By-Shannon, Lyle W.
The Study of Migrants as Members of Socia! Systems.
Pub Date 68
Note-32p.; Reprint from Proceedings of the Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society, 1968.

EDRS Price MF $-\$ 0.25 \mathrm{HC}-\$ 1.70$
Descriptors-*Acculturation, *Anglo Americans, Aspiration, Economic Opportunities, Economic Status, Ethnic Groups, Ethnology, *Mexican Americans, *Migrants, *Negroes, Social Characteristics, Statistical Data

A 1958-65 study of Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in Racine, Wisconsin, provided researchers with an opportunity to see: (1) if world view and level of aspiration were more closely related to race and ethnicity or to sociologically meaningful categories of people in the urban-industrial society, and (2) how world view and level of aspiration related to each other and to the organization of society and ifs subgroups. Comparative analysis of questionnaires from a sample of 800 and a subsample of 545 (created by rernoving respondents who did not appear to comprehend interview questions) resulted in a series of detailed statistical descriptions of locale of socialization, education, first work experience, work careers, and other variables in relation to measures of economic absorption and cultural integration. Evidence indicated that (1) those Negroes and Mexican Americans in Racine who had less exposure to traditions which favored an active attitude toward the world reflected a more passive attitude toward change than did Racine Anglos, and (2) there was a direct relationship between active or passive value orientations and the aspirations of respondents for their children. (SW)


# THE STUDY OF MIGRANTS AS MEMBERS 

OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Lyle W. Shannon

(Reprinted from Spanish-Speaking People in the United States-Proceedings of the 1968 Annual
Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society)
U.S. OEPARTMENT OF HELITH, EDUCAIION \& Weifare office of eoucailon
this oocument has been reproduceo exactiy as recelveo from the PERSON OR ORGANILATION ORIGINATIMG IT. POIHTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS stateo do not mecessarity represent official office of education POSIIIOK OR POLICY.

## THE STUDY OF MIGRANTS AS MEMBERS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Lyle W. Shannon<br>University of Iowa

## Introduction

A continuing study [1958 to the present] among Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in Racine, Wisconsin, has shown that measures of economic absorption and cultural integration--occupational level, occupational mobility, income, level of living, level of educational and occupational aspirations for children, acceptance in the community, language usage and world view--have, in the three groups, quite different patterns of intercorrelation with such antecedent and intervening variables as years of formal education, place of education, first job, place of origin, extent of prior urbanization, occupational level of parents, and level of aspiration for self. 1

These findings emphasize the gulf between widely held notions of how society works or what "should" occur in our society and what actually happens. To be explicit, members of the larger Anglo society more often than not assume that if education, work experience and high levels of aspiration lead to economic success among Anglos they should lead to the same kind of success among Mexican Americans, Negroes, or any other ethnic or racial group. Appropriately motivated [from the Anglo viewpoint] members of these groups may find that demands from within their own group as well as constraints imposed by the larger society make it difficult to take full advantage of the educational and economic opportunities known to them. Furthermore, if they have successfully taken advantage of the limited opportunities allowed them in the urban-industrial community, they may choose to enjoy their income and leisure in ways unlike that of the so-called working class or blue-collar Anglos.

Economic absorption and cultural integration are gradual processes. The process of econcmic absorption is more narrowly defined than cultural integration. It involves not just securing work but becoming a part of the regularly employed labor force at a level consistent with one's capabilities and the capabilities of others at various positions in the economic institution. Cultural integration refers to integration into the whole gamut of institutional life. It involves the transformation of values, the acquisition of new behavioral patterns, and social Frrticipation beyond one's own primary group, although not necessarily in this order. Both processes
have been operationally defined by the measures selected for use in this research.

If the consequences of interaction of members of subgroups with each other and with the larger society are represented by a correlation diagram in which economic absorption and cultural integration [assuming that absorption and integration are goals and measured as indicated above] increase with education, work experience, association with appropriate role models, and level of aspiration [some of the assumed determinants of success], we would expect most persons in the society to fall along either a fairly straight line or a slightly curved line. Although the Racine data may be arranged to show this sort of pattern, oversimplification in analysis and failure to introduce appropriate controls could result in misleading conclusions about the determinants of successful absorption and integration.

Almost any measure of either the hypothesized determinants of successful absorption and integration or of econonic absorption and cultural integration resulted in high Anglo scores, usually intermediate Negro scores, and low Mexican-American scores. As a consequence of this almost invariable rank-ordering of Anglos, Negroes, and Mexican Americans on each measure, the kinds of correlations that would be expected for the larger society were produced in the combined samples for Racine. However, when race and ethnicity were controlled, these statistically significant relationships tended to either decrease, disappear, or change in direction (Shannon and Morgan 1966; Krass, Peterson and Shannon 1966). 2 What this means is that a description of the manner in which measures of success [selected by the researchers and their Mexican-American associates] are related to success-generating variables in the larger society, i.e., in Racine as a whole, does not apply to Mexican Americans and Negroes.

But the rank-ordering of Anglos, Negroes, and Mexican Americans on a number of social and economic variables does not lead to a model of society organized and operating as a stratified social class system. The evidence indicates that a more useful model of the organization of society commences with the assumption that it is composed of numerous unranked and to some extent overlapping sub-societies, within which individuals may be ranked. The individual may have positions and achieve status in more than one group and may thus participate in more than one subculture. A description of the parameters of the sub-societies or subcultural groups within the larger society is not a simple task. Some of the dimensions that have been assumed to be characteris.ics of race and ethnic subcultural groups

- may be even more appropriately associated with societal segments that have been generated out of or developed from occupational, educational, and income differences.

This paper has two kinds of concerns, methodological and substantive. Methodologically, we ask what happens when a category of respondents defined as "uncomprehending" are removed from the sample.

The substantive concerns of this paper are: (1) whether "wor1d view" and "level of aspiration," as measured by responses to a series of questions, are more closely related to race and ethnicity or to sociologically meaningful categories of people in the urban-industrial society, and (2) how world view and level of aspiration relate to each other, to the organization of society and its subgroups, and more speculatively, some of the probable consequences thereof.

## A Methodological Concern

Analysis of the data from the Racine sample has made it possible to present a series of detailed statistical descriptions of the relationship of locale of socialization, education, first work experience, work careers, and other variables to measures of economic absorption and cultural integration. These analyses have involved zero-order correlations and very little partialling or systematic control of anything but the simplest demographic variables such as age and length of residence in the community. But quite apart from that, the author has been concerned about the validity of several of the more complex measures and indexes uitilized in the study. These methodological concerns have culminated in further evaluation and analysis of the world view data. The results are presented here as a preface to more extensive treatment of the relationship of world view to other variables and these to the organization of the larger society and its components. The open-ended world view questions did not work out very well in the 1959 survey. Wher it was decided to attempt to measure world view in 1960 with closed questions we first thought that the questions should be constructed so as to elicit an individualistic, work-oriented view, on one hand and a fatalistic, group-oriented view on the other. As we tried out various questions with the Mexican Americans who were assisting us in pretests it became apparent that three facets of world view were represented--group values, temporal orientation and manipulative power. Thus, world view as defined for this research consists of a person's perception of his own manipulative power versus the organization of the society or some other more powerful determinant, his time perspective as oriented toward the present versus the future, and his hierarchy of values that places individual achievement against ties to the group. A seven-item Guttman scale was developed from the following questions:

1. Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your family.
2. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much and being content with what comes your way.
3. The best job to have is one where you are part of a group all working together, even if you don't get much individual credit.
4. Planning only makes a person unhappy, since your
plans hardly ever work out anyway.
5. Nowadays, with world conditions the way they are, the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.
6. Not many things in life are worth the sacrifice of moving away from your friends.
7. When a man is born, the success he is going to have is not already in the cards; each makes his own fate.
Respondents with the most individualistic orientation, also referred to as active respondents, did not agree with the first six statements on the scale but did agree with the last statement. Respondents with the next most individualistic orientation agreed with the first statement but did not agree with the statements below it except for the last statement, and so on with each type of respondent down to the most fatalistic and group-oriented, also referred to as passive respondents, who agreed with every statement except the last, and with that they disagreed. ${ }^{3}$ To be acceptable a scale must have a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .9000. This scale had a Coefficient of Reproducibility of .9011 and a Minimum Coefficient of Reproducibility of .7125. The lower the Minimum Coefficient of Reproducibility, the greater the improvement of the scale over marginal reproducibility.

