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SOME FACTORS RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION

AMONG EAST INDIAN AND NEGRO STUDENTS

ATTENDING PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS

IN TRINIDAD

by



Ishmael Jymshed Baksh

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Some Factors Related to Educational Expectation among East Indian and Negro Students Attending Public Secondary Schools in Trinidad," submitted by Ishmael Jymshed Baksh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## ABSTRACT

In the present study, there was an examination of the relationships of the independent variables sex, socio-economic status (SES), school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans with the dependent variable educational expectation ("university plans") among Negro and East Indian students attending public secondary schools in Trinidad. The sample consisted of 1101 students. The necessary data were obtained from a questionnaire administered to the students in their classrooms. Cross-tabulations employing percentages were examined in order to determine the nature of the relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable.

It was found that school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans seemed generally to be positively associated with educational expectation. However, the relationship of the variables, sex and SES with educational expectation appeared to be fairly complex.

A primary interest of the study was to examine whether aspects of the social structure of Trinidad might provide plausible interpretations of findings. With regard to sex-related differences in educational expectation it was found that among East Indians generally, high-SES Negroes and Middle-SES Negroes, males tended to have a higher level of educational expectation than females. Among low-SES Negroes, however, the direction of the sex-related difference was reversed. It was suggested that ethnic differences in sex role expectations at the low-SES level may account in part for such findings. Also contributing to the



findings among low-SES Negroes might be the strong emphasis placed by Negro females on achieving a legally recognized marriage.

The relationship between SES and educational expectation also proved to be quite complex. Under certain conditions, low-SES and middle-SES students appeared as likely as or more likely than their high-SES counterparts to have high educational expectation. It was suggested that such factors as material and prestige deprivation, rising expectations, and the increasing openness of the social structure might help to explain the findings.

The relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation seemed to be stronger among East Indians than among Negroes. It was thought that the greater cohesiveness of the East Indian family might account for this ethnic difference. It was also found that among East Indians the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation seemed to be stronger than that between friends' educational plans and educational expectation. Again, the suggestion was made that the strong cohesiveness of the East Indian family may be an important factor here. The corresponding analysis with regard to Negroes did not reveal highly consistent trends.

Some theoretical issues relating to social stratification in Trinidad were raised and some possible directions for future research were suggested.

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Education and Social Stratification in Modern Industrial Societies

There has been a growing link between education and social stratification in modern industrial societies. For example, an increasingly pronounced relationship exists between education and occupational status. This has occurred to a large extent because of the demands of the economy of modern industrial societies for highly trained manpower. The importance of skills based in large measure on formal education has resulted in access to occupations being more and more dependent upon the acquisition of adequate educational qualifications. Again, level of education is positively associated with social prestige. This is due partly to the relationship which exists between education and income, since access to greater economic resources facilitates maintenance of the style of life regarded as appropriate for those in the higher social strata. Generally, the more highly educated individuals in modern industrial societies are, the greater are their chances to obtain higher incomes, power and prestige.

However, the role played by education in social stratification is not always as crucial as might be thought. There is some evidence that a greater amount of social mobility may occur than can be explained by education alone.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, as Turner has suggested, the extent to which extended schooling is accessible to the population at large as

a potential means of achieving upward social mobility depends upon the openness of the social structure.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, nevertheless, education has played an increasingly important part in the allocation of persons to positions in modern industrial societies.<sup>3</sup>

### Education and Social Stratification in Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago, a developing society, is increasingly adopting characteristics of modern industrial societies. This is seen, for example, in (a) the growing importance of formal education for occupational selection, (b) the positive relationship between formal education and income, and (c) the increasing openness of the social structure.

In Trinidad and Tobago, formal education has become more important in occupational selection. Several factors are responsible for this. For example, economic development, especially the growth of modern industry, has created new types of jobs which require various kinds of expertise based to a large extent on formal education. Also, the expansion of the Civil Service and the teaching profession has made available large numbers of positions for which formal education is a prerequisite.<sup>4</sup> Again, the attainment of political independence has resulted in multiplying opportunity for citizens of Trinidad and Tobago to fill senior administrative and other positions in the Civil Service as well as in the larger private companies. As a result of factors such as these, formal education is an increasingly important determinant of occupational status.

In Trinidad and Tobago - as in modern industrial societies - there is a fairly close relationship between education and income, an important element in the system of social stratification. The data in Table 1 reveal that as number of years of formal education increases so does median monthly income.

The social structure of Trinidad and Tobago appears to have become increasingly open as attempts have been made to reduce the advantages with regard to educational and occupational opportunities conferred in the past by ethnicity and other such ascribed characteristics. This is seen, for example, in the Government's adoption of a policy of open competition for secondary and university education and in its rejection of ethnic discrimination with regard to employment.

The educational system itself is geared towards increasing the degree of openness in the social structure, and ascribed characteristics have continuously declined in importance as factors determining admission to successively higher levels in the public system of education. For example, access to the public secondary schools is granted on the basis of performance in a "common entrance examination" which was introduced in 1961 and is taken by pupils at approximately eleven years of age. This examination consists of standardized intelligence and attainment tests. It is possible to gain admission to the publicly supported secondary schools only by achieving a certain level of performance in the examination.<sup>5</sup> The Education Act of 1966 states specifically that no person is to be refused admission to the public secondary schools on account of religious persuasion, "race," or social status of such a person or his parent.<sup>6</sup> Even access to

Table 1

Educational Achievement and Median Monthly  
Income, Trinidad and Tobago

<u>Educational Achievement</u>	<u>Median Monthly Income (\$T&amp;T)</u>	
	<u>Employers and</u> <u>Own Account</u> <u>Workers (1965)</u>	<u>Paid</u> <u>Employees</u> <u>(1963)</u>
None	33.50	66.50
Standard 1-2	55.50	91.00
Standard 3-5	55.50	106.00
Standard 6-7	75.50	136.00
No School Certificate	97.00	168.00
School Certificate	493.00	215.00
University	500.00	500.00

Sources: Trinidad and Tobago, Central Statistical Office, The Emigration of Professional, Supervisory, Middle Level and Skilled Manpower from Trinidad and Tobago (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 37; Trinidad and Tobago, Central Statistical Office, Income: Earnings of Individuals by Sex (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 11.

university education is strongly influenced by the students' academic performance rather than the ability of parents to pay for their education. This tendency has been very much enhanced by the fact that the Government pays the full tuition fees for all students from Trinidad and Tobago who are attending the University of the West Indies (Trinidad and Tobago campus).<sup>7</sup>

The Government has also acted to reduce the importance of ascribed characteristics in occupational selection. For example, through Government pressure the larger private companies are now employing suitably qualified "nationals" in senior administrative and other positions formerly held by "expatriates." This has created expanding occupational opportunity for citizens with a higher level of education, especially those with university degrees.

One way in which the Government has applied pressure on the larger private companies has been through a system of work permits. Since 1963, firms applying for such permits to employ individuals who are not citizens of the country are required to produce evidence that they could not obtain Trinidad and Tobago nationals adequately qualified to satisfy their manpower needs.<sup>8</sup> One consequence of this policy is that citizens of the country have had increasing access to senior administrative positions so long as they possess the appropriate educational qualifications.

While the degree of openness of the social structure is primarily a matter for empirical study, there are undoubtedly remnants of non-educational barriers to occupational achievement. For instance, management positions in locally owned business enterprises are often restricted to children and relatives possessing certain ascribed - primarily ethnic - characteristics.<sup>9</sup> However, movements emerging recently in the society have been directed specifically at the destruction of such persisting emphases on ascribed characteristics.

In Trinidad and Tobago, therefore, education is on the whole increasingly associated with occupational, and hence social, stratifi-

cation. Furthermore, the declining importance of ascribed characteristics of the kind important in the past tends to make the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago progressively more open. One result of the latter phenomenon is that the part played by formal education in social stratification is increasingly similar among groups of different backgrounds. Thus, members of different ethnic groups who possess adequate educational qualifications have increasingly similar chances for achieving high occupational and social status.

#### Purpose of the Study

Because of the close relationship between educational achievement and occupational and social status on the one hand and increasing concern with the issue of social equality in modern industrial as well as developing societies on the other, the study of those factors closely related to variation in the educational achievement of students has drawn considerable research attention. In other words, the social bases of observed differences in the educational achievement of students have been empirically examined. However, such studies have been undertaken primarily in modern industrial societies. Little is known concerning the extent to which the relationships observed between various factors and educational achievement in these societies also hold for developing societies.

The present study has three main objectives. The first is to find out whether the major variables sex, SES, school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans are related to educational expectation among secondary school students in Trinidad,

as they are among such students in modern industrial societies. The second objective of the study is to investigate whether there are important differences between the two major ethnic groups in the country - the East Indians and the Negroes<sup>10</sup> - as far as the relationship between some of the specified variables and educational expectation is concerned. The third objective of the study is to utilize the findings as well as the interpretations of such findings in the study in order to raise some issues about social stratification in Trinidad.

With reference to the first objective, studies in the U.S.A. have indicated that educational expectation is a moderately strong predictor of subsequent college enrolment and educational achievement.<sup>11</sup> Since the investigator was not able to measure educational achievement he has used the dependent variable of educational expectation which studies have shown to be positively related to educational achievement.

So far little research has been done in Trinidad and Tobago to assess how important the variables sex, SES, school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans are in relation to educational expectation. While Rubin and Zavalloni<sup>12</sup> have reported that there are variations in the educational expectation of secondary school students in Trinidad and Tobago, they did not go more deeply into the issue to investigate what factors might be associated with such variation in educational expectation. This study hopes to make the first contribution, as far as Trinidad is concerned, on this important issue.

Also, while becoming increasingly developed, Trinidad and Tobago is sufficiently different from modern industrial societies to

justify an investigation of the type attempted here. For example, in Trinidad and Tobago, there is the tendency<sup>13</sup> fairly widespread among developing societies - for the population in general to reveal rising expectations with regard to education, standard of living and life chances generally. Hence, in this respect, the social-structural context of this society is somewhat different from that of modern industrial societies where patterns of expectations among different social/ethnic groups may be somewhat more stabilized. In addition, the achievement of political independence and the subsequent stress on greater opportunity for all citizens of the country have probably helped to increase the emphasis on educational achievement in all sections of the population. In other words, the system of social stratification in Trinidad and Tobago has been in a state of fairly rapid change. It would be of some theoretical interest to know if under these conditions of social change in a developing society such as Trinidad the relationships observed between the specified variables and educational expectation in modern industrial societies undergo any modifications.

The second objective of the present study would be to examine if ethnic differences affect the relationship between specified variables and educational expectation. Some studies have already reported cultural differences between East Indians and Negroes in Trinidad and Tobago in such areas as their emphasis on achievement, child-role expectations and sex-role expectations. Ethnic comparisons may afford some evidence as to whether or not these cultural differences are reflected in differences with regard to the association



of the already specified variables with students' educational expectation.

As indicated above, the third objective of the present study will be to utilize the findings and their interpretation in order to discuss in a speculative way social stratification in Trinidad.

#### Some Limitations of the Study

In the relative absence of research in Trinidad and Tobago along the lines indicated above, the present investigation is primarily exploratory in nature.<sup>14</sup> The study suffers from certain limitations.

First, many of the arguments regarding the question of whether there might be ethnic differences in Trinidad with regard to the relationships between the specified variables and educational expectation are based on research reports relating to aspects of the social structure. However, only a relatively small body of relevant published research on the social structure of this society is available. This paucity of social science knowledge limits the nature and scope of the study.

Secondly, the quality of the available literature varies widely. The literature includes both studies utilizing fairly large and representative samples and those utilizing comparatively small - and sometimes unrepresentative - samples. It contains studies which in some cases draw conclusions on the basis of fairly extensive field work but in other cases do so on the basis of brief and sometimes casual participant observation. It is possible, therefore, that some hypotheses advanced in the present study - since their formulation

may be based upon rather insubstantial evidence - may easily prove to be unsupported.

