better.

Path 6. I believe that sympathetic concern for other persons is extremely important. I think living with affection is the right way to live, affection that makes it impossible for me to impose myself on others or to use others for my own purposes. I believe it's wrong to be greedy in my possessions, to want power over persons and things, to be overly concerned with myself. For these things impede sympathetic love and understanding among persons. I recognize my failings and therefore wish to restrain whatever is aggressive and self-assertive in me. I am eager to become receptive, appreciative and helpful in my relations with other persons.

Now fill in the following: I like path no. ___ best.
I like path no. ___ second.
I like path no. ___ third.
I like path no. ___ fourth.
I like path no. ___ fifth.
I like path no. ___ sixth.

19. Please rank the following items by placing a one (1) next to your first choice, a two (2) next to your second choice, and a three (3) next to your third choice.
A job which gives you a great deal of personal enjoyment because of the kind of work you do, plus a very good income and considerable social prestige.

A job which gives you a great deal of money and social prestige but no personal enjoyment because of the kind of work you do.

A job which gives you a great deal of personal enjoyment because of the kind of work you do but is quite poorly paid and has little social prestige.

20. In terms of today's value of money, what is the income level you're aiming for when your career is at its peak? Please give a yearly income figure before taxes are deducted.

$ ____________ per year

21. When you have become as successful as you ever expect to be, what kind of job do you expect to have? Please be as specific as possible and use a job title if you can. If you have no definite ideas about this, please write in "no definite ideas."

22. What chances do you really think you have for getting the kind of job and income you are aiming for?

Excellent __; good __; about 50-50 __; not so good __; poor __.

23. Suppose you were offered an opportunity to make a substantial advance in a job or occupation. Place a check opposite each item in the following list to show how important it would be in stopping you from making that advance.

Might | Serious Consideration | Wouldn't
--- | --- | ---
Stop me from taking job but | Stop me | Taking job wouldn't stop me at all

1. Endanger your health
2. Leave your family for some time
3. Move around the country a lot
4. Leave your community
5. Leave your friends
Might | Serious Consideration but | Wouldn't Stop Me from Taking Job | Wouldn't Stop Me At All
--- | --- | --- | ---

6. Give up leisure time
7. Keep quiet about political views
8. Keep quiet about religious views
9. Learn a new routine
10. Work harder than you are now
11. Take on more responsibility

24. In the following list of four items, please check one alternative for each item.

When you have become as successful as you ever expect to be, do you expect to be:

1. ___ Quite a bit more distinguished than most men in your field
   ___ Somewhat more distinguished than most men in your field
   ___ About the same as the average man in your field
   ___ A little less distinguished than the average man in your field

2. And do you expect to:
   ___ Have considerably more influence than most people in your community
   ___ Have a little more influence than the average person
   ___ Be about like the average person in your community
   ___ Be a little less influential than the average person in your community

3. Do you expect to be:
   ___ Quite a bit more highly paid than most men in your field
   ___ Somewhat more highly paid than most men in your field
   ___ About the same as the average man in your field
   ___ A little less highly paid than the average man in your field

4. And do you expect to have:
   ___ Quite a bit more power than most men in your community
   ___ Somewhat more power than most men in your community
   ___ About an average amount of power
   ___ A little less power than the average person in your community

Please answer the following questions by writing in the information or by placing a check in the space following the appropriate alternative.

25. How old were you on your last birthday? ___
26. Sex: Male __; female __
27. Race: White __; Negro __; other __
28. Class rank: Freshman __; sophomore __; junior __; senior __; other __
29. College: Arts __; Commerce __; Engineering __; other __
30. Major field (for example, history, business organization) ______
31. Marital status: Single __; married __
32. Have you ever been divorced? Yes __; no __
33. How many children do you have? ___
34. Are you a veteran? Yes __; no __
35. If you are a veteran, what was your highest rank in service? ____________
36. If you are a veteran, did you have overseas experience? Yes __; no __
37. Are you earning at least part of your expenses at college? Yes __; no __
38. In what country were you born? ____________________
39. In what country was your father born? ____________
40. In what country was your mother born? ____________
41. In what country were your father's parents born?
   Father's father ____________
   Father's mother ____________
42. In what country were your mother's parents born?
   Mother's father ____________
   Mother's mother ____________
43. What type of concern does your father work for? (If your father is no longer living, please give his job at the time he died.)
   Self-employed __
   Government agency __
   Institution such as school, hospital __
   Small (under 100 employees) privately owned business __
   Large (100 or more employees) privately owned business __
   Other (please describe) ____________________________
44. What is his job title? (Please be as specific as you can; for example, lathe operator, lawyer, order clerk. If your father is no longer living, please give his job at the time he died.)