At this juncture, we are concerned, not with how well this sample of world view questions represent the universe of questions that could have been asked or whether they were the "best" questions to ask at this point in the life cycle of respondents, but with whether or not the questions were as meaningful to respondents in the Racine samples as they were to persons on whom they were initially pretested in another community of more acculturated Mexican Americans. If the world view questions were not meaningful to a portion of the respondents, should that portion be removed from the sample prior to analysis of the world view responses? If the views of a substantial portion of the Negro and Mexican-American respondents were not properly represented by their replies to the world view questions, might not elimination of those who were not properly represented by their responses decrease or eliminate differences between Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos? If only those who found the questions meaningful were included in the analysis, would the relationship between world view and other variables be changed?

But to include in the analysis only persons who appear to find the questions meaningful might present a different set of findings for still another reason--those who were judged not to have comprehended the questions might be persons who were absorbed into the economic system at a lower level and less integrated into the larger society. Persons remaining in the sample would be those who had been integrated into the larger society to the extent that they responded to the world view questions on the interview schedule in essentially the same way as their integrated counterparts [Mexican-American and

Negro interviewers who were second and third generation residents in an urban-industrial community in northern Illinois] would expect them to respond. Since less integrated Mexican Americans and Negroes would be most likely to be eliminated, respondents who were left would be theoretically more homogeneous than those making up the larger sample. Such a biased sample would preclude the possibility of describing the retationship of antecedent and intervening explanatory variables to the full range of absorption and integration. The process of spooning out unintegrated respondents who least understood the world view questions might have eliminated differences in patterns of intercorrelation between race and ethnic groups. On the other hand, if difficulty with the world view questions was more or less random, then the concerns that have just been expressed would not be operative; essentially the same world views and relationships would be found in the smaller sample as were found in the larger sample.

With all of the foregoing in mind, 265 respondents were eliminated from the larger sample--respondents who did not appear to comprehend the world view questions. ${ }^{4}$ The criterion for omission was not an evaluation by those who were conducting the analysis but an evaluation by the interviewers. Mexican Americans and Negroes were eliminated disproportionately to Anglos, but it should be remembered that Mexican-American and Negro interviewers were judging the reaction of Mexican-American and Negro respondents. Those who were confused or who failed to answer the questions were eliminated. 5

Before proceeding further we must decide whether or not essentially the same differences between groups remained after the 265 respondents who did not appear to comprehend the world view questions were eliminated, i.e., were those who were eliminated randomly distributed or were they the least absorbed and least integrated of each group?

## A Comparison of the Original Sample and the World View Sample

The original 1960 sample consisted of 236 Mexican Americans, 284 Anglos, and 280 Negroes; it will be referred to as $S^{1}$ in tables and references throughout this paper. The subsample, for which those who failed to comprehend the world view questions were eliminated, includes 164 Mexican Americans, 163 Negroes, and 218 Ang1os; it will be referred to as $\mathrm{S}^{2}$. The distribution of scores for both samples is shown in Table 1.

There was little difference between the sample of 800 and the reduced sample of 545 . In both cases Anglos had significantly more active world view scores than did Negroes, but Negroes, although more active in world view than Mexican Americans, were not significantly so. 6 Removing confused respondents and those who failed to answer the questions did not result in significant change in the pattern of world view scores by race and ethnicity, although differences between

TABLE 1
WORLD VIEW SCALE, 1960

| Scale Type | Scale Scores |  | Percentages |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $S^{1}$ | $S^{2}$ | $\mathrm{s}^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ | $S^{1}$ | $\mathrm{s}^{2}$ |
| Individualistic, Active | 0-3 | 37 | 39 | 44 | 48 | 77 | 81 |
| Group-oriented, Passive | 4-7 | 63 | 61 | 56 | 52 | 23 | 19 |
| Total |  | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
|  |  | Mexican |  | Negro Ang1o |  |  |  |
|  | $\mathrm{S}^{1} \quad \mathrm{~N}=$ |  | 236 | 280 | 284 |  |  |
|  | $\mathrm{s}^{2} \quad \mathrm{~N}=$ |  | 164 | 163 | 218 |  |  |

samples were in the direction expected. Fatalistic and group-oriented or passive respondents were disproportionately eliminated, but the smaller samples were only three or four percent more individualistic or active than the original samples.

A Level of Aspiration for Children scale was constructed based on stated educational and occupational aspirations for children. The distribution of scores for both samples is presented in Table 2. The person whose responses indicated the highest level of aspiration is the person who wants college for children, would only be satisfied if children went through college, thinks it will be financially possible to send children through college and wants children to be professionals. ${ }^{7}$ The sample of 545 did not differ significantly from the sample of 800. And every test of the significance of differences between the three subgroups in both the larger and smaller samples showed each race and ethnic group to rank significantly higher than the one below it. Anglos had significantly higher aspirations for their children than did Negroes, and Negroes had significantly higher aspirations than did Mexican Americans.

The question on vocational aspirations for children, although not separately analyzed and related to other variables in this paper, presented a rather sharp contrast between response patterns for Mexican Americans and Negroes on one hand and Anglos on the other. 8 Anglos had significantly higher aspirations for their children than did Negroes, but only when "leaving it up to children," a response given by almost half of the Anglos, was classified as a high response and included in the test of significance. ${ }^{9}$ On the other hand, Negroes, and Anglos had significantly higher aspirations for their children than did Mexican Americans including or excluding "leave it up to the

TABLE 2
LEVEL OF ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN

| Scale Type | Scale <br> Scores | Percentages |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Mexican |  | Negro |  | Ang1o |  |
|  |  | $s^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ | $\mathrm{s}^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ | $s^{1}$ | $\mathrm{s}^{2}$ |
| Lowest |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Aspirations | 0 | 63 | 67 | 32 | 35 | 22 | 21 |
|  | 1 | 13 | 12 | 22 | 24 | 19 | 10 |
|  | 2 | 9 | 8 | 20 | 18 | 15 | 15 |
| Highest | 3 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 10 | 28 | 28 |
| Aspirations | 4 | 12 | 11 | 15 | 13 | 16 | 15 |
| Total |  | 100 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 98 |

Coefficient of Reproducibility $=$. 8984; Minimum Coefficient of Reproducibility = .6675.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\mathrm{S}^{1} & \mathrm{~N}=800 \\
\mathrm{~S}^{2} & \mathrm{~N}=545
\end{array}
$$

children." Overall, the original sample of 800 and the sample of 545 were similar.

Length of residence was dichotomized with long residence defined as ten or more years in Racine and short residence defined as less than ten years in Racine. 10 Anglos had lived in the community significantly longer than Mexican Americans in both samples. In the sample of 545, Mexican Americans had lived in the community significantly longer than Negroes, but overall the sample of 545 did not significantly differ from the sample of 800.

Education was dichotomized with better educated respondents defined as those with nine or more years of education and less educated respondents those with less than nine years of education, a meaningful cutting point for urban-industrial persons with backgrounds similar to those of our respondents. Although the two Mexican-American samples were almost identical, the sample of 545 had fewer less educated Negroes and fewer less educated Anglos, the difference being statistically significant for the Anglo sample. ${ }^{11}$ While it might seem surprising that less educated Mexican Americans were not eliminated from the sample of 545, it is apparent that years of formal education had nothing to do with determining whether or not a question was meaningful to a Mexican-American respondent. Some Mexican Americans laughed at some of the questions and stated that the world view questions were "silly." Fewer years of education
was not the crucial component in failure to respond--being $\$ KexicanAmerican was. By contrast, those who were eliminated from the Negro and Anglo samples were persons with less education--presumably the questions were more meaningful or at least could be responded to more readily by better educated Negroes and Anglos than by the less educated.

Total family income was utilized in this study as a measure of absorption jinto the economy and divided into three categories: up to $\$ 4499$, $\$ 4500$ to $\$ 5499$, and $\$ 5500$ or more. As in any researich, how such a variable is conceptualized depends on the process being investigated and the point at which one ties into a time sequence or experiential chain. Income can equally well be conceived as an antecedent of world view, taking world view as an indicator of cultural integration. In essence, changing world view may be the antecedent of increasing income [an indicator of economic absorption] and increasing income may be the antecedent of changing world view [an indicator of cultural integration]. And both may simultaneously follow other antecedent variables or chains of events. Anglos had significantly higher incomes than Negroes and Negroes had significantly higher incomes than Mexican Americans. There were no significant differences between the larger and smaller samples. 12

At this point it can be concluded that with the exception of less educated Anglos, those who were eliminated from the larger sample on a basis of their confusion or inability to respond to the world view questions were eliminated on a more or less random basis. Less absorbed and less integrated Mexican Americans and Negroes were not systematically excluded by the process. It should also be noted that if the Coefficient of Contingency is utilized as a measure of the association of the aforementioned six variables with race and ethnicity, years of education is more closely associated with race and ethnicity than is any other variable, both in thie original sample and in the smaller sample that will now be utilized in further analyses.

## The Pattern of Relationships

The Relation of Wor1d View to Time, Education, and Income
At this point we shall turn to a discussion of world view and its relationship to three control variables: time in the communicy, education, and income. We hypothesize that an active world view is associated with long residence, high education, and high income, and that a passive world view is associated with the opposite. The rank ordering of Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos on world view, education, and income and, to some extent, length of residence is such that all are related to world view in a systematic fashion.

Table 3 may be used to generate two different series of statistics. One series deals with the relationship of time in the
TABLE 3
the relation of world view to education and lengit of residence

community or length of residence to world view and the other series deals with the relationship of education to world view. In each case the influence of one variable on world view may be observed with the other controlled. With race and ethnicity controlled, in no vase is there a significant relationship between world view and length of residence in the community. ${ }^{13}$ And with controls introduced for race and ethnicity and years of education, world view and length of residence produced no statistically significant relationships. The largest correlation, a modest correlation in the opposite direction of the general hypothesis that persons longest in the community would have the most active world views, was .28 for Mexican Americans in the nine years or more of education category but not statistically significant. On the other hand, this correlation made sense, considering the characteristics of the Mexican-American sample retrospective1 y . Younger, better educated, new arrivals were actively seeking economic opportunities. A1though age of respondent does have some influence on answers to questions, this varies from one area of concern to another. For example, with age of male controlled, occupational level varied significantly with race and ethnicity in the larger sample. Similarly, with age of male controlled, income varied significantly by race and ethnicity. Age of respondent and age of male had scattered correl.ations with other variables, but there were neither uniformities nor patterns that would lead to the conclusion that age should be controlled in the analysis at hand.

When world view scale scores and years of education are correlated for the combined Mexican-American, Negro and Ang1o samples without length of residence controlled, there is a statistically significant but modest correlation of .34 between education and world view; high education is associated with an active world view and low education with a passive world view. With time in the community controlled, education continues to have a significant relationship to world view. When controls are introduced for race and ethnicity, years of education and world view are significantly related among the Mexican Americans and Anglos but not among the Negroes. When race and ethnicity and length of residence were controlled, seven tables could be produced. The relationship between world view scale scores and education remained in every table but was statistically significant in only two cases, among those Anglos and Mexican Americans who had lived in Racine less than ten years. On a strictly statistical basis one must conclude that respondents with a better education are neither more individualistic or active than those with less education--but, considering the general pattern of correlations and the two significant correlations among short term residents, education is more closely related to world view than is time in the community. As in the single case where length of residence appeared to be related to world view [. 28 for Mexican Americans with nine or more years of education], short-residence, better educated Mexican Americans had more active world views than did their
short-residence, less educated Mexican-American counterparts. The same relationship also existed for short-residence Anglos and, although not statistically significant, was apparent to a lesser degree among the Negroes. But one only need examine the place of origin of most Negro versus most Mexican-American and Ang1o respondents in order to gain some idea of how the influence of years of formal education on world view could well have been washed out by other variables in their environment prior to recent arrival in Racine.

The hypothesis that length of residence in the community and education are closely related to world view must be rejected. It is; however, apparent that both, in concert with race and ethnicity, do have some relationship to world view, length of residence playing the more minor part in it. The statistically significant relationship between world view and education disappears in most cases when controls are introduced. The uncontrolled correlations were generated by the fact that Ang1os tended to have active world view scores, be well educated, and be long-time residents of the community, while the Negroes and Mexican Americans had the least education, the shortest period of residence, and the most passive world views. In sum, the greatest contrast in world view was between passive, long-residence, less educated Mexican Americans and active, long-residence, better educated Anglos.

Considering the distribution of income and world view by race and ethnicity as presented in Table 4, it is not surprising that when the samples were combined before controlling for ethnicity, over twice as many high income persons had active scores as had passive scores while twice as many low income persons had passive as had active scores. When low, medium, and high irncome persons were compared, holding ethnicity constant, world view varied significantly with income within the Mexican-American and Anglo samples but not within the Negro sample. ${ }^{14}$ In each case, low income persons are more likely to be passive and high income persons are more likely to be active. But when the three income categories within each race or ethnic group are compared two at a time, only the high and low income categories are significantly different in world view in the Mexican-American group, the low and high income categories do not reach the . 05 level among the Negroes, and only two pairs are significantly different in the Ang1o group.

Now, it is just this sort of finding that was so disconcerting when analyses were made of the larger sample. However evident it was that the world view scale differentiated between Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Ang1os, the distribution of scores was so skewed toward the lower end of the scale for Mexican Americans in particular, that subcategories of Mexican Americans could scarcely be differentiated by their world view scores.

In addition to the world view questions that were asked of all respondents, it is quite apparent that a separate series of questions should have been provided for Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Ang1os,

TABLE 4
THE RELATION OF WORLD VIEW TO INCOME
Percentages

| Mexican |  | Negro |
| :--- | ---: | :---: |
| Low Medium High Low Medium High | Low Medium High |  |


| Individualistic, Active | 31 | 40 | 57 | 40 | 45 | 59 | 59 | 71 | 87 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| GroupOriented, Passive | 69 | 60 | 44 | 61 | 55 | 41 | 41 | 29 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 101 | 101 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| $\mathrm{N}=$ | 81 | 30 | 46 | 43 | 29 | 75 | 22 | 31 | 143 |

Low $=$ less than $\$ 4499 ;$ medium $=\$ 4500-\$ 5499 ;$ high $=\$ 5500$ or more.
a series that would have permitted each group to be distributed over a broader range of scores on questions that would have been particularly meaningful to persons with their background. These questions could have been generated by mernbers of each racial and ethnic group independently of the overall scale or developed by members of each racial and ethnic group as more explicit sub-categories of the kinds of questions that were most differentiating between and within each group. Had this been done, it might well have been found that there were significant differences, however fine, in world view that do develop within each racial and ethnic group with time in the city, with increasing increments of education, and that are more closely associated with income. But with the data that have been collected, statistically significant differences tend to show up mainly on a basis of race and ethnicity.

When income is controlled, the world view of Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos continues to differ significantly, with world view having its closest relationship to ethnicity within the high income category. When race and ethnic groups are compared two at a time with income controlled, the Mexican-American and Anglo groups differ significantly on world view within each income category. The Mexican-American and Negro groups never differ significantly. And, as stated in the previous paragraph wherein the nature and shortcomings of the world view scale were discussed, differences in world view between ethnic groups of the same income category, are somewhat greater than the differences in world view between income categories within each ethnic group. Although high income persons tend to be active and low income persons tend to be passive, variation based on
ethnicity within income categories is more marked than variation based on income within race and ethnic groups.

The Relation of Level of Aspiration for Children to World View
The second dependent variable with whic's we are concerned in this paper is level of aspiration for children. A detailed analysis of how level of aspiration for children relates to length of residence in Racine, education, and so on, will not be presented inasmuch as thepicture is essentially the same as that for world view. Table 5 is similar to Table 4, except that level of aspiration for children has been substituted for income and world view. 15

Before controls were introduced, income and level of aspiration for children varied significantly wi.th each other, high income persons having the highest aspirations for their children. As soon as race and ethnicity were controlled significant variation disappeared except among the Anglos. When income categories within each race and ethnic group are taken two at a time, most of the variation in level of aspiration with income disappears. But by contrast, and as in the case of income and world view, when variation in level of aspiration between race and ethnic groups is observed within income categories, there is significant variation in aspiration within each income category, particularly the high income category. Even when race and ethnic groups are taken two at a time, significant differences in level of aspiration remain between all pairs except the Negro and Ang1o pairs. Mexican Americans and Negroes did not differ significantly on world view within income categories, but it must be remembered that the difference between Mexican Americans and Negroes was not significant on world view. Similarly, Negroes and Anglos differed less than did Mexican Americans and Negroes on level of aspiration for children. Essentially what we are finding is that race and ethnicity make for greater differentiation in the dependent variable, level of aspiration for children, than does income.

The relationship of level of aspiration scale scores for children to dichotomized world view scores is presented in Table 6. When level of aspiration scores are compared with world view scores, passive persons tend to have lower aspirations for their children and active persons tend to have higher aspirations for their children. 16 These scales would be expected to correlate with each other since world view, as measured by at least some of the questions on the world view scale, can be considered as part of a broad universe of attitudes and views of which aspirations for children are also a part. While both active and passive Mexican-American and Negro respondents are skewed toward the low aspiration end of the scale, passive persons are more skewed toward the low aspiration end of the scale than are actives. When race and ethnicity are controlled, active and passive respondents within each racial and ethnic group have significantly different distributions of level of aspiration
TABLE 5
TOTAL ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME AND LEVEL OF ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN

| Scale Scores |  | Low Income |  |  | Percentages |  |  | High Income |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Mexican | Negro | Ang10 | Mexican | Negro | Anglo | Mexican | Negro | Anglo |
| Low <br> Aspirations |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 0 |  | 67 | 37 | 36 | 67 | 31 | 36 | 50 | 25 | 17 |
| 1 |  | 11 | 28 | 36 | 17 | 24 | 16 | 15 | 16 | 18 |
| 2 |  | 9 | 19 | 9 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 7 | 24 | 17 |
| 3 |  | 3 | 7 | 18 | -- | 14 | 23 | 7 | 13 | 30 |
| 4 |  | 11 | 9 | -- | 3 | 14 | 10 | 22 | 21 | 19 |
| High Aspirations | Total | 101 | 100 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 101 | 101 | 99 | 101 |
|  | $\mathrm{N}=$ | 81 | 43 | 22 | 30 | 29 | 31 | 46 | 75 | 143 |

TABLE 6

# THE RELATION OF WORLD VIEW TO LEVEL OF ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN 


scale scores, passive respondents having lower educational aspiration scores for their children than active respondents. Level of aspiration for children has significant variation with race and ethnicity within each world view category, as well. But world view has even greater significant variation with race and ethnicity within the two halves of the level of aspiration scale. When race and ethnic groups are taken, two at a time, with world view controlled, level of aspiration differences between groups continue to be statistically significant, particularly within the active category, except for the Negro-Anglo pairs. Anglo actives are skewed towards higher aspirations while among the passives all groups are skewed toward low aspirations, the Mexican Americans being skewed the most and the Anglos the least. In assessing the relationships found in Table 6, relationships that are consistent with others described in this paper, three things must be remembered: (1) Negro-Ang1o differences were not significant in other tables where level of aspiration for children was involved; (2) there was less difference between Negroes and Anglos in level of aspiration for children than between other groups; and (3) Mexican-Negro patterns were similar when world view was considered. The major contribution of this table is to show that the relationship of werld view to race and ethnicity not only stands up but is even more significant with level of aspiration controlled, except in the Mexican-Negro pairs.

There are really two questions here. One is whether level of
aspiration for children is more closely related to world view or to race and ethnicity; the other is whether world view or level of aspiration for children is more closely related to race and ethnicity. The answer to the first question is that level of aspiration for children is a bit more closely related to world view than to race and ethnicity. The answer to the second is that world view is more closely related to race and ethnicity than is level of aspiration for children.

But perhaps most interesting of all is Table 7, presenting the relationship between world view and level of aspiration for children, controlling for race, ethnicity, and income. These data enable us to determine the extent to which high levels of aspiration for children and active world views, and low aspirations and passive world views, are associated within income categories and race and ethnic groups. This relationship is present to a greater or lesser degree in every case except among medium income Negroes. Among medium income Negroes, actives are skewed towards low aspirations but passives are about evenly divided. In every other income category of every racial and ethnic group, persons with active world views have either high level of aspiration scores for children or scores skewed toward low aspirations to a lesser extent than persons with passive world views. 17 To put it differently, respondents with passive views had aspiration scores skewed toward the low end of the scale in every case except among medium income Negroes and high income Anglos, while respondents with active world views were either less skewed toward the low end of the aspiration scale or were skewed toward the high end, as in the case of high income Anglos. Unfortunately, the number of cases in the cells of some tables were rather small and the distribution of cases on the level of aspiration continuum was such that only two statistically significant differences were found--they were in the high income Negro and high income Mexi-can-American categories. If cutting points within each segment of the table had been selected with the strategy of maximizing chances for significant differences, other statistically significant differences could have been found, but this would not have been consistent with the cutting point procedures utilized in this paper.

High income Mexican Americans and Negroes with active world views have high aspirations for their children to a significantly greater extent than do high income but passive Mexican Americans and Negroes. High income active and passive Anglos have high aspirations, but the actives do not have significantly higher aspirations for their children. With world view controlled and income dichotomi.zed, there are no statistically significant relationships between income and level of aspiration for children within race and ethnic groups and world view categories. Only one significant difference is found if the Chi Square test is utilized with two degrees of freedom, and that is among active world view Negroes.

TABLE 7
THE RELATION OF WORLD VIEW AND LEVEL OF ASPIRATIONS FOR CHILDREN WITH INCOME AND RACE AND ETHNICITY CONTROLLED


TABLE 7 (continued)


## Conclusion

In Immigrants on the Threshold, Judith T. Shuval (1963) employs an "active-passive" continuum to measure the value orientations of various class and ethnic groups in Israel and relates these orientations to such variables as occupational aspirations, levels of education, and length of residence in Israel. Her examples were selected in 1949 and 1950 from transit camps in Israel following the War of Liberation. Dr. Shuval realized, however, that her data had more general significance in relation to other migrants whose spatial mobility might be related to other kinds of mobility aspirations.

Shuval's comparison of European and non-European immigrants to Israel led to the conclusion that value orientation as "active" or "passive" was an important determinant of educational and occupational aspirations, and that the value distinction was maintained even when ethnic and class controls were introduced. Furthermore, the "active" orientation of immigrants increased with time spent in Israel.

The data described in this paper provide further evidence in general support of Shuval's position. Those Negroes and Mexican Americans in Racine who have had less exposure to traditions which favor an active, change-it-yourself attitude toward the world reflect a more passive attitude toward change than do Racine Anglos. But differences based on length of residence in the community are not of uniform or great significance in Racine, as we have described in detail in this paper. Secondy, in both cases there is direct relationship between active or passive value orientations and the
aspirations of respondents for their children.
It is apparent that upper-class Mexican Americans and Negroes who are "active" seek education for their children as a way of implementing their general aspirations. This is not a surprising finding, but it has important implications when we remember that an earlier analysis of the same data revealed that education provided only limited access to higher level occupations for Mexican Americans and Negroes (Shannon and Krass 1963). An occupational ceiling did exist for Mexican Americans and Negroes, so that regardless of their education few Mexican Americans were employed above a level for which an eighth grade education would suffice and few Negroes above a level for which high school was sufficient qualification.

In other words, education, although sought for their children by persons with an active world view and with high levels of aspiration for their children, may not be as useful to their children as they expect. Unless success-making variables have the same pattern of relationships to measures of economic absorption among Mexican Americans and Negroes as they do among Anglos, higher education will be of relatively less value to Mexican Americans and Negroes than it has been to Ang1os.

As further evidence of how the system works for Mexican Americans, Negroes, and Anglos, a five-point scale of occupational mobility [based on occupation of male's father, and first, next to present, and present occupation of male] was constructed with data from the larger sample. Fifty-one percent of the Mexican Americans in Racine were in the constant low occupational status category, as against only 13 percent of the Negroes and seven percent of the Anglos. At the opposite end of the scale were those whose occupational status had always been high--55 percent of the Anglos, 13 percent of the Mexican Americans, and 10 percent of the Negroes. In between were late mobility, intermediate and early mobility types, with fewer Mexican Americans than Negroes in these categories.

At the beginning of this paper it was pointed out that patterns of intercorrelations between numerous antecedent and intervening variables (such as education, first work experience and prior urbanization) and measures of economic absorption and cultural integration (such as occupational level, income, level of living and world view) differ markedly with race and ethnicity. It was particularly emphasized that the interrelationship of measures of success such as occupational level and income and assumed success-generating variables such as education and work experience is not the same for Mexican Americans and Negroes as it is for Anglos. Not all Mexican Americans and Negroes have the same definitions of success as do Anglos. Those who do find that the larger society is not organized in such a manner that the payof $\ddagger$ comes to them in the same way that it comes to Anglos.

## NOTES

1. This study of value assimilation ameng inmigrant workers was initiated in 1958; 1500 interviews were conducted during the summeis of 1959, 1960, and 1961. with the support of the research comnittee of the University of Wisconsin Graduate School, a grant from the National Institutes of Health (Project RG-5342, RG-9980, GM 10919, and CH 00042), and the Ford Foundation Urban Grant. Support for analysis of the data continued from NIH until 1965. Since that time, the project has been supported by the College of Liberal Arts and the Division of Extension Services at the University of Iowa.
2. The basic findings in this study have been described in a series of lengthy mimeographed reports to the National Institutes of Health and in professional journals, selected items may be found in the References.
3. The Spanish version of the World View scale is as follows:
4. Pocas cosas eiぇ la vida valen el sacrificio de estar lejos de su familia.
5. E1 secreto de la felicidad es no esperar mucho y estar contento cun lo que le venga.
6. Ei mejor trabajo es unc en que se trabaja en grupo todas las personas juntas, aunque la persona no reciba crédito por s.I misma.
7. E1 hacer planes para el futuro sólo entristece a la persona, ya que las cosas casi nunca salen como una las quiere.
8. Hoy en día con las condiciones en el mundo 1o que son, 1a persona inteligente vive para hoy y deja que mañana traiga lo que sea.
9. Pocas cosas en la vida valen el sacrificio de mudarse de donde están sus amigos.
10. Cuando un hombre nace, el exito que va a tener no está determinado; cada cual es responsable por su futuro, el mismo.
11. Certainty of responses was measured on a four-point scale: (1) understood questions--response well formulated; (2) understood questions--response not well formulated; (3) predominately acquiescive response pattern; (4) confused, failed to answer quescions.
12. C1aire Peterson (Vanderbilt) selected the subsample and constructed a set of tables that served as a starting point for the present analysis. Elaine Krass (Staisford) assisted in the writing of an earlier version of this paper.
13. A series of tests of the significance of differences between samples and subgroups within samples is presented with each table. An overall or total test of the differences between the two samples is presented, followed by tests for zach of the subgroups. These in turn are followed by tests of the significance of differences between subgroups within the same sample, all taken at once. Since three separate samples were independently selected, it is alsc appropriate to test for the significance of differences between samples, two at
a time. Generally speaking, unless a difference is significant at the .05 level the difference is not considered significant, although $x^{2}$ values indicating a lower level of confidence to .10 are reported. Two measures of association are utilized. When the data may be grouped in $2 \times 2$ tables, $r_{4}$ is presented; when comparisons involve other than two dichotomies, $C$, the coefficient of contingency corrected for orouping is presented.

Tests of Significance of Differences Between World View in S $^{1}$ and $S^{2}$ and Subgroups of $\mathrm{S}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{S}^{2}$
$S^{1}-S^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=2.81,1$ d.f., $p<.10$
Mexican $S^{1}-S^{2} \chi^{2}=.11,1$ d.f., not significant
Negro $S^{1}-S^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=.68,1$ d.f., not significant
Ang1o $S^{1-S^{2}} \quad \chi 2=.60,1$ d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=102.18$, 2 d.f., $p<.001 ; \mathbb{T}=.50$
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{2} \mathrm{X}^{2}=76.78,2$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.51$
Mexican-Ang1o s ${ }^{1} \chi^{2}=91.74$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Ang1o $S^{2} \chi^{2}=67.94,1$ d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Anglo $s^{1} \quad x_{2}^{2}=65.14,1$ d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $S^{2} \chi^{2}=42.42$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro $S^{1} x^{2}=2.38$, 1 d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro $S^{2} x^{2}=2.59$, 1 d.f., not significant
7. The Level of Aspiration for Children scale was based on the following questions:
(1) About how much schooling would you (have) like(d) your child(ren) to have?
(2) It's sometimes hard to tell how things will actually work oint. If things (had) turned out that your children completed junior high school (9th grade), and then went to work, would you (have been) be satisfied, or dissatisfied? high school? 2 yrs. college? college degree?
(3) You can't always tell about the way things will work out. Here are some statements. Te11 me, as far as you can see, which statement would come the closest to the one that you would agree with.

1. For a person in my financial position, it wili be practically impossible to keep my children in school past the 9th grade.
2. 12th grade.
3. to put my children through college.
(4) Is there any special line of work that you would like any of your children to go into? (If children are no longer in school read: Was there any line of work that you would have liked your children to go into?)