Thirdly, the data collection for the present investigation was carried out with extremely limited resources regarding time and funds. The sample of East Indian and Negro students was drawn from public secondary schools only and may not be genuinely representative of the total population of the relevant age group. The students in the sample form part of a highly select group in terms of measured intelligence and very likely have higher levels of educational expectation than the general population of the same age. For this reason, measures of specific variables may not all display great variability. Consequently, the strength of - and ethnic differences in - the relationships of the variables with educational expectation may be so limited as to permit only tentative conclusions.

Despite such limitations, it is hoped that the present study can prove valuable in that it might indicate the importance of the specified variables for educational expectation as well as the significance of ethnicity-related factors for the relationships between the specified variables and educational expectation. Further, it might suggest useful areas for future research.

#### Overview of the Thesis

Following the present introductory chapter, an attempt is made in Chapter II to accomplish three things. First, the findings of North American studies regarding the relationship (a) between the independent variables sex, socio-economic status (parental occupation),

school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans and the dependent variable educational expectation and (b) the interrelationships among the independent variables are described. Secondly, there is a discussion of two major aspects of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago - social stratification and ethnicity. Thirdly, use is made of existing studies of these two aspects of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago and (where appropriate) Caribbean society in order to formulate hypotheses regarding probable modifications of the relationships found in North America between the independent variables and educational expectation.

Chapter III deals with the methodology employed in the present study. The methodology is discussed under four subheadings: (a) the questionnaire (operationalization and measurement of variables), (b) selection of the sample, (c) data collection and (d) data analysis.

In Chapter IV, the results of the data analysis are presented and discussed. The discussion is concurrent with the presentation of results. The procedure followed in the data analysis is that of successively adding a new control variable to the table at each stage of the analysis in order to examine (a) the relationship between the new variable and educational expectation and (b) the extent to which the relationships between previously introduced variables and educational expectation are modified by the introduction of the new control variable. When necessary for the testing of specific hypotheses, the results for East Indians are compared with those for Negroes.

In Chapter V, the findings and their suggested interpretations are summarized. In addition, some theoretical issues relating to social

mobility in Trinidad are raised on the basis of the findings and their suggested interpretations. Finally, some suggestions for future research are presented.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Anderson, C. Arnold, "A Skeptical Note on Education and Mobility," in Halsey, A. H., Floud, J. and Anderson, C. A. (eds.), Education, Economy, and Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961), pp. 164-179.

See, also, Blau, P. M. and Duncan, O. D., The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 402-404; Jencks, C., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1972), pp. 191-192.

Blau and Duncan report that social origin, education and career beginning together account for somewhat less than half of the variation in occupational achievement. Jencks finds that social origin (family background), test scores and educational achievement together explain only about half of the variation in men's occupational achievement.

2. See Turner, R. H., "Modes of Social Ascent Through Education. Sponsored and Contest Mobility," in Halsey, Floud and Anderson (eds.), op. cit., pp. 121-139.

Turner distinguishes between two modes of ascent: "sponsored mobility" and "contest mobility." In the former a small proportion of the age group is recruited and trained from relatively early in life for elite status. In the latter, the achievement of elite status is seen as the outcome of an open contest. Everyone is kept in the races as long as possible and, according to the ideology in societies in which contest mobility is stressed, all have an equal chance and all may utilize extended schooling as a means of attempting to achieve elite status.

Turner is careful to indicate that these two modes of ascent are only ideal types and that no society is likely to follow just one or the other.

3. A cautionary note is necessary here. See Jacobson, B. and Kendrick, J. J., "Education and Mobility: From Achievement to Ascription," American Sociological Review, 38 (August, 1973), pp. 439-460.

These authors observe that with increasing emphasis on educational certification for employment and promotion, work-promotion criteria are divorced from achievement on the job while attributes of schooling become more important for occupational mobility. This change replaces achievement criteria with ascriptive ones. By introducing new certification requirements into an existing

labour force "employers or their agents respond to different characteristics but not those which permit certain workers to gain more control over their mobility prospects." In other words, "it is who they are (how much education) and not what they do (how well they do their work) that becomes the central sorting principle."

On the basis of this study by Jacobson and Kendrick one might suggest that - although this is not the main concern of the study - while within any specific age cohort educational achievement may be an important determinant of initial occupational status the degree of subsequent occupational mobility enjoyed by this cohort as compared with others may be influenced by changing certification requirements for employment and promotion.

4. See, for example, Deldycke, T. et al., The Working Population and Its Structure (Brussels: Institute of Sociology, University of Brussels, 1968). p. 65.

The following are the percentages of the working population employed in selected occupational categories for 1946 and 1960:

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1960</u>
Agriculture	27.7%	21.1%
Extractive Industries	3.2	4.9
Manufacturing	17.9	15.5
Commerce, Banking, Insurance, Real Estate	8.9	13.3
Services	23.0	25.5

The above data reveal that certain occupational categories absorbed a larger proportion of the working population in 1960 than in 1946. These are categories in which education is likely to have played an important role in providing access to jobs.

Comparing 1946 with 1960 Census data, Pujadas makes the following observations:

At the level of the higher professions requiring university training, the number of engineers increased by 44.3% from 1946, physicians and surgeons by 93.0%, an absolute increase of 137. Major increases from the 1946 census were observed in the teaching profession, trained nurses and accountants. It was not possible to prepare statistics on the increasing opportunities for clerical employment in the Civil Service but like teaching and nursing, growth was dramatic in these occupations. Opportunities for employment

as Bookkeepers, Cashiers, Stenographers and Typists reflect the expansion of the tertiary sector of the economy. ...By 1960, therefore, there was sufficient inducement by way of opportunities for social advancement through occupational mobility to make longer years of schooling an attractive proposition.

See Pujadas, L., "A Note on Education Development in Trinidad and Tobago, 1956-66," Research Papers, No. 6 (Trinidad and Tobago: Central Statistical Office, 1969), pp. 7-8.

There is additional evidence of developments regarding occupational opportunities. Employment in Government services increased by 5,200 and in large non-agricultural establishments by 3,600 between 1960 and 1961. See Harewood, J., "A Comparison of Labour Force Data for Trinidad and Tobago, 1946-1964," Research Papers, No. 4 (Trinidad and Tobago: Central Statistical Office, 1967), p. 9.

5. See Pujadas, op. cit., pp. 1-20.

The extent to which competition for places in the public secondary schools has been opened up can be seen from statistics regarding the percentage of students allowed to compete for scholarships. In 1956, 22.3% of the Standard V enrolment wrote the scholarship examination for places in public secondary schools as compared with 98.8% of the Standard V enrolment writing the "common entrance examination" in 1965-1966. By 1966-1967 all children who qualified by age, regardless of the class they were in, were allowed to take the selection examination for secondary education.

There has been a rapid increase in the number of public secondary schools. The number grew from 15 in 1956 to 40 in 1966. Furthermore, whereas in the 1950's and previously students were required to travel to the two main urban centres to attend a public secondary school, there has since been an attempt to establish such schools outside these two urban centres. Consequently, public secondary schools are more easily accessible to students from other towns and from rural areas.

Another indication of the changing opportunity for secondary education in Trinidad and Tobago is provided by a comparison of the number of public secondary school students per 100 primary school students in 1956 with the corresponding number in 1965-1966. In the former year, there were 9.4 public secondary school students for every 100 primary school pupils whereas in the latter year there were 18.7 public secondary schools for every 100 primary school pupils.

6. Trinidad and Tobago, Education Act, 1966 (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printery, 1966), p. 7.

It must be observed, however, the open competition for places in the educational system does not necessarily mean that different social strata, or ethnic groups have similar access to educational opportunity even with equal measured intelligence. See, for example, Musgrave, P. W., The Sociology of Education (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1965), pp. 64-66; Adams, D., Schooling and Social Change in Modern America (New York: David McKay Co., Ltd., 1972), pp. 189-213.

7. See Pujadas, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

Pujadas reports that the number of Trinidad and Tobago students enrolled at the University of the West Indies (Trinidad and Tobago Campus) increased from 530 in 1964-1965 to 612 in 1965-1966.

8. Trinidad and Tobago, The Emigration of Professional, Supervisory, Middle Level, and Skilled Manpower from Trinidad and Tobago (Trinidad and Tobago: Central Statistical Office, 1970), p. 113.

9. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

10. In 1960, Negroes comprised approximately 43.3% and East Indians approximately 36.4% of the total population of Trinidad and Tobago. Thus, these two ethnic groups made up about eighty per cent of the population of the country.

11. Hauser, Robert M., Socio-Economic Background and Educational Performance (Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association, 1971), p. 107.

12. Rubin, V. and Zavalloni, M., We Wish to Be Looked Upon: A Study of the Aspirations of Youth in A Developing Society (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969).

13. See Pujadas, op. cit., p. 7.

Pujadas reports an increasing retention rate in the higher classes of the primary school in the period 1956 to 1966.

He provides the following interpretation of this phenomenon:

One can safely attribute the increasing enrolment distribution in the higher classes to a change in social attitudes. It is quite rare to find even in the most remote areas of the country (parents who



will discourage their children from attending school. In fact, this change in attitude to Primary education is closely linked to a basic shift in the attitude of parents towards Secondary education. Today, the majority of parents look upon secondary education for their children as a social norm to be observed. Viewed in this light, it is quite obvious that "drop-outs will be discouraged.

14. The present study is exploratory in different ways. First, little is known about the relationships between the variables specified earlier and educational expectation in Trinidad and the present study will attempt to shed light on these relationships. Secondly, little is known about the way in which those aspects of the social structure of Trinidad referred to previously will affect the relationships between the specified variables and educational expectation. In this respect, also, the study is exploratory. Thirdly, the study is exploratory in the sense that it does not attempt to "prove" a theory by confirming or rejecting a set of hypotheses of a specific hypothesis - which "hypotheses-testing" studies try to do - but rather to obtain new insights or to generate new hypotheses which can serve as the basis for future research (See Sellitz, Claire et al., Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Henry Holt and Co., Inc., 1959, pp. 50-51).

## Chapter II

### SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO FOR SELECTED RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION

#### Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of studies carried out mainly in North America regarding the relationships of the variables sex, socio-economic status (SES), school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans with the dependent variable educational expectation will be discussed. Following this, two major aspects of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago - the system of social stratification and ethnicity - will be examined. Then, an attempt will be made to indicate how specific aspects of the social structure of this society may be expected to influence the relationships which have been found to exist in modern industrial societies such as the U.S.A. and Canada between the variables mentioned above and the dependent variable educational expectation.

#### Section A

##### Some Relationships Involving Educational Expectation in North America

There is a considerable body of empirical literature dealing with correlates of educational plans (or "expectations"). Among those

studied are family-related ones such as parental encouragement, parental interest in children's school work, family size, birth order and downward parental mobility. Others include sex, SES, measured intelligence, school performance, friends' educational plans, friends' SES, school climate and community of residence.

It appears that the correlates of educational expectation included in the present study - that is, sex, SES, school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans - are among the most important of those elicited so far from studies in North America. In this connection, Sewell and Armer observe that of all the factors studied in relation to educational expectation sex and SES have been found to be among those most frequently, consistently and clearly associated with educational expectation.<sup>1</sup> Again, Abu-Laban suggests that "the most significant variables" elicited from North American studies of educational expectation are "social class (or an appropriate index thereof), sex, measured intelligence or scholastic ability of the student, peer group, and parental pressures."<sup>2</sup>

Not only are the variables, sex, SES, school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans related to educational expectation but they are in some cases related to one another. The relationships between the independent variables and educational expectation as well as the interrelationships among the independent variables themselves are indicated diagrammatically in Figure 1.