45. Does your mother work? Yes ____; no ____

46. If your mother works, what is her job title? (Please be as specific as you can; for example: nurse, stenographer)

47. In what income range would you put your father?
   Under $5,000 per year ____  $10,000 - $11,999 per year ____
   $5,000-9,999 per year ____  Over $15,000 per year ____

48. What is the last grade of formal education your father completed?
   No formal education _____  Completed business, trade school _____
   1st to 8th grade _____  Some college _____
   Some high school _____  Completed college _____
   Completed high school____  Advanced graduate study _____

49. What is the last grade of formal education your mother completed?
   No formal education _____  Completed business, trade school _____
   1st to 8th grade _____  Some college _____
   Some high school _____  Completed college _____
   Completed high school____  Advanced graduate study _____

50. Is your father still living? Yes ____; no ____

51. Is your mother still living? Yes ____; no ____

52. Have you lived most of your life with both your own parents
   Yes ____
   No ____

53. If answer to (52) above is "no," please describe your experience briefly. (For example, "Parents died when I was young; lived most of time with grandparents," or "parents divorced, lived with mother")

54. In how many cities, towns, villages or farms have you lived during your life? Please list them below, including Columbus if you are living at the university. Do not list your military experience.
55. In your answer to (54) above, please place a check mark next to the names of each of the cities with a population of over 100,000.

56. What is your religion?
   Catholic
   Protestant (please give denomination) __
   Jewish (please specify orthodox, conservative, reform) __
   Other (please specify) __

57. What is your father's religion?
   Catholic
   Protestant (please give denomination) __
   Jewish (please specify orthodox, conservative, reform) __
   Other (please specify) __

58. What is your mother's religion? __
   Catholic
   Protestant (please give denomination) __
   Jewish (please specify orthodox, conservative, reform) __
   Other (please specify) __

59. Do you attend church at least once a month? Yes ___; no ___

60. Please list all the clubs and organizations to which you belong. Please include both campus and non-campus activities.

61. About how many parties and social gatherings would you say you have attended during the last four weeks? ______

62. About how many dates have you had during the past four weeks? ______

63. How many times have you attended movies, lectures, concerts, etc. alone during the past four weeks? ______

64. How many books have you read strictly for pleasure during the past four weeks? Please do not include assigned class reading. ______
65. Do you have a roommate or do you live alone? Have roommate _____
    Live alone _____

66. About how many times have you eaten dinner alone during the past four weeks? ____
APPENDIX II

PRELIMINARY ASPIRATION SCALE

When you have become as successful as you ever expect to be, do you expect to be:

1. Among the most distinguished men in your field
   ___ Quite a bit more distinguished than most men in your field
   ___ Somewhat more distinguished than most men in your field
   ___ About the same as the average man in your field
   ___ A little less distinguished than the average man in your field

2. Do you expect to be:
   ___ One of the very highest paid men in your field
   ___ Quite a bit more highly paid than most men in your field
   ___ Somewhat more highly paid than most men in your field
   ___ About the same as the average man in your field
   ___ A little less highly paid than the average man in your field

3. Do you expect to be:
   ___ Famous throughout the country in your field of work
   ___ Fairly well known throughout the country in your field of work
   ___ Well known in your local community in your field of work
   ___ About the same as the average man in your field of work
   ___ A little less well known than the average man in your field

4. Do you expect to be:
   ___ Among the top leaders in your field
   ___ Considerably above the average in leadership in your field
   ___ Somewhat above the average in leadership in your field
   ___ About the same as the average man in your field
   ___ A little less of a leader than the average man in your field

5. Do you expect to be:
   ___ One of the most powerful men in your community
   ___ Have quite a bit more power than most men in your community
   ___ Have somewhat more power than most men in your community
   ___ Have about an average amount of power
   ___ Have a little less power than the average person in your community

6. Do you expect to have:
   ___ The most elegant home in your community
   ___ A considerably more elegant home than most people in your community
   ___ A somewhat more elegant home than most people in your community
   ___ About an average home
   ___ A little less than average home
7. Do you expect to have:
   ____ A standard of living equal to the most prominent family in your community
   ____ A standard of living considerably above the average of most people in your community
   ____ A standard of living somewhat above the average of most people in your community
   ____ A standard of living about the same as the average person in your community
   ____ A little lower standard of living than the average person in your community

8. Do you expect to be:
   ____ Among the top social leaders in your community
   ____ More socially prominent than most people in your community
   ____ Somewhat more socially prominent than most people in your community
   ____ Be about like the average person in your community
   ____ Be somewhat less socially prominent than the average person in your community

9. Do you expect to be:
   ____ One of the most influential men in your community
   ____ Have considerable influence in your community
   ____ Have a little more influence than the average person
   ____ Be about like the average person in your community
   ____ Be a little less influential than the average person in your community
APPENDIX III

WEIGHTS USED IN SCORING JOB ADVANCEMENT INVENTORY

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APPENDIX IV

KEY FOR SCORING OTHER-DIRECTION SCALE

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17 If Path One is ranked in first or second place, it should be scored one; if ranked in third or fourth place, three; if scored in fifth or sixth place, five.

18 If Path Two is ranked in first or second place, it should be scored five; if ranked in third or fourth place, three; if ranked in fifth or sixth place, one.
AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Mary Jane Cramer, was born in Warren, Ohio, July 25, 1923. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Cleveland, Ohio, and my undergraduate training at Western Reserve University, which granted me the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1952. From The Ohio State University, I received the Master of Arts degree in 1954. While in residence there, I was a teaching assistant in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. I held this position for five years while completing the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy.