Chapter-II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE
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In this chapter relevant studies are reviewed and presented in a systematic manner keeping in view the objectives of the present research. As the literature on this area is quite extensive, an attempt is made to group the studies in accordance with the criteria of disadvantage. Four major background variables - Socio-economic status, race/ethnicity/caste/religion, gender and locality that are widely used as strong indicators of disadvantage/advantage are reviewed. In addition, school and home environmental variables and some personality factors found influencing the aspirations are also reviewed.

Under each topic, the studies that reported significant differences between advantaged and disadvantaged groups (the advantaged having higher level of aspiration) are first discussed followed by explanations suggested for the differences. Then, research findings that yielded insignificant differences and/or significant differences (here the disadvantaged having higher level of aspiration) are discussed.

Socio-Economic Status:

One of the earliest studies that attempted to relate level of aspiration with background factors was that of Gould's (1941). On the basis of six unrelated tasks (tests of level of aspiration), 81
male undergraduate students were divided into two extreme groups - high (H) and Low (L) - by the size of the average discrepancy scores obtained. The two groups were compared with respect to a number of family background factors. Results revealed that both economically and socially, the 'L' group were in more favoured position than the 'H' group. The 'L' group came from predominantly protestant American background of high economic status, 57 percent of them having high income. The majority of the fathers in this group were 'Professionals'. In addition, 57 percent of the fathers have college degrees and above. In contrast, in the 'H' group, 55 percent of the fathers are foreign born, 60 percent have very low income and 55 percent belong to minority religious groups. Differences were also observed in the two groups' salary expectations. Socio-economic background, which is an essential attribute of being privileged or underprivileged affects the degree of realism in level of aspiration. According to Gould, people coming from low socio-economic status suffer from a sense of insecurity which finds its expression in their setting of unrealistically higher goals.

Chaubey (1971) studied the risk-taking and level of aspiration of high, middle and low socio-economic class of people from developed and undeveloped villages. Middle class subjects of developed villages were found to be of intermediate risk taking
and showed higher level of aspiration than the lower socio-economic group. That is, the level of aspiration of the middle class subjects was more realistic than their counterparts.

Muthaya (1971), using open-ended questionnaire and ladder test to measure the level of aspiration of farmers has shown that with increase in the socio-economic level, the aspiration level also tended to increase ($r = .4$). But the fact that the correlation was not high indicated that there may be frequent divergence from this trend. However, on the ladder test, the correlation was higher ($r = .68$). The results were interpreted to mean that those of higher socio-economic status were more realistic and more motivated to achieve than those of low socio-economic status.

Swaliha (1979) correlated level of aspiration as measured by goal-discrepancy with socio-economic status and achievement. The results showed that the higher the socio-economic level, the lower the goal-discrepancy and the higher the need for achievement. This means that children drawn from higher socio-economic families have stronger motivation to achieve and set their aspiration not too high in comparison to children coming from lower socio-economic families.

Rath and Samanth (1975 in Jarfi, 1992) have used economic conditions, caste, parental education, and locality as criteria for
drawing the privileged and underprivileged. They maintained that socio-economic status and educational surroundings, apart from low caste, are the major factors making the child privileged or underprivileged. The results of their study have indicated that children hailing from privileged groups showed higher level of aspiration as compared to the underprivileged groups.

Khan's (1986) study of the level of aspiration of advantaged and disadvantaged children has a direct bearing to the problem of the present study. Three kinds of disadvantages based on socio-economic status, religion and sex were considered. A total of 600 children were selected using a stratified random sampling technique. The criteria used for identifying the disadvantaged/advantaged group of children were type of school, locality of residence, caste, income, education and occupation of parents. The L.A. Coding Test (Ansari and Ansari, 1964) was used as a tool for measuring of level of aspiration. The patterns of goal-setting behaviour were analysed using three independent variables: a) Initial Bids (I-Bids), b) goal-discrepancy and c) shifts. The findings of the study showed that: a) Disadvantaged children made significantly lower I-bids, indicating the tendency towards cautions and failure avoidance. b) The advantaged children neither set the goal very high nor low but of a level closer to and somewhat moderately above the level of past performance, while
the disadvantaged children set the goal low or very high more frequently. c) The comparison of shifts of the two groups also revealed that while the majority of advantaged children showed usual shifts, the majority of disadvantaged manifested either no shift or unusual shifts. This finding indicates that the disadvantaged were more rigid and their flexibility more erratic.

A comparison of perceptions and aspirations of women college students in J & K also resulted in similar findings. Using a questionnaire, Jabeen (1993) observed that students hailing from higher economic and social background reported higher level of aspirations than their counterparts hailing from parents of lower socio-economic status.

Specific levels of aspiration were also found to be affected by the social and economical background of the subjects. The studies conducted by many researchers revealed that socio-economic status emerged as a major factor in influencing the level of educational and career aspiration of adolescents.

Rojewiski and Yang (1997) studied select influences on adolescents' occupational aspirations. The National Education Longitudinal Survey of 1988 (NELS:1988) database was used. A sample of 25,000 adolescents attending 1,052 schools was followed at 2-year intervals for the three critical points in the
career development process - early, mid, and late adolescence. Family background, locus of control and self-esteem were measured using a questionnaire. Occupational aspirations were assessed by asking students to indicate the job they would like to have from a listing of separate occupational categories. In their linear structural relationships (LISREL) modelling analysis, the structural coefficients for social demographic variables indicated that socio-economic status had significant effects on adolescents' occupational aspirations in all the three points (i.e. grades 8, 10 & 12). Adolescents from higher socio-economic status reported higher level of aspiration.

In a comparison of career aspirations between inner-city boys (very low socio-economic status) and middle-class children (2nd to 8th graders), Cook, et al. (1996) indicated that the more advantaged boys reported significantly higher level of aspiration than their less fortunate inner-city counterparts and that the gap between aspirations and expectations was always greater for inner-city boys.