Turning first to the association of the independent variables with educational expectation, it is found that numerous studies have

revealed a positive relationship between various indicators of SES - such as parental occupation or parental education - and students' educational expectation as measured by plans to attend college. The positive relationship has been found to persist even when such variables as sex, measured intelligence, scholastic ability and/or parental encouragement to attend college are controlled.<sup>3</sup>

Research has also consistently disclosed an association between sex and educational expectation. Thus, males are more likely than females to have plans for attending college.<sup>4</sup>

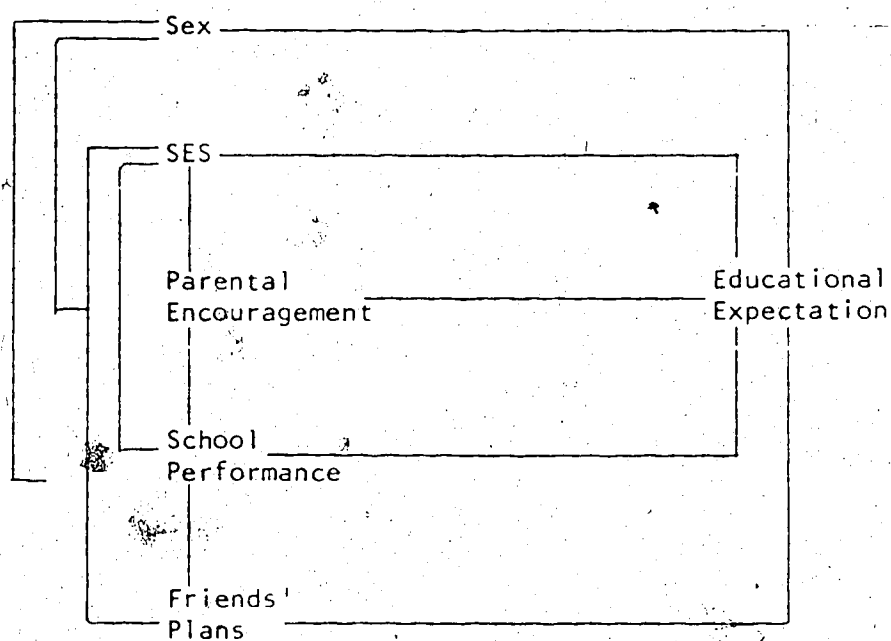
A number of studies have found a positive relationship between school performance - for instance, as measured by grade point average in high school - and educational expectation. High school students who have received high marks or grades are generally more likely to have university plans than their counterparts who have received low marks or grades.<sup>5</sup>

A substantial amount of research has examined the association between parents' deliberate encouragement and exhortation of their children to continue their education and the children's educational expectations. The general conclusion of such research has been that parental encouragement is positively associated with children's educational expectation, the latter being measured in the majority of studies by plans to attend college.<sup>6</sup>

Some studies have indicated, also, that there is a positive relationship between friends' educational plans and student's educational expectation. Students are more likely to have plans for

Figure 1

Relationships With Educational Expectation: Sex, SES,  
Parental Encouragement, School Performance  
and Friends' Plans



attending college when their "best friends" also do rather than when they do not.<sup>7</sup>

It is possible to derive certain "profiles" from the association of sex, SES, school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans with educational expectation.<sup>8</sup> One profile is that of a highly able, upper-SES male whose parents and friends stress college education. Students who match this profile are by and large the most likely to have high educational expectation. The opposite profile is that of a less able, low-SES female whose parents and friends do not stress college education. Students who match this profile are on the whole the least likely to have high educational expectation.

With regard to the interrelationships among the independent variables, there is evidence that SES is positively associated with school performance,<sup>9</sup> friends' educational plans<sup>10</sup> and parental encouragement.<sup>11</sup> Also, subjects' school performance is positively related to parental encouragement<sup>12</sup> and friends' educational plans.<sup>13</sup> In addition, sex is related to school performance<sup>14</sup> and parental encouragement.<sup>15</sup>

The findings discussed above are typical of modern industrial societies such as the U.S.A. and Canada. However, it is possible that the observed relationships between the independent variables and educational expectation - as well as the profiles derived from such relationships - may be modified by the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago. Hence, it is necessary to discuss the social structure of this society in order to develop hypotheses regarding possible modifi-

cations of the relationships observed in North American between the independent variables and educational expectation.

## Section B

### The Social Structure of Trinidad and Tobago

In commenting on the West Indies in general, R. T. Smith observes that

The territories of the circum-Caribbean region contain some of the most complex societies in the world. Their complexity lies...in the dependent and fragmentary nature of their cultures, the ethnic diversity of their populations, the special nature of their dependent economies, the peculiarities of their political development and the apparent incoherence of their social institutions.<sup>16</sup>

Two aspects of the complex social structure of these societies - which include Trinidad and Tobago - that have been studied relatively extensively by scholars are their system of social stratification and ethnicity. Since these two aspects are quite relevant to this study they will be discussed in some detail here as they relate to Trinidad and Tobago.

### Social Stratification in Trinidad and Tobago

#### The "Colour-Class" System of Stratification

As the plantation system developed in Trinidad under Spanish rule, the white planters attempted to utilize the labour of native Indians. This practice proved unsatisfactory because of the Indian's

inefficiency, relative lack of physical strength and inability or unwillingness to survive in conditions of servitude.<sup>17</sup>

The inability of the planters to meet their manpower needs by using native Indians led to the importation of poor whites from Europe, usually some form of indentureship. When this practice also proved unsatisfactory - for example, because of the frequency with which whites ran away from the plantations or refused to renew their indentureships - the planters turned their attention to the already existing traffic in African slaves. At the time of the British conquest of Trinidad in 1797, there were 10,009 Negro slaves in a total Trinidadian population of 17,718.<sup>18</sup>

During the period of Negro slavery, sexual unions between white planters and Negro slaves produced an intermediate colour group - the "Creoles." Members of this intermediate group were often given special, less "degrading" kinds of work to do on the plantations and planters sometimes made special provisions for the welfare of their "mixed" off-springs.

There thus arose a "colour-class" system of stratification with whites generally at the top, the mixed-blood or "Creole" people in the middle and Negroes at the bottom. The "Creoles" generally regarded themselves as superior to the Negroes and the whites by and large thought themselves superior to the members of the other groups.

Among the Negro slaves themselves, social distinctions were made between house slaves - serving mainly in master's home - and field slaves. The house slaves were generally in closer contact with their



masters and their masters' culture, sometimes received a modicum of education and in many ways constituted a slave elite.

Slavery in the British Caribbean was abolished by Britain in 1833, but by this time the "colour-class" system - in which social and occupational status were closely related to skin colour - had become an integral feature of Trinidad and other Caribbean societies.

The "colour-class" system of stratification persisted after the liberation of the slaves, and the growth in the number of schools at first made little difference to the occupational and social status of the ex-slaves. For example, some denominational schools were established before 1850 but these limited educational facilities were used mainly by whites and "Creoles." Negroes had few incentives to seek an education because a fairly pronounced division of labour along ethnic lines provided them with little opportunity for upward social mobility. The whites found "Creoles" more acceptable than Negroes and, since additional manpower was needed to fill positions formerly reserved for whites, suitably educated "Creoles" were increasingly able to enjoy a certain degree of upward mobility. "Creoles" were able, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, to gain access to teaching positions, minor Civil Service posts, commercial clerkships and other lower white-collar positions.

However, despite the fact that the members of this intermediate group came to accept the dominant values of the whites, who had become their reference group, their access to higher status positions was quite limited. As a result, they constituted a

relatively small class generally set apart from the whites in terms of social status.

Further educational developments in Trinidad were of importance to both whites and "Creoles." Government legislation in 1851 led to the establishment of a state-supported system of education, though schooling was not made compulsory at any level of this system. The Christian denominations in Trinidad were aided out of public funds to provide elementary schools. In areas where the denominations failed to provide educational facilities, "Government" elementary schools were established. There were developments in secondary education as well. In 1870 there were two secondary schools receiving public funds. By 1914, this number had grown to four, located in the two main urban centres in the Colony. By the same year, five small institutions had been established for the training of teachers - one with full state support and the others with partial state support.

In the early decades of state support for secondary education, the student body of the schools was essentially composed of whites and "Creoles."<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, the system of education reflected the "colour-class" system of stratification in that it was the whites and "Creoles" who mostly attended the secondary schools while Negroes and others by and large went no further than the elementary school.

Whites and "Creoles" were also able in some instances to have their children educated abroad. Evidence of the ability of "Creoles" to do this is seen in the fact that in the latter part of the nineteenth century a few "Creoles" became lawyers and doctors.

In general, however, colour was closely bound up with the social status of individuals and groups.

### Changing Position of Negroes in the Social Structure

When slavery was abolished, Negroes at first worked mainly in manual occupations. Many had settled on the land while others worked for wages on the plantations. Still others became skilled and unskilled workers of various kinds, for example in construction. They received few incentives to seek an education since channels of upward mobility were largely closed to them.

Also, Bacchus observes in relation to Guyana, where a similar social context existed, that some ruling groups saw education, "along with religion, as a major instrument in teaching the ex-slaves and their children about their place in society and their duties and responsibilities to the planter class."<sup>20</sup> This observation is perhaps equally applicable to Trinidad. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, some Negroes were able to secure lower white-collar positions on the basis of their primary education. A small number eventually succeeded in gaining admission to secondary schools, which enhanced their chances for entering white-collar occupations.

An important reason for such relative success seems to be that not enough whites and "Creoles" were available to fill white-collar positions which were growing in number as a result of such factors as the expansion of the Civil Service, the development of the system of education and the increase in commercial activity. As a result,

adequately qualified members of other ethnic groups were allowed to take lower-status, white-collar positions.

Consequently, some Negroes succeeded in gaining access to lower-level positions in the Civil Service, clerical positions in commercial enterprises, teaching and other such lower white-collar occupations. By the end of the nineteenth century, therefore, Negroes had already begun the process of improving their occupational status and of participating - albeit at lower levels initially - in sectors of the labour force previously monopolised by whites and "Creoles."

#### East Indians in the Social Structure of Trinidad and Tobago

After the abolition of slavery, Trinidad turned to India as a source of labour supply and "East Indians" began arriving in Trinidad in 1845 under a system of indentureship. The importation of East Indians continued until 1917, by which date approximately 145,000 East Indians had been brought to Trinidad.<sup>21</sup> While many of the East-Indian workers returned to India at the end of a period of indentureship, large numbers chose to settle in Trinidad at the end of their period of indentured labour.

On their introduction into Trinidad, East Indians enjoyed very low social status as compared with other ethnic groups in the society. Various factors were responsible for this. First, they did the work of former slaves and were therefore assigned a social status, not very different from that previously enjoyed by the slaves. Again, they possessed a culture which was quite different from the dominant one in the society and which soon became a mark of low social status.

Also, their utilization of the developing educational system was relatively limited. Perhaps, as in Surinam and in Guyana,<sup>22</sup> many East Indian parents in Trinidad could see little use in formal education since channels of social mobility in the dominant sector of the society were on the whole closed to them. Apparently this made East Indians reluctant to send their children to the schools, which in turn perhaps contributed to the initial slowness with which East Indians adopted the language and customs which would make it easier for them to gain acceptance in the dominant sector of the society.

Gradually, however, the status of East Indians in the society began to improve. Large numbers were allowed to acquire land in lieu of a return passage to India and by the end of the nineteenth century many had become free peasants. The acquisition of capital by many East Indians enabled them to acquire property and enter into commercial undertakings,<sup>23</sup> eventually improving their economic status - a factor which would later result in the improvement of their social status.

The growing success of East Indians in commerce was probably due in part to the tendency - noted by Frazier<sup>24</sup> - for coloured middlemen to play an important role in the distributive trade when a substantial portion of the import trade is carried on by non-resident companies operating in the local society. A few years before the end of the nineteenth century Froude was able to observe of the East Indians in Trinidad:

They save money, and many of them do not return home when their time is out, but stay where they are, buy land, or go into trade.<sup>25</sup>

Despite such gains, however, East Indians found that they were generally denied acceptance into the higher levels of the social hierarchy, perhaps to a large extent because of ascribed characteristics such as colour and ethnicity. Furthermore, regular channels of upward mobility such as employment in the Civil Service and in teaching remained largely closed to them. As a result, they began emphasizing other avenues for attaining high social status. The wealthier parents in particular began to have their sons, and in later years their daughters, trained abroad for the higher professions. In this way, East Indians increasingly took their place alongside whites, "Creoles," and others in the higher occupational strata of the society.