Tests of Significance of Differences Between Level of Aspiration for Children in $\underline{S}^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$ and Subgroups of $\mathrm{S}^{1}$ and $\mathrm{S}^{2}$ $s^{1}-s^{2} \quad x^{2}=1.31,4$ d.f., not significant Mexican $s^{1}-\mathrm{s}^{2} \quad \mathrm{x}^{2}=.52,4$ d.f., not significant Negro $S_{1}^{1} \mathrm{~S}^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=1.31,4$ d.f., not significant Ang1o S ${ }^{1}-\mathrm{S}^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=.07,4$ d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o s ${ }^{1} x^{2}=64.83 *$, 2 d.f., $p<.001 ; \mathrm{C}=.39$ Mexican-Negro-Ang1o s ${ }^{2} \chi^{2}=38.40 *$, 2 d.f., $p<.001$; $\overline{\mathrm{C}}=.38$
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o s ${ }^{1} \chi^{2}=113.09 * *, 2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; ~ \bar{c}=.51$
Mexican-Negco-Ang1o s ${ }^{2} \chi^{2}=71.51 * *, 2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \tau=.50$

Mexican-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{1} \mathrm{x}^{2}=105.58 * *, 1$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$
Mexican-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{2} \chi^{2}=65.22 * *, 1$ d.f., $p<.001$
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Negro-Ang1o } & S^{1} & x^{2}=26.53 *, & 1 \\ \text { Negro-Ang1o } & S^{2} & x^{2}=96.92 *, & p<.001 \\ \text { d.f., } & p<.001\end{array}$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{1} \mathrm{x}^{2}=12.07 * *, 1$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{2} \mathrm{x}^{2}=4.20 * *, 1$ d.f., $p<.05$
Mexican-Negro $\mathrm{S}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=7.42 *$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro ${ }^{2} \chi^{2}=4.56 *$,', 1 d.f., $p<.05$
Mexican-Negro $S_{2}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=49.66 * *, 1$ d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro $\mathrm{S}^{2} \chi^{2}=31.29 * *$, 1 d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$
*[cutting point 0-2, 3-4]; **[cutting point 0, 1-4].
8. Vocational aspirations for children were divided into three levels: those with high aspirations wished their children to become doctors, nurses, priests, ministers, nuns, teachers, engineers, or enter other professions or to become managers, proprietors, or technicians; those with medium aspirations wished their children to become entertainers (sports, music or acting), white-collar workers, unspecified clerical workers, or to attain any "easy" job; those who were classified as having low aspirations desired to have their children become skilled laborers, mechanics, carpenters, etc.

|  | Percentages |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mexican |  | Negro |  | Ang1o |  |
|  | $\mathrm{S}^{1}$ | $S^{2}$ | $\mathrm{s}^{1}$ | $\mathrm{s}^{2}$ | $s^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ |
| Low Aspirations | 6 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Medium Aspirations | 22 | 19 | 10 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| High Aspirations | 24 | 26 | 26 | 25 | 22 | 20 |
| Leave it up to children | 26 | 29 | 22 | 20 | 47 | 48 |
| Not ascertained or inapplicable | 22 | 20 | 42 | 44 | 24 | 24 |
| Total | 100 | 101 | 102 | 100 | 102 | 100 |
| $\mathrm{s}^{1} \mathrm{~N}=800 ; \mathrm{s}^{2} \mathrm{~N}=545$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Tests of Significance of Differences Between Vocational Aspirations for Children in $S^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$ and Subgroups of $S^{1}$ and $S^{2}$
$s^{1}-s^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=1.11,4$ d.f., not significant
Mexican $S^{1} S^{2} \quad x^{2}=1.39,4$ d.f., not significant
Negro $S_{1}^{1}-S^{2} \quad \chi_{2}^{2}=.75,4$ d.f., not significant
Ang1o $S^{1}-S^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=.68,4$ d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}_{2}^{1} \mathrm{X}_{2}^{2}=88.26$, 8 d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$; $\overline{\mathrm{C}}=.38$
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{2} \chi^{2}=67.83$, 8 d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$; $\mathrm{C}=.41$
Mexican-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{1}{\underset{\chi}{2}}_{2}^{2}=13.62,2$ d.f., $p<.01$
Mexican-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{2} \mathrm{X}^{2}=7.21,2$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.05$
$\chi^{2}=28.40,3$ d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=2.36,2$ d.f., not significant
$\chi^{2}=23.44,3$ d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{2} \chi^{2}=1.09,2$ d.f., not significant
$\chi^{2}=18.41$, 3 d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro $S^{1} \quad \chi^{2}=11.31,2$ d.f., $p<.01$
Mexican-Negro $S^{2} \chi^{2}=6.52$, 2 d.f., $p<.05$
[Not ascertained, inapplicable and leave it up to children excluded when computing $\chi^{2}$ with 2 d.f. Not ascertained and inapplicable excluded when computing $\chi^{2}$ with 3 d.f.]
9. Rodman (1963) has pointed out that "middle class" Anglos respond that they would leave it up to their children but they mean
leave it up to their children to pick a high level occupation. A1so see Aberle and Naegele (1952).
10. Length of residence was determined by the following questions:
(1) Have you always lived here in Racine or did you move here from somewhere else?
(2) How long have you lived here in Racine?

Length of Residence in Racine

|  | Percentages |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mexican |  | Negro |  | Ang1o |  |
|  | $s^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ | $s^{1}$ | $S^{2}$ | $s^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ |
| Less than 10 years | 44 | 37 | 51 | 52 | 13 | 18 |
| 10 years or more | 56 | 63 | 49 | 48 | 87 | 82 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Tests of Signifigance of Differences Between Length of Residence in Racine in $S^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$ and Subgroups of $S^{1}$ and $S^{2}$ $S^{1}-S^{2} \quad x^{2}=.21,1$ d.f., not significant
Mexican $S^{1}-S^{2} \times 2=1.45$, 1 d.f., not significant
Negro $S_{1}^{1} S^{2} \quad \chi 2=.02,1$ d.f., not significant
Anglo $S^{1}-S^{2} \quad X^{2}=2.37,1$ d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro-Anglo $\mathrm{S}_{2}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=99.85$, 2 d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$; $\overline{\mathrm{C}}=.48$
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{2} \mathrm{X}^{2}=46.49$, 2 d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.42$
Mexican-Ang1o $S^{1} \quad \chi_{2}^{2}=61.27$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Anglo $S^{2} \chi^{2}=14.71$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{s}^{1} \quad \chi^{2}=92.16,1$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$
Negro-Anglo $\mathrm{s}^{2} \chi^{2}=44.93,1$ d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro $S^{1} \chi^{2}=2.24$, 1 d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro $S^{2} \chi^{2}=6.25$, 1 d.f., $p<.02$
11. The following question was asked in order to determine years of formal schooling: "How many years of school have you had?"

|  | Percentages |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mexican |  | Negro |  | Ang1o |  |
|  | $S^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ | $S^{1}$ | $S^{2}$ | $S^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ |
| Less than 9 | 76 | 78 | 46 | 39 | 22 | 14 |
| 9 or more | 24 | 22 | 54 | 61 | 78 | 86 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Tests of Significance of Differences Between Years of Education in $\underline{S}^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$ and Subgroups of $\underline{S}^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$
$S^{1}-S^{2} \quad x^{2}=5.35,1$ d.f., $p<.05$
Mexican $S^{1}-S^{2} \chi_{2}^{2}=.12,1$ d.f., not significant
Negro $S_{1}^{1}-S_{2}^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=1.51,1$ d.f., not significant
Anglo $\mathrm{S}^{1}-\mathrm{S}^{2} \quad \mathrm{X}^{2}=4.96,1$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.05$
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o S ${ }^{1} \chi^{2}=151.29$, 2 d.f., $p<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.58$
Mexican-Negro-Anglo $\mathrm{S}^{2} \chi^{2}=149.18,2 \mathrm{d.f},. \mathrm{p}<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.69$
Mexican-Ang1o S ${ }_{2}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=149.07$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Anglo s ${ }^{2} \chi^{2}=146.44,1$ d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}_{2}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=35.92$, 1 d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Anglo $\mathrm{S}^{2} \chi^{2}=31.25,1$ d.f., $p<.001$
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Mexican-Negro } & S_{2}^{1} & x^{2}=45.96,1 & \text { d.f., } p<.001 \\ \text { Mexican-Negro } S^{2} & x^{2}=44.14,1 \text { d.f., } p<.001\end{array}$
12. Total family income was based on responses to the following question but it should be noted that respondents were also asked a variety of other questions on income, such as hourly wages, hours worked per week, weeks worked per year, and so on. These were checked against response to the single question and it was decided that this was sufficiently accurate for analysis by category. "Approximately what was your total family income last year (1959)?"