McDonald and Jessel (1992) first identified ten schools whose students indicated as having either high or low occupational attitudes. Then, they studied the background and personal characteristics of 7th and 8th grade students.
Discriminant analysis of data revealed that those who were members of high aspiring group tended to reside in parent intact and in higher socio-economic families, tended to have higher levels of self-esteem, and attained higher cognitive vocational complexity than the students with lower vocational aspirations. This finding led the authors to conclude that the young adolescents "seemed to have already been influenced by membership in a given social class".

In their attempt to compare the aspirations of youth for themselves and for their country, Braungart and Braungart (1996) administered a scale on college students. The results showed that although the students reported higher levels of aspirations, the more privileged students indicated very high career aspirations (to be famous, having prestigious jobs, etc.), where as others were less grandiose in their ambitions (e.g. having interesting jobs).

Solorzano's (1992) analysis of a subset group (n=19,000) taken from NELS:1988, that investigated whether the "cultural deficit model" works for different groups - by socio-economic status, race and gender - showed that socio-economic status significantly predicted students' (8th graders) and parents' educational and occupational aspirations. The higher the socio-economic status, the higher was the level of aspiration.
Similar findings were also reported by other researchers. Rural high school seniors who were in the academic track were also from higher socio-economic families and reported significantly higher educational and occupational aspirations than those from lower social and economic groups (McCraeken, Barcinas, and Wims 1991). Father's occupational statuses have predicted Black students career aspirations (Chung, Loeb and Gonzo, 1996).

A number of Indian scholars have also arrived at similar findings. Ahmad (1968, in Hussain, 1996), in his study of the social background of women undergraduates in Delhi University revealed that most of the students come to college without definite aim. He further found out that girls coming from educated and economically well off families are modern in their outlook and had higher job aspirations.

Swaminathan and Parvathi (1983), in their comparisons of adolescents' occupational aspirations, sampled 180 adolescents half of whom were born from working mothers (teachers) and the remaining half from housewives. Interview and Grewal's occupational aspiration scale were used. The t-test comparison of data from the two groups indicated that the adolescents of the working mothers had significantly higher level of occupational aspirations than those of the non-working mothers.
Jafri (1992) compared the educational, social and economic aspirations of advantaged and disadvantaged college girls. Aspirations were measured using a questionnaire. Analysis of data showed that girls from higher income groups exhibited greater preference for economic, social, and educational aspiration as compared to the lower income groups. Girls with parents of higher education also reported greater preference in all the three areas of aspirations and values than their peers whose fathers were less educated.

Family socio-economic status significantly influencing the students' educational aspirations is widely reported. Strong positive relationship between socio-economic status and educational aspirations was observed by Haas (1992).

In a regression analysis conducted by Karraker (1992) to see the effect of socio-economic status on adolescent girls educational plans, mothers' educational status and family income were found to be significant predictors.

Triplett and Jarjura (1997) attempted to determine the effect of educational expectation as a factor mediating the "class-gender-delinquency" relationship. They surveyed a large national sample of adolescents (14-18 year olds). Results showed that out of five measures, three measures - family income, educational
level of household head, and occupational prestige level of the head of the household were positively correlated to youth's educational expectations.

In their path model of student aspirations to college, Hossler and Stage (1992), have reported that the influence of parents' education level was strong throughout the model. Parental educational level had a significant direct effect on student educational aspirations and a significant indirect effect on the level of aspirations mediated by such variables as parental expectations, students' GPA, and students' school activity.

High School boys' family socio-economic status was significantly related to post-high school choice. Boys from higher socio-economic status showed intense desire to go to college, whereas those from the lower social status chose to join the military/work contexts after high school (Owens, 1992). Similarly, parents' educational level significantly affected adolescents' educational aspirations (Wilson and Wilson, 1992).

The study conducted on forty adolescents affected by "conditions of stigma and poverty", revealed that although they have high aspirations for high school up to graduation and college, they reported lower expectations as well as lacking specific or plausible post school plans (Brantlinger, 1992). A
similar lack of realism was also reported by Cress (1992). Low-income minority students ("at-risk") were found to have high college aspirations but the steps they actually planned to make higher education a reality were very poor, i.e. wide gap existed between college aspirations and preparations.

A number of explanations can be provided for the lowered aspiration level and lack of realism of the disadvantaged adolescents. The social-psychological perspective is a prominent one.

Hotchkiss and Borrow (1996) and Gottfredson (1986) advocate the sociological perspective (i.e. status attainment theory) that argues aspirations as reflecting the effects of bias and discrimination, social attitudes, cultural expectations and stereotypes based on social class, race and gender. These systemic (institutional) biases and structural barriers based on race, gender, and social class can lead to limited career alternatives and availability, imposing lower status and devalued role on adolescents. Such circumstances in turn may result in lowered aspiration levels and very poor achievements.

Hauser and Anderson (1991) have also postulated that socioeconomic status and ability affect educational and career aspirations by way of their realization in school performance and
in social support from significant others. Much of the influence of these background factors on college achievement or occupational success is said to be mediated by aspirations.

Blau (1956) had already elaborated such influences on aspirations in her social psychological schema. She emphasized on the social and structural properties of society that have a powerful influence on the allocation of jobs, and therefore aspirations. Occupational choices are said to be constrained within the larger system of relations (e.g. the social stratification system) that is outside the individual's control and of which he or she may be only partially aware. In this approach, key opportunity structural components such as industrial growth rates, economic conditions, employment policies, the historical milieu, demographic conditions, and high school tracking as well as psychological attributes such as interests, attitudes, aptitudes and personality types are included. Owens (1992) summarizes Blau's social psychological schema by describing occupational choices (and in fact aspirations) "as a function of individual characteristics being modelled, shaped and 'marketed' within the larger social structure and historical milieu".

Sewel, Haller and Ports (1969), suggested that family's socio-economic effect on later educational and occupational
achievement, is attributed to the intervening influences of various social psychological factors such as school performance and status aspirations. Status aspiration was thought to be important because of its proximity to early status attainment.

Several other explanations are also given by many researchers regarding the lowered aspiration levels and greater goal discrepancy scores of the economically and socially disadvantaged individuals. The real life experiences of success and failure (Haq, 1969), cognitive deficits, fear of failure and low need for achievement (Moulton, 1965), lack of success and opportunities (Ali and Khan, 1982), low self-esteem and norms of the group to which the subject belongs (Lewin, et al, 1944; Hilgard et al, 1940).

Commenting on the plight of poor children, Cook, et al (1996) argued that inner-city children see many more unemployed men around them holding low status jobs. They thus, will likely come to realise that their own job choices are constrained owing to past school performance, their family background, and prejudice of potential employees. Few role models and mentors, poor school grades, unsafe neighbourhoods, etc., are said to engulf the disadvantaged urban youth. This might lead them to have limited experience and unrealistic aspirations.
McDonald and Jessel's (1992) comments is worth noting. "The pervasive socialisation process goes further than simply attenuating children to available opportunities in their environment; it enriches or impoverishes their self-concept, which in turn determines their social behaviour and expectations". This influence of the environment has led Brantlinger (1992) to conclude that "low-income teenagers expect and tolerate second class status. School is a place where they learn their role of surplus population".

Despite the aforementioned research findings and arguments, researchers are not in agreement on the relation between socio-economic status and level of aspiration.

Pal and Tiwari (1984) studied the influence of sex, scholastic achievement and socio-economic status on the self concept and level of aspiration of secondary school students. A sample of 250 students were selected from Agra City and were administered Rostagi's Self Concept Scale, Singh and Tiwari's level of aspiration scale and Singh and Saxena's socio-economic status scale. A randomized factorial block design of 2(achievement) X 2(sex) X 3(SES) was used in the study and 'F-test' and 't-test' were used in the analysis. Findings indicated that self concept was affected only by scholastic achievement. On the other hand,
all the three independent variables significantly affected level of aspiration. The main effect of socio-economic status on level of aspiration was statistically significant ($F = 33.69, p<.01$). However, the direction was opposite to that of expectation. The score for low socio-economic groups (mean = 57.8) was greater than the other two strata, i.e. middle and high socio-economic statuses (mean = 50.9 and 44.5 respectively).

Hussain (1979) investigated individual differences among adolescent boys in anxiety and level of aspiration. 58 undergraduate AMU students were sampled. Independent variables were religion, home, locality, income and age. Level of aspiration was measured by the goal-discrepancy scores derived from the L.A. Coding Test. Three family income groups were formed; lower, middle and upper. Separate t-tests were employed for all independent factors. The results showed that the three income groups did not differ significantly in their level of aspiration.

Nonsignificant differences are also reported by investigators on specific level of aspirations. Jackson (1986) reported that only 3% of the variance in post-secondary participation was explained by socio-economic status. Young (1981, in Hossler & Stage, 1992) found out that when parents' educational level and parental encouragement were controlled, income did not significantly add to the amount of explained variance.
Social background as measured by the composite scale scores of the parent with the highest educational and occupational attainment was not significantly related to urban XIIth graders occupational and educational expectations (Walker and Sutherland, 1993).

The path model of Hossler and Stage (1992) indicated that though parental educational level had significant effect, family income did not show significant causal relationship to other variables in the model including educational aspirations. Similarly, Chung, Loeb and Gonzo's (1996) study reported that family income, parents' education level and mother's occupational status did not significantly predict students' occupational and educational aspirations.

In a study conducted by Phipps (1995) to investigate the career dreams of pre-adolescent students, children belonging to different social and economic backgrounds were reported to have similar career dreams.

The study by Farmer and Chung (1995) that was conducted to replicate Farmer's (1985) model of career motivation, arrived at the conclusion that family socio-economic status as measured by fathers' education predicted the sample college students' occupational aspirations. However, it was low socio-economic
background that predicted students' career aspirations. That is, those students from less privileged backgrounds were aiming for higher level careers. In the previous study the opposite trend was observed. Puzzled by these contradictory findings, the authors suggested further investigations on the issue.

Some of the explanations for the conflicting results is suggested by Hossler and Stage (1992) as that some researchers might include additional variables that are correlated with both social economic status and aspirational levels, not to mention differences in research design.

Ethnicity, Race, Caste and Religion:

It appears from the research literatuerature that the status of minority groups, especially Blacks in US is inferior in all walks of life when compared with the White majority. The review of Chung, Loeb, and Gonzo (1996) shows that Black Americans lag behind Whites in their educational and vocational attainments. They are more likely to be unemployed, underemployed, and most of them are confined to lower status occupations. According to Hauser and Anderson (1991), despite some growth up to 70's, form mid 70's to 80's, college entry among Black Americans declined, even at the face of rapid growth rate among the White population. This rapid decline trend is reported to affect Blacks across socio-economic status and gender. Solorzano (1992)
summarized the situation by saying that "at any given point in the educational and occupational pipeline, using most measures of educational and occupational outcomes, Blacks do not fare as well as Whites". Perhaps one may also expect that level of aspiration will not be an exception.

What may be one of the most comprehensive study on the problem at hand was that carried out by Josephine (1970). Using a factorial design, the effects of socio-economic status, grade, sex and race were studied by means of ring tossing and spelling tasks of level of aspiration. Goal-discrepancy and absolute level of aspiration were considered as the indices of level of aspiration. Analysis of variance revealed significant effects in isolation and interaction of all the factors studied. While Black children did not differ from White children in their absolute level of aspiration, they were found to differ in their goal-discrepancy, revealing lower degree of realism in level of aspiration than the White children.

In the study conducted by Soares and Soares (1971) in real school life situations, race and socio-economic status were the criteria for drawing disadvantaged and advantaged subjects. The discrepancy between grade expected and achieved was the measure of level of aspiration. The disadvantaged Black children were found to show significantly larger goal-discrepancy than the advantaged White children.
The results showed that Black children were unrealistic and too ambitious in level of aspiration when compared with White children.

In a study that used Harijans and high caste groups of college students as subjects, Srivastava and Agarwal (1978) found that the Harijans set their aspirations unrealistically high than their high caste counterparts while the high caste group kept their level of aspirations more realistically some what above the level of past performance.

In Hussain's (1979) study, the comparison of Muslims and Hindus in terms goal-discrepancy scores revealed that Muslims were less realistic then their Hindu counterparts in their level of aspiration. Hussain (1996) explored the aspirations of Hindu and Muslim Rajputs. His findings revealed significant variations between the two groups on their aspiration levels.

Mau (1995) and Phipps (1995) have found minority nationals to report lower levels of educational and occupational aspirations. Even gifted minority adolescents were observed to have lower levels of aspirations than the gifted from majority groups (McIntosh and Greenlaw, 1990). The study of McCraken, Barcinas and Wims (1991) that showed students aspiration in the academic curriculum were higher than those in the vocational tracks, also reported that Blacks were under represented in the academic track, but aspired to higher unrealistic occupations. That is, they appeared to be naive concerning the employment market.
In their study that attempted to reformulate a model of attitude formation that predicts disadvantaged Black youth's development of educational and occupational aspirations, Walker and Sutherland (1993) took 175 inner-city Black twelfth graders and administered scales. Results showed that the variable "Perception of Opportunity Structure" was a significant predictor of educational and occupational aspirations of Black male subjects. Stronger perception of barriers was found to be related to lowered levels of aspirations.

Cress (1992) argued that jobs could offer disadvantaged adolescents to work with adults and learn from role models there by increasing their career motivation and aspiration. In her interview with low-income students who have part-time jobs, to assess what they think about work, she found out that relationships with adults mattered a great deal to the students. But race also mattered - "White students were more likely than non-Whites to talk about positive experience with adults on the job". The implication of this finding is that non-White adolescents developed lower value for work and thus resulted in the form of lowered occupational aspirations.

A variety of explanations are suggested for the observed differences in the levels of aspiration among the disadvantaged minority and the advantaged majority groups. Lower self-esteem, decreased sense of self value in the family for adolescents, low academic pride, less
adult support to affect self-esteem among minority adolescents (American Association of University Women, 1992); lower income (Voelkel, 1993); cultural mistrust (Terrel, et al. 1993); level of acculturation (Ramos and Sanchez, 1995); and other explanations are given by the investigators.

Walker and Sutherland (1993), after reviewing several studies, have concluded that high school-dropout rates, high levels of urban youth unemployment and severe dislocation of its economy "have conspired to undermine the upper mobility of economically disadvantaged urban youth".

The social-psychological model as described earlier is attributed to work for racial differences in aspirations. Porter (1974) contends that the Black-White mobility distinction as "sponsored" and "contested" mobility differences. Porter's assertion, is based on the findings that Blacks' academic performance and social origins influence on subsequent achievement was minimal contrary to Whites. He concluded that Blacks' mobility was sponsored. "In other words, Blacks who attained positions within the hierarchy were selected by the majority group members rather than by their competitive performances or the socializing influence of significant others".

The perception of the opportunity structure may be singled out to explain the lowered aspirations of Blacks. Due to the erosion of the
economic base, the poverty rate increased among urban Black youth. This might have left the poor with bleak future and also influenced their perception. "Conceptually", said Walker and Sutherland (1993), "the opportunity structure may be defined as those structurally created conditions external to the individual that permit or retard mobility". The authors have cited a number of studies that showed economically disadvantaged Black youth's awareness of structural limitations influencing the types of educational and occupational goals that they developed. For example, Cosby (1974), reported that over a two-year period, Black students, more than any other group, lowered their educational plans because of perceived limitations.

The "cultural deficit" (or "culture poverty") model provides another explanation for the racial differences with regard to status attainment. The model suggests that Black cultural values, that are transmitted through families, are dysfunctional, leading to their low educational and occupational attainment. Solorzono's (1992) explanation of the model postulates that the value Blacks place on education as a vehicle of upward mobility is low. The lowered emphasis and values (i.e. level of aspiration) in education explains why they do not do well in schools. That is why, according to the author, social scientists who use the cultural deficit model focus on race/ethnicity as one predictor of aspiration.
Another explanation of the cultural deficit model propounded by Ogbu (1988), states how "involuntary" racial minorities reinforce their own inequality through a cultural value that ensures failure. John Ogbu's framework as paraphrased by Slorzano (1992) and Johnson (1992) is said to begin with two generally accepted premises: 1) For beliefs values and attitudes to be imparted, children must have them confirmed by the experiences of older people around them; and 2) positive perceptions and experiences among members of population result in instrumental school behaviour becoming culturally sanctioned.

According to Ogbu, a group is called minority if it occupies the subordinate position in relation to another group in the same society, not in terms of numbers. Ogbu identifies three types of minorities-autonomous, immigrant, and caste like. African Americans are classified under caste like minorities. Caste like minorities are incorporated involuntary and permanently into the host society. Their economic and political roles are defined and limited by the majority. Thus, individual training, abilities and aspirations become meaningless.

The American system of structural inequality, Ogbu maintains, affects motivation, school experience and school performance. Thus, African Americans school performance and motivation have been attenuated by the educational and occupational realities which they have to cope. Their perception of the job ceiling adversely affects their
schooling by lowering aspirations, motivation and achievement; and when combined with the quality of schooling, the caste like role of Blacks is maintained and complete. Thus, Ogbu views the lower aspiration, motivation, and achievement of Blacks as a collective adaptive response.

The cultural deficit model is criticised for giving more emphasis on individual and group characteristics and neglecting institutional or social structural factors, thus shifting the reasons of educational and occupational attainment away from the school (as ability grouping, tracking, teacher-student interactions etc.) and into family and student background characteristics (Solorzano, 1992).

The lowered level of aspirations of minority students, may also be explained in the light of Bandura's Social learning theory (King and Multon, 1996). The theory maintains that interests and behaviour develop from learning experiences which produce positively and negatively reinforcing events. Learning experience may be direct or vicarious. Educational and occupational preferences may develop from observing a model positively reinforced in an activity. Baudura's (1977) social learning theory provides a theoretical base on the effects of vicarious role models (e.g. Television), through the prediction that children of all races have potential for learning values, attitudes and behaviour portrayed on television. African American children and adolescents are reported to identify more with and assign positive
attitudes to Black characters by viewing them as "referent significant others" over White characters. On the other hand, content analyses revealed that TV portrayals of Black Americans to be stereotypical. This line of reasoning led King and Multon (1996) to the assertion that "African American youth may not aspire to professional careers because of constant exposure to limited occupational portrayals of African Americans on TV".

On the other hand there are a number of studies conducted by the investigators that revealed the aspirations of minorities either to be similar to or even greater than those of the majority groups.

In one of the earliest studies, Adams (1939) took three groups of Black and three groups of White subjects (N = 30, each group) from fourth, eighth and college levels. The groups were matched individually for age, sex, intelligence and socio-economic status of their parents. They were given the darts throwing test of level of aspiration. Each subject was given 16 trials, 5 throws in each trial. Shifts in the goal was the measure of realism in level of aspiration. Results showed that while 70 percent of positive or upward shifts and 57 percent of negative or downward shifts in the Black fourth grade children were of usual nature, the corresponding values for White children were 70 percent and 63 percent, indicating no difference between the two groups. Similar results were found in the case of eighth graders and the college students.
Milgram, et al. (1970) too did not find significant difference in the goal-discrepancy on a test of level of aspiration between six year old Black and White children. But in terms of the frequency of erratic shifts, Black children were found to be higher than their White counterparts. Similar results were reported by Strickland (1971) on the study conducted using ninth grade low socio-economic status Black adolescents and middle and high status White counterparts. Here too, though Black subjects made significantly more erratic shifts, other differences were not significant.

The comparisons made by Khan (1986) among Hindu and Muslim children in terms of three measures of level of aspiration - I-bids, goal-discrepancy and shifts - revealed that except for few significant interactions, Hindu and Muslim children did not differ in the main effects of all the three dependent variables. This finding was, the researcher said, contrary to expectation of minority group behaviour and some previous findings.

Concerning specific levels of aspiration, similar findings are found by researchers. As a group, Asian Americans have excelled others in level of aspiration (Kim and Valadez, 1995).

The longitudinal study of Rojewiski and Yang (1997) that included 18,311 students' national data and taken three times (8th, 10th, 12th grades), showed that race/ethnicity had a small direct influence on
eighth graders' occupational aspirations, but the effect gradually decreased at grades 10 and 12. The author concluded by saying race/ethnicity effects were negligible.

Karraker (1992) compared the educational plans of Black and White female adolescents. A large sub-sample was drawn from a national sample and a questionnaire calling for race, income, etc., and educational plan was administered. Results showed that when family income was controlled, Black females reported similar, and in some cases higher educational plans than their White female counterparts. In a similar manner, the career dreams of eight to eleven year olds was not explained by race. This means, race differences was not observed in the type of work aspired (Phipps, 1995).

Hauser and Anderson (1991) analysed a national survey data that measured post-high school plans and aspirations of high school seniors using the same questionnaire each year - from 1976 to 1986 - 15,000 to 19,000 students per year. Using trends analysis, their finding indicated that no trends in plans or aspirations to complete college programmes was observed for Blacks and Whites. In addition, aspiration for completing college grew in both groups over the years. Thus, the authors concluded that the observed decline in Black's college entry rates was not explained by changes in aspirations.

The path analytic study of Hosler and Stage (1992) regarding
students college aspiration reported that there were no differences in actual levels of student aspirations when comparing minority and majority students. However, ethnicity showed a strong indirect effect on aspirations mediated by high school activities and GPA. Minority students who were more involved in school activities and reported higher GPA's, resulted in higher levels of educational aspiration.

Wilson and Wilson (1992) have also found Black adolescents to report significantly higher level of educational aspiration than Whites. In the exploratory analysis that tested the effects of race, class, and gender on student aspirations, Solorzano's (1992) results revealed that when socio-economic status was controlled, Black students had higher educational and occupational aspirations than Whites.

Evans and Herr (1994) determined the extent to which racial identity (as part of self concept) and perception of discrimination influenced the career aspiration of 60 male and 60 female African American college students. Subjects filled a demographic questionnaire, a racial identity attitude scale and a discrimination against Blacks scale. Racial identity attitudes were not significantly related to traditional career aspirations of either males or females. Neither perception of discrimination against Blacks and women were significantly related to the career aspiration of the subjects.

Kumar (1976) has also found out that most of scheduled caste
students are drifting from their traditional occupations. Educated scheduled caste students are found following new occupations aspiring for government positions.

Some explanations are provided for these lack of differences in aspirations by race/ethnicity. Parental expectations, self-concept and vision were found to affect higher educational aspirations regardless of racial background (Kim and Valadez, 1995). The observed increased levels of aspiration among minorities was suggested due to increased number of professional role models over the past 20 years and the realization of education as a key to economic stability of Blacks (Wilson and Wilson, 1992). Similarly, Karraker (1992) cited several sources that contended Black Americans to be subject to the same social expectations as other Americans.

Immigrants from China, Japan, South Asia and Indo-China are repeatedly reported to show very high levels of aspirations and the corresponding school success in US. Duncan and Weffer (1992) have reviewed studies that attributed the success of Chinese Americans. Despite their minority status, motivational factors and the work effort derived from Indo-Chinese cultural values, parental expectations, student expectations and valuing the importance of hard work are some of the explanations provided.
Gender:

Himmelweit (1947) studied the level of aspiration of undergraduate students (20 males and 33 females) by administering a test of level of aspiration. The data was analysed in terms of estimates of future performance (goal-discrepancy), estimates of past performance (judgement-discrepancy), flexibility and the percentage of typical reactions to success and failure. Results indicated that though the goal-discrepancy scores of women were significantly smaller than men, in the other measures of level of aspiration, the women subjects either over estimated their subsequent scores or underestimated their past performance. The review of studies by Frank (1941) had also showed some sex differences in level of aspiration, girls having lower aspiration level.

Swaleha (1979) compared the level of aspiration of boys and girls and found out that the two groups differed significantly in their level of aspiration. A strong tendency was found in girls to set their level of goals below their achievement while boys showed the opposite trend.

Pal and Tiwari (1984) also compared secondary school boys and girls and reported significant differences in level of aspiration. The mean scores of males (53.91) promote predominantly aspiration in comparison to the females (mean = 48.29).
First and second grade boys showed a wider range of career choices than the girls (Looft, 1971). 8-11 year old children tended to select occupations which are gender stereotyped (Sellers, Satcher, and Comas, 1999).

Many other studies have also indicated that boys possess higher level of specific aspirations than girls. Despite their belief that society accepts multiple career options for both sexes, boys and girls career aspirations remained fairly sex-stereotyped - boys opting for high earning science/math related jobs (Pettit, et al, 1995). Gifted boys reported higher levels of occupational aspirations than gifted girls (Kelly, 1992). Among A-level students in Britain, despite girls were better qualified than boys, they were relatively lacking in confidence (Stable and Stable, 1995). Learning disabled female students had very low high-prestige aspirations than their learning disabled male counterparts (Rojewiski, 1996). The difference in the level of aspiration was found to increase with age. Girls more than boys, loose their confidence in their abilities and self-esteem as they grow older (American Association of University Women, 1992).

Lapan and Jinglisky (1992) sampled 112 eighth grade students and measured for demography, achievement, sex type and prestige level of occupational map. Results showed that jobs were placed in a two dimensional sex type X prestige level coordinate. Boys and girls
showed similar understanding of a job's sex type and prestige level. In addition subjects made gender congruent choices. Boys expected to attain greater self-efficacy and were interested in occupations that boys and girls agreed were masculine jobs. The same was true for girls on the feminine scale of the map.

Wilson and Wilson (1992) investigated the influence of demographic and environmental variables on adolescents' educational aspirations. Results demonstrated sex to be a significant influencer. It was found the male high school seniors to report higher level of educational aspirations than their female counterparts. Leug, Collie and Sheel (1994) employed retrospective method to measure the career aspiration of 69 boys and 185 girls. The occupations List Instrument was administered to the subjects to obtain career alternatives subjects considered at ages 0-8 years, 9-13 years, and 14+ years. The career alternatives considered in early life period were compared with those considered later. Comparison was also made on the educational and career aspirations of male and female students at each stage. Girls were less likely than boys to aspire to doctoral or professional degrees. The findings suggested the influence of traditional sex role attitudes on career choice.

Muamba (1993) studied 49 boys and 43 girls of Batswana (South Africa). He asked subjects to indicate their career choice and whether
a man, a woman, or a person of either sex best performs each of the 20 jobs. Results showed traditional gender stereotyping for all subjects. The perception that men should have the professional and prestigious jobs was shown by both boys and girls.

Uplaonkar (1983) also reported that the occupational aspirations of women students were lower than those of men students. This indicated that women students in higher education did not perceive any meaningful role in terms of gainful employment. He also suggested that women students were more likely to use higher education as a status symbol, as an end in itself, rather than as a means of gainful employment.

Several explanations are provided for these observed females' lowered level of aspirations and sex-stereotyped educational and career choices. It might be attributed to mother's encouragement and aspirations for daughters' academic level (Hernandez, 1994); the gender bias schools play, lower self-esteem (American association of Univ. Women, 1992); and incongruities between career behaviours and their aspirations.

Similar explanations were provided by Lightbody and Durndell (1996), such as inequalities in the benefits drawn from educational service by males and females; involuntary non-participation in science and technology as a result of inequalities based on group membership
sex in this case); sex-stereotyping in science and technology; the "hidden curriculum" in schools reinforcing gender stereotyping.

Lapan and Jingelsky (1992) gave their explanations based on self-efficacy theory and sex role orientation of Gottfredson. The self-efficacy is found to be a predictor of gender differences in science and technical vocational interests. Gender differences in efficacy expectations are linked to sex-role orientation. Relationships are found among gender, sex role orientation and mathematics self-efficacy (Hackett, 1985), as well as among gender, sex role identification and career efficacy expectations on college students (Rotberg, et al, 1987).

Gottfredson (1981) stated that career development is a process of narrowing career alternatives according to individual's "zone of acceptable alternatives" that demarcate acceptable/not acceptable occupations based on self-image. People have similar occupational images that deal with the life-style the occupation affords and the type of the person that fits it - not with job duties. This shared image is organized into two major dimensions - the perceived sex type of the job and the perceived prestige level of the job. Based on such premises, she proposed that a zone of acceptable career alternatives can be traced according to three criteria: compatibility of the perceived sex type of each job with sense of gender identity, compatibility of the perceived prestige level of each job with one's self-concept of
acceptable status level, and the willingness to exert effort perceived necessary to obtain each job.

On the other hand, other studies have reported the opposite trend. Himmelstein (1956) studied shifts in level of aspiration in relation to sex. Two types of level of aspiration tasks - stylus maze and digit symbol substitution - were individually administered one after the other to 55 male and 57 female undergraduate White students. Results showed that the male and female students did not significantly differ on both the tasks in items of their shifts.

Shifts and rigidity in level of aspiration of male and female college students were studied by Mohanty (1978) using a randomly selected 144 male and 144 female college students. The two groups were matched for socio-economic status and academic achievement. Results showed that females exhibited more typical responses and were found to be more flexible in adjusting their goals than their male counterparts. Male students were more rigid and non-responsive to success or failure.

Saraswati and Kumna (1979) compared undergraduate male and female students (n = 165) on two constructs - intelligence and level of aspiration. Results revealed that male and female subjects did not differ in terms their general mental ability. But a significant difference was observed in their level of aspiration. Females expected and achieved
much more than the males, showing the females level of aspiration being slightly higher than the male students.

Khan's (1986) comparisons of male and female school children also indicated that, despite few interactions, sex differences were nonsignificant with respect to the main effects on level of aspiration measures.

Rojewiski (1995) conducted a study using rural adolescents and reported that males and females did not differ significantly in their occupational aspirations.

In the examination that assessed the career choice of male and female adolescents, Lightbody and Durndell (1996) administered a career-choice Q-sample to 106 high school students asking them to sort cards first to a hypothetical child (male or female), and then to themselves. The cards contain statements of reasons for selecting a career. Results indicated that the career chosen for the hypothetical pupil was not influenced by its sex or the sex of the respondent. In addition, the career choices for themselves did not coincide with the traditional male-female dichotomy.

Post, Williams and Baubaker (1996) replicated another study conducted ten years earlier to assess gender differences in career aspirations and expectations. They sampled 202 eighth graders and administered a questionnaire. Analysis of the data showed that girls
were found to take more math classes than boys and more girls wanted to go to college than boys.

In a survey of middle schoolers, females have shown higher occupational attitudes than males (McDonald and Jessel, 1992). Male Black freshmen have reported lower educational aspiration than females (Chung, Loeb, and Gonzo, 1996). Both Black and White female eighth grade students showed higher educational aspirations and occupational expectations than their male counterparts (Solorzano, 1992). Female Black urban twelfth graders had significantly higher occupational aspirations than their Black male counterparts (Walker and Sutherland, 1993).

**Locality of Residence:**

Family residence is yet another background variable that may place individuals at disadvantage. Rural adolescents are said to face many unique situations that can influence their aspirations and career development (Rojewiski, 1995). McCraken, Barcinas and Wiins (1991) have reviewed studies that asserted rural and urban schools functioning in quite different environments and that community concerns have greater impact upon rural schools because of their microsomic settings.

The most comprehensive studies that compared the level of aspiration of individuals by their residential areas are those of Sinha's (1969). Developed and undeveloped villages were sampled. As a
measure of level of aspiration, a grain sorting test was administered to 285 farmers from undeveloped villages and 268 farmers from developed villages. The data was analysed in terms of aspiration, goal-discrepancy, judgement-discrepancy, and flexibility scores. Group comparisons led Sinha to conclude that although the undeveloped villages had a tendency to set higher level goals and made fewer shifts in the goal in comparison to the developed villagers, the differences were not marked enough to be significant. However, on absolute aspiration and judgement-discrepancy, the difference between the groups was significant - the developed groups keeping the aspiration higher and the judgement-discrepancy lower than the undeveloped groups. Similar results were also observed with a sample of children drawn from the two groups of villages.

The study by Hussain (1979) had also reached at similar findings in that his undergraduate subjects coming from rural and urban areas did not differ in their level of aspiration.

A number of reviews and research reports have indicated the vocational aspiration of rural adolescents to be lower than their non rural peers (Rojewiski, 1995). Students who lived in urban areas were more likely to attend higher education (Anderson, et al, 1972). Spenser and Featherman (1978) have found that coming from farm depressed achievement ambitions, which may intern lessen the probability of seeking higher education.
Similarly, rural adolescents showed lower level of aspiration and were also found to have experienced conflict between their career aspiration and their future residential preferences than their urban peers (Hektner, 1995).

Some explanations are advocated regarding the circumstances that contribute to the lowered level of aspiration of rural adolescents. Parental low level of education and preference for employment of their children, lack of role models (Hall, et al, 1995); high poverty rates in rural areas, lack of managerial and technical jobs requiring college degree since such jobs have shifted increasingly to urban areas (Haas, 1992).

**Environmental Factors:**

A number of researchers probed that environmental factors also affect individuals' aspirations such as television (King and Multon, 1996); part-time jobs (Cress, 1992); financial aid (Farmer and Chung, 1995); extra-curricular activities (Hossler and stage, 1992); social activities (Chung, Loeb, and Gonzo, 1996); parental separation like divorce, death and geographical (McDonald and Jessel, 1992; Cook, et al, 1996). But majority of the investigators concentrated on two major environmental factors - the family and the school.

Family environmental variables are conceptualized as parental aspirations for their adolescents, parents' monitoring school work of
adolescents (Wilson and Wilson 1992); mode of parent-child interactions and their cognitive mediators such as parental belief system and their educational and social values (Johnson, 1992).

Family environmental factors are extensively studied and found to influence the aspiration levels of children. Hanson and Ginsburg (1988) have reported that the effect of parental expectations was larger than the effect of SES variables on high school achievement levels and academic growth. As the level of parental expectations increased, student aspirations and achievement also increased (Carpenter and Flieshman, 1987). 37% of the variance in post-secondary aspirations of students was explained by the educational expectations of parents (Sewell and Shah, 1978). Wilson and Wilson (1992) have found that perceived fathers' and mothers' aspirations and parents' influence on high school plans made significant effects on adolescents' educational aspirations.

The sex of the parent is also emphasized by some investigators. Smith (1981) reported that the net effects of mother's aspirations was considerably greater than father's aspirations. The findings of Wilson and Wilson (1992) also asserted that "when maternal aspirations were high, there was an increased likelihood that adolescents aspirations would be high". The greater influence of the mother is explained by their strong attachment with their children (O'Brien and Fassinger, 1990).
Parental influence on adolescents' aspirations is also reported to be a function of the SES of the family. Solorzano (1992) found that parents' expectations rise as their SES rises regardless of their racial membership. Marjoribanks (1992, 1997) have found that parents' support and expectations had differential effects on the educational and occupational aspirations of adolescents of different ability and social status areas.

Young and Friesen (1992) have identified two modalities by which parents can influence their children. Intentional action and non-intentional variables. Intentional action was understood as a voluntary behaviour employed by an agent as a means of attaining certain ends. Non-intentional variables are subjective experiences of a person as an agent of the child's development (e.g. mother's employment).