Other channels of social mobility became open to East Indians. As far as the provision of educational services was concerned, this ethnic group had largely been ignored by the European missionaries. One reason for this neglect was the expectation that most East Indians would return to India at the end of their indentureship. Another, perhaps, was the planters' opposition to the education of the East Indians because of their fear that education would make the latter unfit for plantation labour.

Beginning in the 1860's, however, Canadian Presbyterian missionaries began religious and educational work among the East Indians. By 1906, the Presbyterian authorities - with financial assistance from the Government - were operating forty-three elementary schools, one secondary school and one teacher-training institution, all serving mainly East Indians. Teachers for these schools were recruited mainly from among East Indians who had become Presbyterians, and a small number

of East Indians was able to achieve upward social mobility through the teaching profession. It also became possible for a few East Indians to pursue careers in the Presbyterian Church itself.<sup>26</sup>

While becoming more upwardly mobile, East Indians also became more widely distributed across the occupational structure and - especially during the course of the twentieth century - grew increasingly similar to members of other ethnic groups in terms of the occupations they pursued. Various factors helped to bring about this situation.

Thus, the withdrawal of large numbers of East Indians from the plantations at the end of their indentureship led them to seek alternative means of employment. The subdivision of privately owned land into progressively smaller sections in the process of transference from one generation to another probably made farming in many instances an uneconomic proposition, thus leading many East Indians to seek economic opportunities elsewhere.<sup>27</sup>

A variety of such opportunities arose during the course of the twentieth century. For example, the development of the oil industry after 1908 created opportunities for employment and members of this ethnic group increasingly found themselves working alongside other individuals of various ethnic origins.<sup>28</sup> The continuing growth of the commercial sector provided additional economic opportunities for East Indians.

Table 2 gives an indication of the extent of the distribution of East Indians throughout the occupational structure of the society by 1931. While East Indians were heavily represented in the categories "Labourers" and "Peasant Proprietors," they were also fairly well

Table 2

Number of East Indians in Selected Occupational  
Groups, Trinidad and Tobago, 1931<sup>29</sup>

<u>Occupational Group</u>	<u>Number of East Indians</u>
Public Officers	69
Messengers in Government Offices	45
Policemen	5
Legal Professi	9
Medical Profession	7
Ministers of Religion	181
Teachers	440
Merchants, etc.	127
Clerks and Shopmen	1,350
Shopkeepers and Hucksters	2,074
Hotel Keepers	9
Spirit Dealers	14
Managers and Overseers	270
Proprietors	1,841
Mechanics	2,556
Peasant Proprietors	4,058
Metayers and Farmers	387
Agricultural Labourers	36,647
General Labourers	7,547
Boatmen and Fishermen	130
Domestic Servants	1,253

Source: Trinidad and Tobago, Population Census, 1931 (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printer, 1933), p. 167.



represented in teaching, business, clerical work and the Government service. A number had also entered the medical and legal professions.

#### Continuing Dispersal of Negroes and East Indians Across the Occupational Structure

Political developments had implications for the position of East Indians in the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago. Dissatisfaction with the Crown Colony system of government manifested itself in labour problems, riots and disturbances. Consequently, the British Government appointed the West India Royal Commission in 1938 to investigate social and economic conditions in the British West Indies. Three of the recommendations made by the Commission were: (a) that universal adult suffrage be granted without much delay, (b) that the West Indian islands be allowed to move gradually towards self-government, and (c) that financial assistance be provided by Britain for the improvement of social services and for the reconstruction of the island communities. It was expected that education would play an important part in the general process of improvement.<sup>30</sup>

In national elections which took place in Trinidad and Tobago in 1951 under a new Constitution, East Indians were elected to seven of eighteen available Legislative Council seats and constituted the largest ethnic group among the elected members of the Council. One of the consequences of this development was increased Government financial support to Hindu and Moslem religious bodies for the purpose of establishing and operating schools. This meant, in turn, that non-Christian East Indians could become teachers in schools associated

with their own religious faith. An additional channel of upward mobility had thus been opened for members of this ethnic group.

East Indians also continued to make inroads into various sectors of employment and to enjoy upward mobility within such sectors. Table 3 shows, for example, that East Indians have received an increasing share of new appointments to the Civil Service.

In the meantime, Negroes were also continuing to experience upward mobility. Making use of increasing facilities for education, they came eventually to constitute the majority of the employees in the Civil Service.<sup>31</sup> They were also substantially represented in teaching. Also, the further expansion of the oil industry - and more recently of other industries - created additional mobility opportunities for Negroes as well as members of other ethnic groups.

Table 4 reveals the extent to which Negroes and East Indians comprised various occupational categories in 1960. The data in the table indicate that these two ethnic groups tend generally to be underrepresented and "Others" - which includes whites and "Creoles" - overrepresented in occupations having relatively high status. However, except for the category "Administrative, Managerial and Executive Worker" - in which Negroes are relatively poorly represented - the degree of underrepresentation of Negroes and East Indians in the higher-status occupational groups is not extremely pronounced. This is indicative of the gains made by these two ethnic groups with regard to occupational status as compared with their initial positions in the society.

Table 3

East Indians as a Percentage of New Appointments  
to the Civil Service of Trinidad and Tobago

<u>Year</u>	<u>East Indians</u>	<u>Others</u>
1936	13%	87%
1946	16	84
1961	16	84
1970	26	74

Sources: These statistics were arrived at by studying and classifying the names of appointees as recorded in lists published in the issues of the Trinidad and Tobago Royal Gazette for the years 1936, 1946, 1961 and 1970.

It is likely that because of the political and other changes taking place in Trinidad and Tobago in more recent years, Negroes and Indians have made further progress with regard to occupational and social status. In this connection, an important event was the arrival of Eric Williams on the local political scene. He led a political party - the People's National Movement (PNM) - to victory in national elections of 1956. Since then, he and the PNM have enjoyed continuous political supremacy in Trinidad and Tobago.

One of Williams' initial goals - constitutional independence from Britain for the country - was achieved in 1962. Bacchus observes that the gaining of constitutional independence by societies of the type found in the Caribbean along with universal adult suffrage has tended to

Table 4

Negro and East Indian Males as Percentages of Male  
Workers and of Males in Census Occupational  
Groups, Trinidad and Tobago, 1960

	<u>Negroes</u>	<u>East Indians</u>	<u>Others</u>
<u>Percentage of Male Working</u> <u>Population</u>	46.4%	34.5%	19.1%
<u>Occupational Group</u>			
Professional and Technical Worker	37.9	28.5	33.6
Administrative, Managerial and Executive Worker	14.8	29.8	55.4
Clerical Worker	40.5	26.1	33.4
Commercial, Financial and Insurance Worker	28.4	36.0	35.6
Farmer, Fisherman, Hunter, Logger and Forest Worker	28.5	58.1	13.4
Worker in Mining, Quarrying and Refining	57.6	25.6	16.8
Worker in Transport and Communi- cation	54.3	33.3	12.4
Other Workers	62.1	22.0	15.9

Source: Calculated from Trinidad and Tobago, Central Statistical Office, Population Census 1960, Detailed Cross-Classifications (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printer, 1962), Part G, 8, 1-2.

bring about some degree of separation between the economic and the political power structures of such societies. He continues:

This has to some extent resulted in the development of countervailing political power in the hands of the masses which makes it a little more difficult for those with economic power to manipulate the society and its economy entirely in their own interests.<sup>32</sup>

④ In Trinidad and Tobago, the economic power structure has been white and "Creole" dominated. The political power structure is now Negro and East Indian dominated. One consequence of such phenomena has been the recent trend towards training as many members of the numerically dominant ethnic groups - that is, Negroes and East Indians - as could be managed in a short period of time for responsible positions in the administration of the country. In the first five years of constitutional independence, for example, over one thousand scholarships in a wide variety of fields were awarded to Trinidad and Tobago citizens, mainly Negroes and East Indians.

Measures have also been taken to ensure that suitably qualified "nationals" are given preference with regard to employment in positions previously monopolised by "expatriates" in private enterprise. As a result, many top positions have been filled by Negroes and East Indians, as well as by members of other ethnic groups.

### Conclusions

It appears that the close relationship between skin colour - as well as ethnicity - and occupational status which had developed in Trinidad and Tobago society has now declined in strength. Whites and

"Creoles" still tend to be concentrated in the higher occupational strata of the society.<sup>33</sup> However, Negroes and East Indians - and to some extent members of other ethnic groups - are distributed over the entire range of occupational levels.

One cannot conclude from the present discussion that the "colour-class" system of social stratification has entirely disappeared from Trinidad and Tobago society. The close relationships of colour and ethnicity to occupational status has certainly been considerably modified, but the question of how much change has taken place in the relationship between colour - and ethnicity - and social prestige remains largely unanswered.

The main conclusions to be drawn from the present discussion of social stratification in Trinidad and Tobago are as follows:

- a) the original "colour-class" system of social stratification has been modified, at least in the sense that the once close relationship of colour and ethnicity to occupational status has declined,
- b) ethnic groups which were introduced into the society at the bottom of the social hierarchy have now become distributed, to varying degrees, across the full range of occupational strata, and
- c) it is increasingly possible in Trinidad and Tobago for individuals, whatever their ethnic

origins, to find open access to positions in all occupational sectors once they have the necessary educational qualifications.

### Ethnicity

The ethnic diversity of the population is another factor which has made Trinidad and Tobago society highly complex. Since the present study deals with Negroes and East Indians, the following discussion will focus primarily on these two ethnic groups. An attempt will be made to show that, despite growing cultural similarity between East Indians and Negroes, these two ethnic groups still tend to differ from each other in important ways. In view of the general paucity of relevant research in Trinidad and Tobago, studies done in other Caribbean societies will be drawn upon when applicable. The discussion will deal, first, with increasing cultural similarity and then, second, with persisting cultural differences between Negroes and East Indians.

#### Increasing Cultural Similarity of Negroes and East Indians

##### (a) Norms Relating to Mating Unions

Among Negroes of the lower-SES group, norms regarding mating relationships permit various kinds of unions. Rodman has noted the existence of three main types of unions among lower-SES Negroes in Trinidad. In one type - labelled "friending" - the male visits the female at intervals for sexual intercourse. Such relationships are usually temporary but may sometimes develop into lasting ones. In the

second type of union - termed "living" - the mates may live together under the same roof but without being legally married. Many such relationships may be of long duration, often lasting until the death of one partner. The third type of union indicated by Rodman is "marriage." Such unions are recognized by law and usually involve a church ceremony.<sup>34</sup>

Among whites and "Creoles" in the Caribbean, legal Christian marriage is the rule. Such marriage is seen as an "essential prelude to child-bearing" and is normally followed by the formation of a nuclear family.<sup>35</sup> Higher-SES Negroes have generally accepted the norms of whites and "Creoles" with regard to mating relationships. So, in many cases, have Negroes who are upwardly mobile from the lower-SES levels.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, it has been suggested that the occurrence of the two main types of non-legal unions described by Rodman is largely confined to Negroes of the lowest SES.<sup>37</sup> However, even when such unions are commonly engaged in, legal Christian marriage is likely to be regarded as desirable, though females are more likely than males to indicate that "respectability" is the main reason for desiring a legally recognized marriage.<sup>38</sup> To some extent, therefore, Negroes have become increasingly similar to whites and "Creoles" with regard to norms relating to mating relationships.

Among East Indians, marriage is regarded as the normal precondition for mating relationships. Such unions tend to be "permanent" ones. The break-up of first unions occurs but only in a small minority of cases.<sup>39</sup> The typical household group is the nuclear family unit,<sup>40</sup> although a newly married couple may live in the home of



the husband's parents for a while before establishing a separate household of their own.<sup>41</sup> The norms among East Indians regarding mating relationships are therefore quite similar to those accepted by whites, "Creoles," high-SES and middle-SES Negroes and members of other ethnic groups.

(b) Emphasis on Education

There has also tended to develop greater similarity among ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago regarding the emphasis placed on obtaining an education. Whites and "Creoles" have tended to place a relatively strong emphasis on education, even during the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>42</sup>

Among Negroes, however, the stress on education has undergone substantial change. By the middle of the nineteenth century - several years after the liberation of the slaves - there were still limited provisions for the education of Negroes. Even when the Church supported proposals for state-aided education it did so, not to promote social mobility among Negroes, but essentially to ensure that Negroes received moral and religious training appropriate to their station in life.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, despite the growth of Government-supported system of education after 1851, certain factors still militated against the educational advancement of the mass of Negroes. For example, the necessity for some decades of paying school fees and the requirement that one must be born in legally recognized wedlock to be acceptable as a candidate for admission to the leading secondary school in the

island perhaps also contributed towards limiting the educational opportunities of the Negroes.<sup>44</sup> In addition, some individuals condemned the efforts of the schools as "ill-advised attempts to hoist the lower ranks out of their proper station and a threat to the future supply of plantation labour."<sup>45</sup>

However, the success of some Negroes in gaining a secondary education and in entering white-collar occupations probably induced in others a desire for upward social mobility through education. Perhaps such occupational gains generated rising educational expectations among Negroes. Certainly, during the course of the twentieth century educational gains have enabled members of this ethnic group to enjoy substantial representation in the Civil Service, the teaching profession and other white-collar occupations. Furthermore, recent political changes and economic development have contributed towards making the views of Negroes concerning the usefulness of education increasingly similar to those of whites and "Creoles."

East Indians, also, have apparently placed an increasing emphasis on formal education as a means of achieving upward social mobility. Several reasons have been advanced for the widespread lack of interest in formal schooling shown by East Indians during the decades following their first introduction into the island.

One such reason is that many East Indians expected to, and actually did, return to India. Another is that East Indians were at first suspicious of Negroes and were unwilling to send their children to the predominantly Negro schools because they feared that their children would suffer injustices at the hands of Negro teachers and

Negro pupils.<sup>46</sup> A third is that parents desired the services of older children either to earn additional money on the sugar-cane plantations or to assist on their own lands.<sup>47</sup> A fourth is simply that for most East Indians a formal education was likely to bring few economic or social advantages since most channels of upward social mobility were closed to them. A fifth is that planters were generally opposed to the idea of education for East Indian children on the ground that education "might create an aversion to field work, and in turn a labour shortage on the plantations."<sup>48</sup>

However, denominational and Government schools played an important role in the education of East Indians. For example, the Canadian Presbyterian Church did a great deal of work with regard to the education of this ethnic group. Generally, it appears that a more widespread interest in formal schooling began to develop among East Indians only after they emerged from the plantations. Then, they began adopting some aspects of the way of life of other ethnic groups, gained acceptance in occupational spheres other than agriculture, acquired greater economic and political power, and in various ways began to receive opportunities to reap the economic and status advantages of possessing a formal education.

Statistics regarding literacy probably give some indication of the rising acceptance of formal schooling among East Indians. Table 7 shows that the percentage of East Indians classified as literate increased substantially in the twenty-five years between 1921 and 1946. In this period, the percentage increased from 12.6% to 4%.

Table 5

Literacy Rate Among East Indians in Trinidad and Tobago

<u>Year</u>	<u>% of East Indians Literate</u>
1921	12.6
1931	17.2
1946	49.4

Source: Trinidad and Tobago, Council Papers, 1922 (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printer, 1922), p. 33; Trinidad and Tobago, Population Census, 1931 (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printer, 1933), p. 33; Trinidad and Tobago, Population Census 1946 (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printer, 1946), p. xiv.

Some recent research suggests that East Indians now place a very strong emphasis on education. Rubin and Zavalloni, for example, report that a higher percentage of East Indians than of Negroes, whites or "Creoles" plan to attend university.<sup>49</sup> They found, also, that seventy percent of their sample of East Indians attending secondary schools in Trinidad planned to enter the fields of medicine, law, teaching, engineering and architecture, admission to which each requires higher education. East Indians, like Negroes, have become similar to whites and "Creoles" with regard to emphasizing the importance of education.<sup>50</sup>

(c) Other Cultural Similarities

Some studies have indicated other ways in which ethnic differences in Trinidad have lessened. For example, some East Indian girls seem to reject the norm of early marriage, and a few would like

to combine marriage with a career.<sup>51</sup> Also, many East Indians desire greater independence from their parents in the matter of choosing spouses.<sup>52</sup> In this respect, East Indians appear to be adopting the norms of other ethnic groups. Some social scientists have also noted an increasing tendency for East Indians to demand the same enjoyment of "the good life...in good old West Indian style" that members of other ethnic groups tend to stress.<sup>53</sup>

A number of studies have suggested, in addition, that at the "middle-class" levels of the society cultural differences among ethnic groups are less pronounced than at lower levels. In the course of seeking access to the higher occupational strata of the society, the members of various ethnic groups have to some extent adopted the norms and life style of the whites and the "Creoles."<sup>54</sup> At the middle-class levels, therefore, the various ethnic groups tend to share the dominant culture - that of the whites and "Creoles" - in Trinidad and Tobago society.

#### Persisting Cultural Differences

Some investigations suggest that while a certain degree of "cultural assimilation" has been evident in the case of the East Indians,<sup>55</sup> this group still retains elements of its original culture which make it distinguishable from the Negro group.<sup>56</sup> Green observes that these two ethnic groups "still show sharp disparity in behaviour patterns."<sup>57</sup> The ethnic differences will be discussed under the following headings:

- (a) child role expectations,

(b) sex role expectations, and

(c) emphasis on achievement.

(a) Child Role Expectations

The work of some scholars suggests that the East Indian and Negro "subcultures" differ somewhat from each other with regard to the roles they prescribe for children. For example, East Indian youths are normally expected to accept the parents' right to play an important part in the choice of spouses for their children. Niehoff and Niehoff have reported that the majority of East Indian marriages are arranged by parents, though the prospective mates are generally allowed to agree or disagree with the match.<sup>58</sup>

Again, sons may rely on their parents for economic assistance or inheritance.<sup>59</sup> In other words, a role of dependency upon parents on the part of East Indian children is permissible in the East Indian "sub-culture."

East Indian children are expected to be strongly oriented toward the family. Klass points out that kinship relations, especially in the household group, are of "vital importance" to the East Indian.<sup>60</sup> Green, commenting on the small-group intimacy and solidarity among East Indians, notes that East Indian children tend to be kept to their homes and restricted from interaction with outsiders.<sup>61</sup>

East Indian mothers place significantly less emphasis than Negro mothers on teaching their children to seek social relationships outside the family. These differing emphases in socialization are

reflected in significantly less preference for social relationships outside the family among East Indian than among Negro children.<sup>62</sup>

Also, as Abu-Laban has indicated in relation to the Arab Near East, supportive norms in the culture - such as emphasis on family honour and respect for elders - may provide an "ideological basis" for keeping the adolescent oriented toward the family.<sup>63</sup> In this connection, Green has observed that the East Indian culture reduces independence on the part of children "by its necessary or voluntary acceptance of obligation and submission roles."<sup>64</sup>

Among Negroes, however, children are expected to become independent of parents. For example, there is little emphasis on inheritance. Also, mothers - and fathers - typically engage in a wide variety of roles outside the home and children are required to recognize that such concerns of parents take priority over their demands. Again, children are expected from an early age to learn to develop social relationships outside the family. Indeed, mothers appear to "force their children away from dependence upon them."<sup>65</sup>

Collins and Raven suggest a general definition of group cohesiveness as "the resultant of all the forces acting on all the members to remain in the group."<sup>66</sup> In other words, "cohesiveness" seems to refer at least in part to the degree of integration of members into the group. Since the East Indian "sub-culture" places much more emphasis than the Negro one on the orientation of children toward the family, East Indian offsprings are likely to be more closely integrated into the family than their Negro counterparts.

The ethnic differences in child role expectations discussed above, may also have implications for degree of orientation toward peers. While emphasizing that their children should develop independence of the family, Negro parents also persuade their children "to learn to work along with groups of their own age in preference to working alone," to cooperate and get along pleasantly with others, and to play together in mixed sex and age groups both within and outside the home.<sup>67</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that Negroes will be more closely integrated into and more amenable to the influence of peer groups than East Indians.

#### (b) Sex Role Expectations

There seems to be some evidence of a difference in sex role expectations and training between the East Indian and Negro subgroups. The East Indian father has the main responsibility for supporting his family. He also has the major position of authority and status within the family<sup>o</sup> and is responsible, too, for representing the family in community affairs and religious organizations.<sup>68</sup> The young East Indian male has to be socialized to occupy such a position of responsibility when he grows up.

Among low-SES Negroes, the female tends to enjoy the major position of authority and responsibility in the family. The male is generally expected to contribute toward the support of any child he has fathered but there is little social pressure upon him to do so, especially if he refuses to recognize the child as his own.<sup>69</sup>

Consequently, it is the female who frequently becomes the head of the



family and assume major responsibility for its support and management. Even when mates establish their own household, the female has the main responsibility for disciplining children, organizing children's activities when necessary and making decisions about expenditures.<sup>70</sup>

(c) Emphasis on Achievement

The published literature seems to indicate that generally speaking East Indians are strongly oriented towards achievement. Niehoff and Niehoff<sup>71</sup> and Crowley,<sup>72</sup> for example, describe East Indians as being noticeably future oriented. Rubin and Zavalloni conclude that members of this ethnic group tend to possess a "striving orientation."<sup>73</sup> Cross and Schwartzbaum observe that East Indians as a group are reputed to place a strong emphasis on education as a means of social advancement.<sup>74</sup>

Negroes of high-SES, like East Indians in general, tend to emphasize educational and occupational achievement. However, several writers indicate that low-SES Negroes have a reputation for being interested primarily in immediate satisfactions rather than in planning for the achievement of long-term objectives.<sup>75</sup> For these reasons, the East Indian group appears less differentiated by SES with respect to emphasis on achievement than the Negro group.

## Section C

Possible Influence of the Social Structure of  
Trinidad and Tobago on the Relationships  
Involving Educational Expectation

Of the relationships involving educational expectation reported in North America, four appear likely to be affected to some extent by specific aspects of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago. These are the relationships between (a) SES and educational expectation, (b) parental encouragement and educational expectation, (c) friends' educational plans and educational expectation and (d) sex and educational expectation.

(a) SES and Educational Expectation

East Indians and Negroes - as has been indicated earlier in the present chapter - are now distributed across the full range of the occupational structure of Trinidad and Tobago. However, it seems that East Indians of different SES levels tend to be more similar to one another with regard to emphasis on achievement - including educational achievement - than Negroes with differing SES.<sup>76</sup>

It is therefore hypothesized that the relationships between SES and educational expectation is weaker among East Indians than among Negroes. That is, the superiority of the level of educational expectation held by high-SES students over that held by students of lower SES will be less marked among East Indians than among Negroes.

Indeed, the reports that East Indians widely emphasize educational achievement suggest that in this ethnic group the difference in level of educational expectation between students of high SES and those of lower SES may be negligible. Thus, East Indian students of lower SES may be as likely as those of higher SES to report having university plans. If this is indeed so, an important implication seems to follow. The finding of North American studies that SES has a positive relationship with educational expectation may not apply to East Indians in Trinidad. Thus, the North American "profile" which tends to be associated with high educational expectation - that is, the profile of an able, high-SES male whose parents and friends emphasize university education - may not hold in its entirety in Trinidad. It is expected, therefore, that in some respects the findings of the present study will differ from those of North American studies.

(b) Parental Encouragement and Educational Expectation

There is some evidence that degree of family cohesiveness may help to determine the extent to which children internalize their parents' values and expectations. It has been reported, for example, that youths who continue their education beyond the period of compulsory schooling are more likely than those who drop out to have come from families with strong primary relationships.<sup>77</sup> In other words, they tend to come from highly cohesive families.

There is additional reason for the argument that degree of family cohesiveness may be positively related to the extent to which

children are responsive to their parents' values and expectations. For example, Abu-Laban suggests why Lebanese youths are likely to be far more closely integrated than American youths into the family. In Lebanon society, as Abu-Laban has observed, an important aspect of socialization is the training of the young to accept the authority of the elders, even after marriage. Also, youths are taught that dependence upon the family is acceptable, for example in such matters as economic security and the choice of a mate. The teaching of certain norms - such as respect for elders and emphasis on family honour - may also contribute to making the Lebanese family "an important anchoring point for organizing social relations and an influential unit in the life of youth."<sup>78</sup>

In the United States, however, the young are encouraged to exercise greater independence in such matters as the choice of an occupation, the selection of a mate and economic support. Furthermore, the peer group "functions to develop increasing independence from the family and facilitate the transition from familial to societal roles."<sup>79</sup>

Therefore, this family cohesiveness - and the integration of Lebanese youths into their family - is likely, as Abu-Laban has indicated, to lead to these youths being more responsive than the American ones to the expectations of their respective families.

Thomas and Weigert have further indicated that degree of industrialization-urbanization is inversely related to conformity to such significant others as father, mother and priest. This relationship seems due at least in part to a decrease in traditional face-to-face

relations - that is, a decrease in the closeness of primary relationships - as industrialization-urbanization progresses.<sup>80</sup>

The degree of integration of youths into their families thus appears to be related to the extent of their adoption of, or orientation to, the values and expectations of parents. It has been suggested that East Indian youths tend to be more closely integrated into their families than Negro youths are into their own. It is therefore hypothesized that the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger among East Indians than among Negroes.

To be more specific, because East Indians are more likely than Negroes to be closely integrated into their families and therefore more strongly oriented toward their parents' values and expectations, high parental encouragement is likely to influence East Indian youths more than Negro youths. Thus, perceived parental encouragement will tend to be accompanied by higher educational expectation among East Indian than among Negro students. At the same time, however, the strong orientation of East Indians than of Negroes to the values and expectations of parents may mean that in the absence of perceived parental encouragement the former are likely to have lower educational expectation than the latter. The hypothesis also implies that the association between parental encouragement and educational expectation reported by North American research may vary in strength with the degree of integration of youths into their families.

### (c) Friends' Educational Plans and Subjects' Educational Expectation

It seems that the closer a student's relationship with his peers is the more similar will his educational expectation probably be to theirs. Various arguments may be employed to support this proposition.

For example, Sherif and Sherif indicate that the salience of a particular group for an individual determines the extent to which the individual is likely to adopt the norms and attitudes of the group.<sup>81</sup>

It has been argued, also, that increasing complexity of society is accompanied by more rigid and lasting structural separation of youths from adults. As this happens, youths tend to develop a "common identification" and the peer group becomes a "significantly important unit in the life of its members."<sup>82</sup> One implication of this argument is that as youths become more strongly oriented toward their peers they tend to take greater cognizance of the latter's values and expectations.

Again, McDill and Coleman show that as students progress through secondary school - and as they become more involved in the peer group - the relationship between their level of educational expectation and that of their peers tends to become stronger.<sup>83</sup> It appears, also, that

students who might not normally have planned to enter college but who succeed in gaining admission to leading high-school cliques are likely to adopt the college-going norms which tend to prevail within such cliques.<sup>84</sup> It has been reported, also, that students are more likely

to have college plans when their friends also do than when the latter do not. The significant point is that such a tendency is strongest when the friendship choice is reciprocated<sup>85</sup> - that is, when the

relationship between the student and his peers is closer. It appears, therefore, that the closer youths are to their peers the greater is the tendency for them to have educational expectations similar to those of the latter.

Since Negroes are socialized to emphasize social relationships outside the family whereas East Indians generally are not, the former may be expected to have a stronger orientation toward their peers and consequently a greater degree of similarity to the latter with regard to level of educational expectation. It is therefore hypothesized that the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is stronger among Negroes than among East Indians.

To be more specific, it is expected that when their friends have high educational expectation a higher percentage of Negroes than of East Indians will also stress such education. At the same time, when their friends have low educational expectation a lower percentage of Negroes than of East Indians will tend to have high educational expectation. Thus, it is expected that level of educational expectation will vary with friends' educational plans to a greater extent among Negroes than among East Indians. The hypothesis also implies that the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation reported by North American studies will vary in strength with the degree of the youths' orientation toward their peers.

As indicated previously, East Indian youths appear to be more strongly integrated into the family than into the peer group. It is therefore hypothesized that among East Indians the relationship between

parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger than that between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation. That is, the level of educational expectation of East Indian students will be higher when they perceive their parents as encouraging university education than when their friends have high educational expectation. On the other hand, their level of educational expectation will be lower when they do not perceive their parents as encouraging university education than when their friends have low educational expectation.

In the case of Negroes, there is no clear indication of the relatively strength of orientation toward the family as against orientation toward peers. While members of this ethnic group are socialized to emphasize social relationships outside the family, this does not necessarily mean that they become more integrated into the peer group than into the family. It is hypothesized that among the Negro students the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is at least as strong as that between parental encouragement and educational expectation.

(d) Sex and Educational Expectation

Among East Indians, sex roles tend to be clearly and consistently defined, with males being expected to bear the main responsibility for the support of their family. In some respects, therefore, sex role expectations among East Indians tend to be quite similar to those among whites in modern industrial societies. In such societies high educational achievement is generally regarded as less necessary for females than for



males and hence males tend to have higher educational expectation than females. It is hypothesized, therefore, that East Indian males will tend to have higher educational expectation than their female counterparts.

Research in the Caribbean suggests that sex role expectations among high-SES and middle-SES Negroes tend to be quite similar to those prevailing among whites, "Creoles," and East Indians. It is therefore hypothesized that in these SES Negro subgroups males will tend to have higher educational expectation than females.

However, as has been indicated earlier, sex roles among low-SES Negroes tend to differ from those among East Indians and Negroes of higher SES. One can argue that low-SES Negro females tend to be socialized to regard as normal and acceptable the considerable authority within and responsibility for their family which they frequently assume. Therefore, low-SES Negro females are likely to place greater emphasis than their male counterparts on obtaining a university education as a means of enabling themselves to discharge their responsibilities for the support of their family should this become necessary.

A different line of reasoning which is still supportive of the above hypothesis can also be advanced. It has been reported that even when low-SES Negroes participate in mating relationships other than those that are recognized by law they may still regard legal Christian marriage as desirable.<sup>86</sup> There is some evidence, however, that in this low-SES subgroup females are more likely than males to say that an interest in "respectability" - in terms of the dominant white culture - is their main reason for desiring a legally recognized marriage.<sup>87</sup>

Furthermore, such a marriage is perceived by low-SES Negro families as enhancing their social prestige within their own community.<sup>88</sup> University education - and consequently the attainment of high SES - would enhance the Negroes' chances of achieving "respectability" and greater social prestige through a legally recognized marriage, since unions at the high-SES levels are normally of this type. Therefore, low-SES Negro females - because of this desire for respectable marital status and the greater social prestige which the latter brings - may tend to have higher educational expectation than their male counterparts.

It is hypothesized that in the East Indian group, the high-SES Negro subgroup and the middle-SES Negro subgroup males have a higher level of educational expectation than their female counterparts. However, in the low-SES Negro subgroup females have a higher level of educational expectation than their male counterparts.

It is expected therefore that the findings of North American research regarding sex differences in level of educational expectation will be replicated for East Indians, whatever their SES, and for high-SES and middle-SES Negroes while they will be reversed for low-SES Negroes.

If the hypotheses regarding sex-related differences are confirmed, then the "profile" associated with low educational expectation in North America - that is, a less able, low-SES female whose parents and friends do not stress university education - will perhaps not be applicable in the case of Negroes in Trinidad.

### Summary

North American studies have indicated that the variables sex, SES, school performance, parental encouragement, and friends' educational plans are related to students' educational expectation. However, certain characteristics of the social structure of Trinidad may result in some modification of the relationships between specific variables and educational expectation observed in North America and other countries.

Although East Indians and Negroes are both distributed over the full range of SES, the greater emphasis on achievement on the part of the former seems likely to result in a weaker relationship between SES and educational expectation among them than among Negroes. Thus, the strength of the association between SES and educational expectation may vary from one group to another depending upon how far the SES categories within each group constitute a homogeneous unit with regard to emphasis on educational achievement.

Also, the magnitude of the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation will probably vary with degree of integration of youths into their families. The relationship is likely to be stronger among East Indians than among Negroes, since the former appear to belong to more cohesive families. In the same way, integration into the peer group may be related to the strength of the association between friends' plans and educational expectation. In Trinidad and Tobago, this association is likely to be more pronounced among Negroes than among East Indians since the former appear to have the stronger orientation to peers.

Among East Indians and higher-SES Negroes, the husband normally has the main responsibility for the support of the family. Therefore, females in these subgroups may be socialized to regard educational achievement as being less important for them than for their male counterparts. As in North America, such females are likely to have lower educational expectation than their male counterparts. Among low-SES Negroes, females will tend to place a greater emphasis on achieving the economic means of supporting a family and a greater stress on achieving a legally recognized marriage. For both these objectives education is an important asset and hence females in this subgroup are likely to develop higher educational expectation than their male counterparts.

The following, in summary form, are the hypotheses to be tested:

- (a) The variables school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans are positively related to educational expectation.
- (b) (i) Among East Indians of all SES subgroups and among Negroes of high SES and middle SES a higher percentage of males than of females reports definite university plans.
- (ii) Among low-SES Negroes, a higher percentage of females than of males reports definite university plans.
- (c) The percentage of students reporting definite university plans declines more sharply among Negroes than among East Indians with each level of SES.
- (d) The relationship between parental encouragement and level of educational expectation is stronger among East Indians than among Negroes.

- (e) The relationship between friends' educational plans and level of educational expectation is stronger among Negroes than among East Indians.
- (f) Among East Indians, parental encouragement has at least as strong a relationship as friends' educational plans with educational expectation.
- (g) Among Negroes, friends' educational plans have at least as strong a relationship as parental encouragement with educational expectation.
- (h) (i) The profile which tends to be associated with high educational expectation in North America is not necessarily associated with such educational expectation in Trinidad.  
(ii) The profile which tends to be associated with low educational expectation in North America is not necessarily associated with such educational expectation in Trinidad.

The hypotheses presented above will serve as the focal points for the presentation and discussion of the results of the data analysis. The discussion now proceeds, in Chapter III, to a description of the methodology used in the present study.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Sewell, W. H. and Armer, J. M., "Neighbourhood Context and College Plans," American Sociological Review, 31 (April, 1966), pp. 159-162.
2. Abu-Laban, B., "Sources of College Aspirations of Lebanese Youth," Journal of Developing Areas, 11 (January, 1966), p. 228.
3. See, for example, Kahl, J., "Common Man' Boys," in Halsey, A. H., Floud, J. and Anderson C. A. (eds.), Education, Economy and Society (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 349ff.; Bennett, W. J. and Gist, N. P., "Class and Family Influences on Student Aspirations," Social Forces, 43 (December, 1964), pp. 167-173; Krauss, I., "Sources of Educational Aspirations among Working-Class Youth," American Sociological Review, 29 (December, 1964), pp. 867-879; Pavalko, R. M. and Bishop, D. R., "Socio-Economic Status and College Plans: A Study of Canadian High School Students," Sociology of Education, 39 (Summer, 1966), pp. 288-298.
4. See, for example, Turner, R., The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964); McDill, L. M. and Coleman, J. S., "Family and Peer Influences on College Plans of High School Students," Sociology of Education, 38 (Winter, 1965), pp. 112-126; Sewell, W. H. and Shah, V. P., "Social Class Parental Encouragement, and Educational Aspirations," American Journal of Sociology, 73 (March, 1968), pp. 559-572; Pavalko and Bishop, op. cit., pp. 288-298.
5. For example, see Rogoff, N., "Local Social Structure and Educational Selection," in Halsey, Floud and Anderson (eds.), op. cit., pp. 245-246; Havighurst, R. J. et al., Growing Up in River City (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 105-111; Herriott, R., "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspiration," Harvard Educational Review, 33 (Spring, 1963), pp. 165-167; Sewell, W. H. et al., "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process," American Sociological Review, 34 (February, 1969), pp. 88-89.
6. For example, see Bordua, D. J., "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces, 38 (March, 1960), pp. 266-287; Kahl, op. cit., p. 351; Bell, G. D., "Processes in the Formation of Adolescents' Aspirations," Social Forces, 42 (December, 1963), p. 183; Cohen, E. G., "Parental Factors in Education Mobility," Sociology of Education, 38 (Fall, 1965), pp. 418-419.

7. For example, see Haller, A. O. and Butterworth, C., "Peer Influences on Occupational and Educational Aspirations," Social Forces, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 292-295; Krauss, op. cit., p. 877; Alexander, C.N. and Campbell, E. Q., "Peer Influences on Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Attainment," American Sociological Review, 29 (August, 1964), p. 568.
8. Abu-Laban, op. cit., pp. 225-226.
9. See, for example, Sewell et al., op. cit., pp. 84-85, Sewell, W. H., "Inequality of Opportunity for Higher Education," American Sociological Review, 36 (October, 1971), p. 799; Hauser, R. M., Socio-Economic Background and Educational Performance (Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association, 1971), pp. 62-63; Boocock, S. S., An Introduction to the Sociology of Learning (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972), p. 126.
10. See, for example, Duncan, O. D. et al., "Peer Influences on Aspiration: A Reinterpretation," American Journal of Sociology, 74 (September, 1968), pp. 119-137; Williams, T., "Educational Aspirations: Longitudinal Evidence on Their Development in Canadian Youth," Sociology of Education, 45 (Spring, 1972) p. 126.
11. See, for example, Sewell and Shah, op. cit., pp. 559-572; Hauser, op. cit., pp. 120-123; Williams, op. cit., p. 126.
12. See, for example, Sewell et al., op. cit., pp. 82-92; Williams, op. cit., p. 126.
13. See, for example, Sewell et al., op. cit., pp. 82-92; Sewell, op. cit., p. 799; Williams, op. cit., p. 126.
14. For a discussion of this relationship see Boocock, op. cit., pp. 80-91. Although girls tend to start ahead of boys in almost all academic areas, they begin to fall behind in certain areas during the later high school years, at least partly as a result of sex role expectations.
15. See, for example, Boocock, op. cit., pp. 87-89; Williams, op. cit., p. 128.
16. Smith, R. T., "Culture and Social Structure in the Caribbean: Some Recent Work on Kinship and Family Studies," in Frucht, R. (ed.), Black Society in the New World (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 251.
17. Williams, E., History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1962), pp. 627.

18. Rubin, V. and Zavalloni, M., We Wish to Be Looked Upon: A Study of the Aspirations of Youths in a Developing Society (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969), p. 16.
19. One minor exception to this pattern was provided by the secondary school established in 1894 by Canadian Presbyterian missionaries primarily to serve the needs of the East Indian community in Trinidad.
20. Bacchus, M. K., "Education and Socio-Cultural Integration in a 'Plural' Society," Occasional Paper Series, No. 6, Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, 1970, p. 2.
21. Williams, E., op. cit., p. 100.
22. Speckmann, J. D., "The Indian Group in the Segmented Society of Surinam," Caribbean Studies, 3 (April, 1963), pp. 3-17; Bacchus, op. cit., p. 22.
23. The willingness of many East Indians to live frugally and to save money has been noted by some social scientists. See, for example, Niehoff, A. and Niefhoff, J., East Indians in the West Indies (Milwaukee, Wis.: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1960), pp. 38-41.
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26. Niehoff and Niehoff, op. cit., pp. 78-79.
27. Schwartz, B. M., "Patterns of East Indian Family Organization in Trinidad," Caribbean Studies, 5 (April, 1965), pp. 29-30.
28. Niehoff and Niehoff, op. cit., pp. 42-43.
29. Similar breakdowns for other ethnic groups are not available.
30. Augier, F. R. et al., The Making of the West Indies (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1960), pp. 283-285.
31. Crowley, D. J., "Assimilation in a Multiracial Society," in Rubin, V. (ed.), Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 83, Article 5, 1960, p. 854.
32. Bacchus, M. K., "Education and Change," New World Quarterly, 5 (Croptime, 1969), p. 65.



33. Klass, M., "East and West Indian: Cultural Complexity in Trinidad," in Rubin, V. (ed.), op. cit., p. 856.
34. Rodman, H., "Marital Relationships in a Trinidad Village," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (May, 1961), pp. 166-169.
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## Chapter III

### METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in the present study is described in the present chapter under the following headings: (a) operationalization and measurement of variables, (b) the sample, (c) data collection procedure, and (d) data analysis.

#### Operationalization and Measurement of Variables

The variables in the present study include the following: ethnicity, sex, parental occupation, school performance, parental encouragement, friends' educational plans and students' educational expectation.

Ethnicity falls into two categories: East Indian and Negroes. Ethnicity was identified through the names of the students. Generally, the names of East Indians can be distinguished from those of Negroes with little difficulty. The researcher found that task a relatively easy one in the case of the present sample.

Information concerning sex was obtained simply by asking the question "Are you male or female?" This question appears as Item Number 3 in Section A of the questionnaire (see Appendix B).

It appears that no instrument has specifically been devised for measuring socio-economic status in Trinidad. For the purposes of the present study, therefore, it became necessary to rely on the use of broad categories. Occupation of head of household - referred to

in this study as parental occupation - is used as an indicator of SES. The items which provided information regarding parental occupation are Numbers 7-11 in Section A of the questionnaire. They are of an open-ended variety and were constructed according to suggestions made by Oppenheim.<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of their responses to these items, students were assigned to one of the following four categories of parental occupation:

- a. unskilled or unemployed (e.g. agricultural labourers, small farmers, general labourers, unemployed persons),
- b. skilled or semi-skilled (e.g. foremen, machinists, motor-mechanics, carpenters, bus drivers, taxi drivers),
- c. lower white-collar (e.g. sales, clerical or secretarial workers), and
- d. managerial, professional or technical (e.g. doctors, teachers, civil servants, engineers, refinery operators with at least secondary education, priests).

For the purposes of the study, the categories (c) and (d) were combined into one referred to as "'High' Parental Occupation." The category (b) was designated "'Middle' Parental Occupation" and the category (a) "'Low' Parental Occupation." Since parental occupation was being used as an indicator of SES, the three categories could also be referred to as "High SES," "Middle SES" and "Low SES" respectively. It might be noted that "Middle SES" would refer to "parents" with

skilled or semi-skilled occupations and not to the so-called "middle-class" parents frequently discussed in North American and other studies. The composition of the sample in terms of parental occupation (SES) is as follows:

"High"	SES	397	(36.1%)
"Middle"	SES	438	(39.8%)
"Low"	SES	266	(24.1%)

Total.....1101

The only item in the questionnaire which referred to students' school performance consisted of a self-rating scale. Students were asked to rate their average examination mark over the then current school year on a five-point scale ranging from "Poor" to "Excellent." This subjective measure was subsequently discarded by the researcher in favour of the more objective indication of school performance available in the form of the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) examination results.

All students in the sample took the G.C.E. examinations in June, 1971, about one month following the administration of the questionnaire and the results of the examination were available in September, 1971. The examination taken by the students was conducted under the auspices of Cambridge University of England and the examination scripts were graded in Britain. In the examination students generally took up to eight subjects. A G.C.E. (O-Level) certificate was granted to students who passed in at least three subjects.

For the purposes of the present investigation, students in the sample were divided into two categories: (a) those who had qualified for a G.C.E. certificate and (b) those who had not. The first category, consisting of 567 students, was regarded as having "high" school performance while the second category, consisting of 534 students, was designated as having "low" school performance.

Parental encouragement was operationalized as the frequency with which parents or parent-substitutes were reported by the students as advising them to go to university. There was the possibility of some distortion in this measure, since students might in some cases have inflated their reported degree of parental encouragement so that the latter was consistent with their own educational expectation. The item measuring parental encouragement - Number 20 of Section B in the questionnaire - followed the general pattern of those used in some North American studies.<sup>2</sup> However, the meaning of different points in a five-point scale ranging from "Never" to "Very Often" was clarified by statements regarding the frequency to which each choice referred. It might be emphasized that in this study "parental encouragement" refers to perceived parental encouragement.

The various levels of parental encouragement were condensed into two categories: "high" parental encouragement and "low" parental encouragement. When students reported that their parents encouraged them "often" or "very often" to attend university, they were regarded as receiving "high" parental encouragement. In all other cases they were classified as receiving "low" parental encouragement.



The university plans reported by peers whom each student had nominated as his best two friends, of his own sex and his own school class, served as a measure of friends' educational plans. Such an approach to measuring this variable is found in a number of North American studies.<sup>3</sup>

For the purposes of the present investigation, friends' educational plans have been assigned to two categories: (a) one or both of the students' friends reporting definite plans to attend university and (b) neither of the students' friends reporting such plans. The names of the individuals nominated as best friends were obtained for each subject from the responses to Item Number 23 in Section A of the questionnaire. Then the questionnaire responses of the nominated individuals themselves regarding their own educational expectation were examined in order to determine which category of friends' educational plans was appropriate for the nominating subject.

Educational expectation was operationalized as the subjects' plans regarding university. This measure follows the general pattern of those used in many studies of educational expectation in North America.<sup>4</sup> Students were given four choices regarding whether or not they planned to go to university, the choices ranging from "Definitely Not" to "Definitely Yes." The relevant item in the questionnaire is Number 30, in Section B. For the present investigation, students who chose the response "Definitely Yes" were classified as having "high" educational expectation while those who selected the other responses were classified as having "low" educational expectation.

### The Sample

The sample consists of Negro and East Indian students, of both sexes, attending fifth forms in ten public secondary schools in Trinidad. An attempt was made to ensure that reasonably large numbers of students from each of the two ethnic groups were included in the sample. At the same time, factors of time, cost and convenience were important considerations. It was therefore thought desirable to divide the island into three main "regions" and to obtain a sample of schools from each.

The central region contains the main concentrations of East Indians in the island, associated primarily with agriculture but also to some extent with the oil industry, with teaching, with business and with other sectors of the economy. The region also includes two of the main urban centres in Trinidad - San Fernando and Princes Town - where there are large representations of East Indians in the higher professions and in business. In addition, the region has large numbers of Negroes associated with the oil industry, with the government services, with skilled employment of various kinds and with agriculture and general labour.