Total Annual Family Income

|  | Percentages |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mexican |  | Negro |  | Ang1o |  |
|  | $S^{1}$ | $S^{2}$ | $s^{1}$ | $s^{2}$ | $S^{1}$ | $S^{2}$ |
| \$5500 or more | 27 | 28 | 41 | 46 | 64 | 66 |
| \$4500-5499 | 17 | 18 | 21 | 18 | 15 | 14 |
| Less than \$4499 | 50 | 49 | 28 | 26 | 13 | 10 |
| Not ascertained | 6 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 8 | 10 |
| Total | 100 | 99 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Tests of Significance of Differences Between Total Annual Family Income in $\underline{S}^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$ and Subgroups of $\underline{S}^{1}$ and $\underline{S}^{2}$
$s^{1}-s^{2} x^{2}=1.87,2$ d.f., not significant
Mexican $s^{1}-s^{2} \quad x^{2}=.11,2$ d.f., not significant
Negro $\mathrm{S}^{1}-\mathrm{S}^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=1.49,2$ d.f., not significant
Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{1}-\mathrm{S}^{2} \quad \chi^{2}=.95,2$ d.f., not significant
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{1} \mathrm{x}^{2}=103.13,4$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.47$
Mexican-Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{2} \mathrm{x}^{2}=81.00,4$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.50$
Mexican-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{1} \chi_{2}^{2}=96.39$, 2 d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$
Mexican-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{2} \chi^{2}=80.26$, 2 d.f., $p<.001$
Negro-Ang1o $\mathrm{S}^{1} \chi^{2}=33.48,2$ d.f., $\mathrm{p}<.001$
Negro-Ang1o s ${ }^{2} \chi^{2}=21.50,2$ d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro $S^{1} \chi^{2}=23.43,2$ d.f., $p<.001$
Mexican-Negro $\mathrm{s}^{2} \chi^{2}=18.30,2 \mathrm{~d} . \mathrm{f} ., \mathrm{p}<.001$
[Not ascertained omitted in computing $\chi^{2}$ ]

## 13. World View and Length of Residence

Short residence-1ong residence and always lived in Racine

$$
\chi^{2}=7.96,1 \text { d.f., } p<.01 ; r_{4}=.13
$$

Short residence-1ong residence-always lived in Racine

$$
\chi^{2}=29.84,2 \mathrm{~d} . \mathrm{f} ., \mathrm{p}<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.34
$$

Wor1d View and Length of Residence with Education Contro11ed
Low Education: residence cutting point as above $\chi^{2}=.53,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.06$
High Education: residence cutting point as above

$$
\chi^{2}=3.28,1 \text { d.f., } p<.10 ; \mathrm{r}_{4}=.11
$$

Low Education: residence cutting points as above

$$
\chi^{2}=5.79,2 \text { d.f., } p<.10 ; \tau=.25
$$

High Education: residence cutting points as above

$$
x^{2}=8.30,2 \text { d.f., } p<.02 ; \mathrm{C}=.23
$$

World View and Length of Residence with Race and Ethnicity Controlled Mexican $\chi_{2}^{2}=.34,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.06$ Negro $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=.28,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.05$ Ang1o $\quad \chi^{2}=.00,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}^{4}=.00$
World View and Length of Residence with Race, Ethnicity and Education Controlled


World View and Education
Low education-high education $x^{2}=58.20$, 1 d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.34$ World View and Education with Time in the Community Controlled
Short residence $X_{2}^{2}=13.40$, 1 d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.29$
Long residence $\chi^{2}=42.85$, 1 d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}^{4}=.35$
World View and Education with Race and Ethnicity Controlled
Mexican $\chi_{2}^{2}=6.38,1$ d.f., $p<.02 ; r_{4}=.22$
Negro $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=2.79,1$ d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}=.14$
Anglo $\chi^{2}=9.09,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.22$
World View and Education with Race, Ethnicity and Time in the Community Controlled

| $\quad$ Short | Mexican | $\chi^{2}=5.27,1$ d.f., $p<.05 ; r_{4}=.36$ |
| :---: | :--- | :--- |
| residence | Negro | $\chi^{2}=.69,1$ d.f., not sigrificant; $r_{4}=.11$ |
|  | Anglo | $\chi^{2}=9.12,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.33$ |
|  | Mexican | $\chi^{2}=1.65,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.16$ |
| Long | Negro | $\chi^{2}=1.64,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.17$ |
| residence | Negro | $\chi^{2}=.61,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.11$ |

14. Wor1d View and Income

Low-Medium-High $\chi^{2}=53.40,2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \bar{C}=.45$
World View and Income with Race and Ethnicity Controlled
Mexican $\chi^{2}=8.04,2$ d.f., $p<.02 ; \bar{C}=.45$
Low-Medium $\chi^{2}=.46$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.08$

Medj.um-High $x_{2}^{2}=1.37,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.16$
Low-High $\quad \chi^{2}=7.00,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.25$
Negro $x^{2}=4.44,2$ d.f., not significant; $\overline{\mathrm{C}}=.25$
Low-Medium $\chi_{2}^{2}=.04,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.05$
Medium-High $\chi_{2}^{2}=1.10,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.12$
Low-High

$$
\chi^{2}=3.27,1 \text { d.f., } p<.10 ; r_{4}=.18
$$

Ang1o $x^{2}=12.99,2$ d.f., $p<.01 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.36$
Low-Medium $X_{2}^{2}=.36,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.12$
Medium-High $\quad x_{2}^{2}=4.07$, 1 d.f., $p<.05 ; r_{4}=.17$
Low-High $\quad x^{2}=9.20,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.26$
World View and Race and Ethnicity with Income Controlled
Low Income $\chi^{2}=5.96,2$ d.f., not significant; $\bar{C}=.29$
Mexican-Ang1o $x^{2}=4.77,1$ d.f., $p<.05 ; r_{4}=.24$
Negro-Ang1o $x_{2}^{2}=1.52,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.18$
Mexican-Negro $x^{2}=.60,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.09$
Medium Income $x^{2}=6.79,2$ d.f., $p<.05 ; \bar{C}=.38$
Mexican-Anglo $x_{2}^{2}=4.74,1$ d.f., $p<.05 ; r_{4}=.31$
Negro-Ang1o $x_{2}^{2}=3.21,1$ d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}^{4}=.26$
Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=.01,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.05$
High Income $x^{2}=29.73,2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \bar{C}=.47$
Mexican-Ang1o $\quad x_{2}^{2}=18.80,1$ d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.33$
Negro-Ang1o
$x^{2}=21.71,1$ d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.33$
Mexican-Negro $x^{2}=.00,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.02$