"The school is another major environment within which the adolescent functions" (Wilson and Wilson, 1992). Marjoribanks (1985) conceptualized the school environment as teachers' support and the regulative, instructional, imaginative, and interpersonal contexts in the school. Wilson and Wilson (1992) used teachers'/counsellors' aspirations for adolescents and their influence on high school programmes and school facilities as variables of school environment. Johnson (1992) have listed school related variables that affect adolescents' self-perception and achievement. The school environmental factors include
quality of interaction with the teachers, instructional programmes and learning activities, curricular materials and extra-curricular programmes, discipline and expectations.

School tracking has been reported to influence the students' aspirations. Students in vocational schools expressed different goals concerning their future (Malmberg, 1996). Klaczynski and Reese (1991) found that vocational school students prepared themselves for adulthood while academic school students prepared themselves for studies and career. Jakson (1986) also found that being in the academic track had positive impact on college aspirations than being in the vocational track.

Teacher expectations and aspirations for their students and the kind of support they provide are grouped as school environmental factors that seem to influence students' aspirations. Plucker (1998) administered aspirations scale to groups of students belonging to schools that differ in their teacher support. Results showed that schools that promote academic achievements also promoted higher aspirations. Besides, the students who received adequate teacher mentoring and who felt that they were valuable members of the school community revealed higher level of aspiration.

The school environmental factors are usually linked with the social and economic status of the students (Brantlinger, 1992; Triplett and Jarjura, 1997).
Hypotheses

Keeping the purpose of the present research ahead and in the light of available literature reviewed, the research hypotheses to be verified are as stated.

1. It was expected that the patterns of goal-setting behaviours of the samples drawn from the two countries representing disadvantaged and advantaged groups of adolescents, should be different. The advantaged and disadvantaged, irrespective of their nationality and social setup, seem to differ in terms of the resources required for excellence in different areas of life such as the home, school environment, opportunity structure, parental and social expectancies. Paucity of resources and encouragement are likely to limit aspirations and achievements of the disadvantaged groups of adolescents. Thus, it was expected that:

1.1 I-bids of the disadvantaged groups would be lower than the advantaged groups.

1.2 The goal-discrepancy scores of the disadvantaged groups would be greater than the advantaged groups.

1.3 a) The scores of usual shifts would be greater for advantaged groups than the disadvantaged groups.

b) Unusual shifts scores would be more observed in disadvantaged groups as compared to advantaged groups.
c) More rigidity (no shifts) would be found in disadvantaged groups than the advantaged groups.

1.4 The occupational aspirations scores of the advantaged groups would be higher than the disadvantaged groups.

1.5 The educational aspiration scores of the advantaged groups would be higher than the disadvantaged groups.

2. It is discussed in the review part that the researchers in the West reported conflicting results concerning the status of boys and girls. The trend however, seems that girls are catching up with boys in terms of aspiration and college enrolment due to the changing value systems and attitudes of the society in general. Even the observed the lack of sex differences is often questioned by many, such as Bem (1993), who cautioned that beliefs about sex and gender and sex-roles are so deeply rooted in society that they are no longer visible. However, in India and Ethiopia, it may be observed that majority of girls are still behind boys in terms of attainment, achievement, post-high school enrollment and the like. Statistics in both countries indicate that women are found in less numbers than men in terms of employment, and also in professional institutions. The role of women as housekeepers is still prevalent. Sex-stereotyping, parental encouragement and expectation, the gender bias schools play, inequalities in the benefits drawn from educational services by
males and females, involuntary non-participation in the field of science and technology are some limiting factors. Thus, it is reasonable to expect that the patterns of goal-setting behaviour of females would be different from the males.

2.1 I-bids of the female groups would be lower than the male groups.

2.2 The goal-discrepancy scores of the female would be higher than the male groups.

2.3a) The score of usual shifts would be higher for males than female groups.

b) The unusual shifts scores of female groups would be higher than male groups.

c) No-shift scores of the female groups would be higher than male groups.

2.4 The occupational aspiration scores of males would be higher than the female groups.

2.5 The educational aspiration scores of males would be higher than the female groups.

3. Minorities are likely to suffer from self-hatred, the feeling of relative deprivation and other marks of oppression. Lower self-esteem, decreased sense of self-value in the family for adolescents, lower parental expectations, lower income, cultural mistrust and others are reported for minorities. Thus, it would
not be unreasonable to assume that minority status is a form of
disadvantage, and the goal-setting behaviour of minorities
(Muslims in our case) will be different from majority groups
(Hindus in India, and Christians in Ethiopia).

3.1 I-bids of the Muslim groups would be lower than the Hindu
group (India), Christian group (Ethiopia).

3.2 The goal-discrepancy scores of the Muslim groups would be
higher than the Hindu group (India), the Christian group
(Ethiopia).

3.3 a) The scores of usual shifts of the Hindu group (India);
Christian group (Ethiopia) would be higher than their Muslim
counterparts.

b) The usual shifts scores of the Muslim groups would be
higher than the Hindu group (India); Christian group
(Ethiopia).

c) No-shifts scores of the Muslim groups would be higher
than the Hindu group (India); Christian group (Ethiopia).

3.4 The occupational aspiration scores of Hindu group (India):
Christian group (Ethiopia) would be higher than their Muslim
counterparts.

3.5 The educational aspiration scores of Hindu group (India).
Christian group (Ethiopia) would be higher than the Muslim
groups.
4. Differences in the goal-setting behaviours of the two countries (India vs. Ethiopia) is not studied till now. Therefore, for this study, it is decided not to formulate hypotheses. Instead, the following leading questions are asked for use as guides in making the comparisons.

4.1 Which country's adolescents would show higher I-bid scores?

4.2 Which country's adolescents would show higher goal-discrepancy scores?

4.3 a) Which one of the two countries adolescents would show higher usual shift scores?

   b) Which one of the two countries adolescents would show higher unusual shift scores?

   c) Which one of the two countries adolescents would show higher no-shift scores?

4.4 Which one of the two countries adolescents would show higher occupational aspirations level?

4.5 Which one of the two countries adolescents would show higher educational aspiration level?