## 15. Income and Level of Aspiration for Children

Low, Medium and High Income $x^{2}=49.80$, 8 d.f., $p<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{c}}=.37$
Low, Medium and High Income $x^{2}=35.41,2$ d.f., $p<.001 * ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.38$ *[cutting point 0, 1-4]
Income and Level of Aspiration with Race and Ethnicity Controlied
Mexican

$$
\begin{aligned}
& x^{2}=10.91,8 \text { d.f., not significant } \\
& x^{2}=3.83,2 \text { d.f., not significant; } \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.22
\end{aligned}
$$

Low-Medium Income $x_{2}^{2}=.05,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.00$ Medium-High Income $\chi^{2}=1.43,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.16$ Low-High Income $x^{2}=2.75,1$ d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}=.16$

Negro

$$
\begin{aligned}
& x^{2}=7.55,8 \text { d.f., nct significant } \\
& x^{2}=1.86,2 \text { d.f., not significant; } \overline{\mathrm{c}}=.16
\end{aligned}
$$

Low-Medium Income $x_{2}^{2}=.08,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.06$
Medium-High Income $\chi^{2}=.11,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.06$
Low-High Income $\quad \chi^{2}=1.32,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.12$

Ang1o

$$
\begin{aligned}
& x^{2}=17.28,8 \text { d.f., } p<.05 \\
& x^{2}=8.21,2 \text { d.f., } p<.02 ; \bar{C}=.29
\end{aligned}
$$

$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Low-Medium Income } & \chi_{2}^{2}=.05,1 \text { d.f., not significant; } r_{4}=.01 \\ \text { Medium-High Income } & \chi_{2}=2.22,1 \text { d.f., not significant; } r_{4}=.20\end{array}$ Medium-High Income $x_{2}^{2}=2.22,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.20$ Low-High Income $\quad \chi^{2}=3.51,1$ d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}=.17$

Level of Aspiration and Race and Ethnicity with Income Controlled Low Income $\chi^{2}=12.82,2$ d.f., $p<.01 ; \bar{C}=.41$

Mexican-Ang1o $x_{2}^{2}=5.43,1$ d.f., $p<.02 ; r_{4}=.25$
Negro-Anglo $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=.04,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}^{4}=.01$
Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=8.75$, 1 d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.28$
Medium Income $\chi^{2}=9.12,2$ d.f., $p<.02 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.44$
Mexican-Anglo $\chi_{2}^{2}=4.75,1$ d.f., $p<.05 ; r_{4}=.31$
Negro-Ang1o $\quad \chi^{2}=.01,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.05$
Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=6.13,1$ d.f., $p<.02 ; r_{4}=.35$
High Income $\chi^{2}=20.48,2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.39$
Mexican-Ang1o $\chi^{2}=18.81,1$ d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.33$
Negro-Ang1o $\quad x_{2}^{2}=1.76$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.10$ Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=6.61$, 1 d.f., $p<.02 ; r_{4}=.25$
16. Wor1d View and Level of Aspiration

Individualistic, Active-Group Oriented, Passive vs. Aspiration Scale

$$
x^{2}=65.98,4 \text { d.f., } p<.001 ; x^{2}=54.95,1 \text { d.f., } p<.001 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.32
$$

## World View and Level of Aspiration with Race and Eichnicity Controlled

Mexican $\chi^{2}=10.09$, 1 d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.26$
Negro $\chi_{2}^{2}=6.71,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.21$
Ang1o $\quad \chi^{2}=9.03,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.22$
Leve1 of Aspiration and Race and Ethnicity with World View Controlled Individualistic, Active $\chi^{2}=13.48,2$ d.f., $p<.01 ; \overline{\mathrm{C}}=.29$

Mexican-Anglo $\chi_{2}^{2}=12.35,1$ d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.23$ Negro-Anglo $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=.48$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.05$ Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=5.45$, 1 d.f., $p<.02 ; r_{4}=.21$
Group Oriented, Passive $\chi^{2}=14.74,2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \bar{C}=.36$
Mexican-Ang1o $\chi_{2}^{2}=10.29,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.29$
Negro-Anglo $\quad x^{2}=.20$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.06$ Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=9.42,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.24$
World View and Race and Ethnicity with Level of Aspiration Controlled Low Leve1 of Aspiration $\chi^{2}=19.58,2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \bar{C}=.42$

Mexican-Ang1o $\chi_{2}^{2}=17.00$, 1 d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.35$
Negro-Ang1o $\quad \chi^{2}=8.93,1$ d.f., $p<.01 ; r_{4}=.32$

Mexican-Negro $\chi^{2}=.19,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.05$ High Level of Aspiration $\chi^{2}=33.88,2$ d.f., $p<.001 ; \bar{C}=.44$
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Mexican-Ang1o } & \chi_{2}^{2}=17.39,1 \mathrm{~d} . \mathrm{f} ., \mathrm{p}<.001 ; \mathrm{r}_{4}=.29 \\ \text { Negro-Ang10 } & \chi_{2}=45.07,\end{array}$
Negro-Anglo $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=45.07,1$ d.f., $p<.001 ; r_{4}=.41$
Mexican-Negro $x^{2}=.02,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.02$
17. World View and Level of Aspiration for Children with Income and Race and Ethnicity Controlled

Low Income $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=2.61,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.21$
Mexican Medium Income $\chi_{2}^{2}=1.41$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.29$
High Income $\chi^{2}=4.34,1$ d.f., $p<.05 ; r_{4}=.35$
Low Income $\quad X_{2}^{2}=3.32,1$ d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}=.33$
Negro Medium Income $\chi_{2}^{2}=1.40$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.29$ High Income $\chi^{2}=6.28,1$ d.f., $p<.02 ; r_{4}=.32$

Ang1o
Low Income $\quad \chi_{2}^{2}=1.22,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.33$ Medium Income $\chi^{2}=.06$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}^{4}=.12$ High Income $x^{2}=2.80,1$ d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}=.17$
Income and Level of Aspiration for Children with Race and Ethnicity and World View Controlled

## Mexican

Individualistic, Active $\chi^{2}=.52,1$ d.f., not sigrificant; $r_{4}=.12$
Group Oriented, Passive $\chi^{2}=.03,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.00$ Negro
Individualistic, Active $\chi_{2}^{2}=.00,1$ d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.03$ Group Oriented, Passive $\chi^{2}=1.17$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}^{4}=.15$ Ang1o
Individualistic, Active $\chi_{2}^{2}=2.88$, 1 d.f., $p<.10 ; r_{4}=.15$ Group Oriented, Passive $\chi^{2}=.45$, 1 d.f., not significant; $r_{4}=.17$

## REFERENCES

Aberle, David F. and Kaspar D. Naegele
1952 Middle-Class Fathers' Occupational Role and Attitudes Toward Children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 22:371.
Krass, Elaine M., C1aire Peterson and Lyle W. Shannon
1966 Differential Association, Cultural Integration, and Economic Absorption among Mexican-Americans and Negroes in a Northern Industrial Community. The Southwestern Social Science Quarter1y 47:239-252.
Rodman, Hyman
1963 The Lower Class Value Stretch. Social Forces 42:205215.

Shannon, Lyle W. and Elaine M. Krass
1963 The Urban Adjustment of Immigrants: The Relationship of Education to Occupation and Total Family Income. The Pacific Sociological Review 6:37-42.
Shannon, Lyle and Patricia Morgan
1966 The Prediction of Economic Absorption and Cultural Antegration among Mexican-Americans, Negroes, and Anglos in a Northern Industrial Community. Human Organization 25: 154-162.
Shuval, Judith T.
1963 Immigrants on the Threshold. New York, Atherton Press. P. 216.