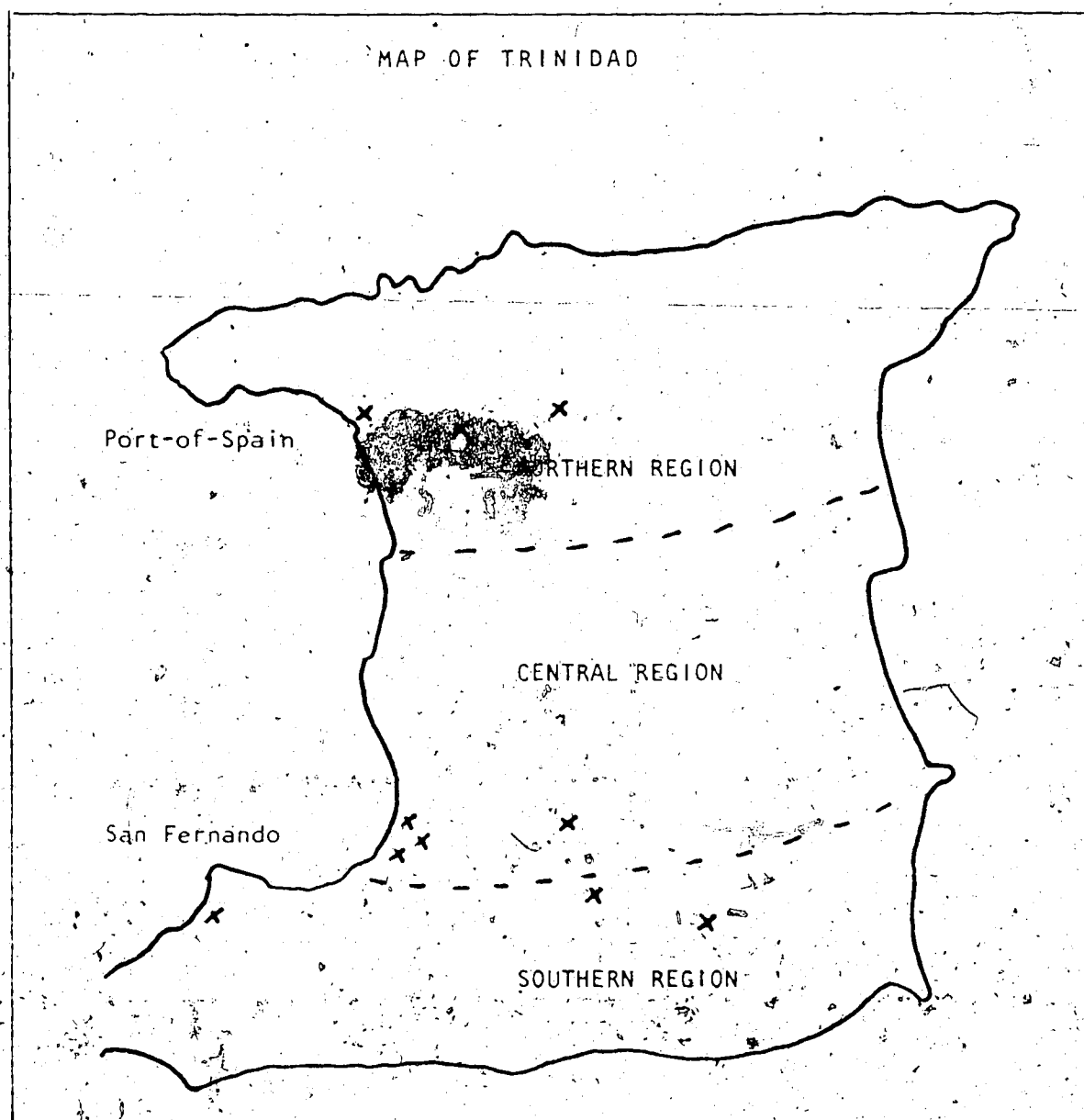
The northern region contains the capital - Port-of-Spain - and two other large urban centres. Negroes constitute the main ethnic group in this region. They are likely to be employed in the government services, in light industries, in sales and services, in skilled occupations and in general labour.

In the southern region, Negroes again form the largest ethnic group. They are employed in such sectors as the oil industry, in light

Figure 2

Approximate Location of the Secondary Schools

Participating in the Study



industries, in agriculture, and in occupations ranging from skilled workers to general labourers. East Indians in this region are also employed in similar sectors.

A total sample of ten schools - representing about twenty-five per cent of the public secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago - was obtained. The distribution of these schools over the three "regions" is shown in Figure II.

In the school year 1966-67, the year in which the students in the sample were likely to have been admitted to the public secondary schools, there were forty-two government and assisted secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago. Thirteen of these were in the capital - Port-of-Spain - and its immediate environment, seven in San Fernando, twenty at other points in Trinidad and three in Tobago. With the exception of the heavy concentration of schools in Port-of-Spain and San Fernando - which, in any case, are the largest towns in Trinidad and are situated in the two most densely populated areas of the island - the public secondary schools, both government and assisted, are distributed quite widely over the territory. The twenty schools outside Port-of-Spain and San Fernando are located in smaller towns or rural areas.

In making a selection, schools were drawn at random from each region: their names were written on pieces of paper which were folded and placed in a box, following which a number of schools was selected at random for each region. Four were chosen for the northern region, four for the central and three for the southern. One of the northern schools subsequently declined to participate in the study.

Students are admitted to the public secondary schools on the basis of their performance in a "common entrance examination" taken at approximately age eleven. When this examination was first introduced, government secondary schools - that is, those schools built and operated entirely by the government - had to accept 100% of their first-form admissions from pupils who had attained a designated level of success in the examination, while government-supported denominational schools were required to accept at least 80% of their admissions from among such pupils.

In 1965, however, the Minister of Education began assigning the first five hundred pupils in order of merit - that is, about ten per cent of those students admitted in 1966 - to secondary schools of their parents' choice. The remaining school places in the government schools were then filled by eligible pupils on the basis of the quality of their performance in the "common entrance examination." In the case of the government supported denominational schools, at least 80% of the places in the admission classes were assigned to eligible pupils according to order of merit as determined by their examination performance, while the final twenty per cent - or less - were given to pupils selected at the principal's discretion from among those who were eligible by virtue of their performance in the "common entrance examination."<sup>5</sup>

In 1966, it was reported that 30,358 pupils took the "common entrance examination," the estimate being that about five thousand of these candidates - or about sixteen per cent would actually be placed

in public secondary schools.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the sample for the present study is drawn from a group of students which is highly select in terms of measured intelligence.

It is difficult to determine what proportion of the age group eligible to take the "Common Entrance Examination" in 1965-1966 actually did so. As Pujadas informs us, 98.8% of the Standard V enrolment took the examination in 1965-1966.<sup>7</sup> If only eleven year-olds were permitted to take the examination in that year then, on the basis of the census data of 1960, one would expect to find a maximum of 27,839 candidates for the examination. Since 30,358 pupils took the examination, then children other than eleven-year-olds must have been included among the candidates. In the absence of data concerning how many such children there were, it is impossible to estimate the proportion of each age cohort which took the examination.

The ten schools participating in the study yielded a sample of 1,170 Fifth Form students, almost all about the age of sixteen or seventeen. When the students who had Chinese names and others who had supplied incomplete information were eliminated, the usable sample consisted of 1,101 students, or about twenty per cent of the number admitted to the public secondary schools in 1966. In the usable sample, there were 501 Negroes and 600 East Indians. Of the Negroes, 261 were females and 240 males. Of the East Indians, 287 were females and 313 males.

It is possible that students were products of mating unions between Negroes and East Indians might have been classified as either

Negroes or East Indians. However, their number is likely to have been very small.

There was some variation in the sample with regard to age. Of the sample, 128 (11.6%) were fifteen, 526 (47.8%) were sixteen, 402 (36.5%) were seventeen and 45 (4.1%) were eighteen years old. Therefore, most (84.3%) of the students were sixteen or seventeen years old.

#### The Data Collection Procedure

The data used in the present study are derived from responses to a questionnaire administered to a sample of students attending certain public secondary schools in Trinidad. The items in the questionnaire were designed to elicit information relating mainly to sex, SES, family type, parental encouragement, peer influence, educational expectation, educational aspiration, value orientations, occupational expectation and occupational aspiration. Not all of this information, however, falls within the scope of the present investigation.

The questionnaire was administered to students in their regular classrooms, all students at any particular school answering the questionnaire at the same time. The administration of the questionnaire took place on school days during the first two weeks of May, 1971. Teachers in the schools assisted with general supervision but on no occasion were allowed to examine students' responses. The same procedure was employed in all schools. This was as follows:

- a. The assisting teachers were met as a group by the researcher prior to the administration of the questionnaire. It was explained to them

that the purpose of the study was to examine the "future plans" of the students and the factors affecting such plans. They were requested to refrain from assisting students or from looking at what students wrote. They were asked to refer any questions raised by the students directly to the researcher. The procedure to be followed in the actual administration of the questionnaire was described to them. They were thanked for their willingness to assist in the project.

- b. With the assistance of the helping teachers, the questionnaires and answer sheets were distributed to the students.
- c. An introductory statement - which is reproduced in Appendix A - was read to the students either by the researcher or by one of the assisting teachers. The main purposes of this statement were to explain to the students that the main aim of the study was to learn about their future plans, to assure them that their responses would be seen by no one but the researcher, and to indicate that their names would not be mentioned anywhere when their responses were being analysed.
- d. The students then began working on the questionnaire.



- e. The researcher moved constantly from classroom to classroom in readiness to answer any questions of clarification that might be asked by the students. This proved to be an easy task since most of the schools had no more than three or four classes at the selected level and the students appeared to have no difficulty with the questionnaire.
- f. After completing the questionnaire, students returned the document and their answer sheets to a specified table in the classroom, placing their answer sheets face down on the table.
- g. When the assisting teachers indicated, or the researcher observed, that all students in a classroom had completed the questionnaire, the researcher collected all the materials from the tables in the classroom.
- h. The students, the assisting teachers and the school principal were thanked by the researcher for their cooperation.

### Data Analysis

In view of the exploratory nature of the study, it was decided that in the analysis of the data use would be made of cross-tabulations. The procedure would be to examine the changes that occurred in the

percentage distributions of educational expectation as new control variables were added successively to the tables.

Cross-tabulations and controls are useful in the present study for various reasons. With regard to cross-tabulations, for example, many of the hypotheses are based on quantitative statements. For instance, it has been suggested that owing to greater family cohesiveness among East Indians than among Negroes high parental encouragement is accompanied by a higher level of educational expectation among the former than among the latter whereas low parental encouragement is accompanied by a lower level of educational expectation among the former than among the latter. Hence, the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger among East Indians than among Negroes. Now, a measure of association may well reveal that this last statement is true. However, such a measure provides no information with regard to level of educational expectation and thus sheds little light on the arguments on which the hypothesis is based.

The joint use of cross-tabulation and controls is appropriate in the present study. First, when one finds that a relationship occurs between two variables one wants to know whether the relationship is "real." If the relationship persists when other variables related to the dependent variable are controlled then one can have greater confidence that the observed relationship is tenable. Again, when a control variable is introduced, one can study the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables under each condition or at each level of the control variable. This is particularly important in the present study in which it has been hypothesized, for example,

that the direction of the sex difference in level of educational expectation differs to some extent with ethnicity and SES.

Hypotheses in the present study are tested by inspection of the percentages in the appropriate cells. This is not difficult to do when variables are dichotomized, as almost all variables in the present study are. Tests of significance are not used: differences between percentages are accepted tentatively as being important largely on the basis of the writer's judgement. Generally, however, a minimum difference of five percentage points is deemed necessary for regarding a difference in level of educational expectation as important.

Tests of significance are not employed because the present study is merely exploratory in nature and the investigator is looking mainly for general trends in the findings. Furthermore, because of the small number of cases in many cells, it is quite likely that tests of significance - such as chi-squared - will reveal differences in such instances as insignificant. The present writer does not regard it as desirable in the present study to rule out differences as unimportant when with a larger sample they may prove to be important.

The results of the data analysis are given in the next chapter. The findings are discussed as they are presented.

## FOOTNOTES

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3. See, for example, Haller, A. O. and Butterworth, C., "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspirations," Social Forces, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 289-295; Alexander, C. N. and Campbell, E. Q., "Peer Influences on Adolescent Educational Aspirations and Attainments," American Sociological Review, 29 (May, 1964), pp. 568-575; Sewell, W. H. et al., "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process," American Sociological Review, 34 (February, 1969), pp. 82-92.
4. See, for example, Caro, F. G. and Pihlblad, C. T., "Social Class, Formal Education and Social Mobility," Sociology and Social Research, 48 (July, 1964), pp. 428-438; Sewell and Shah, op. cit., pp. 559-572; Sewell et al., op. cit., pp. 82-92.
5. Trinidad and Tobago, The Education (Teaching Service) Regulations, 1965 (Trinidad and Tobago: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 13-14.
6. This information was released to the local press by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Trinidad and Tobago in June, 1966.
7. Pujadas, L., "A Note on Education Development in Trinidad and Tobago 1956-1966," Research Paper, No. 6 (Trinidad and Tobago: Central Statistical Office, 1969), p. 11.

## Chapter IV

### PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The two main objectives of the present chapter will be to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter II and to discuss the results of the data analysis. The procedure to be followed will be that of introducing a new variable at each successive stage of the analysis in an attempt to examine both the relationship of the new variable with educational expectation and the effect of introducing this new variable on the relationships between previously introduced variables and educational expectation. It is extremely important to note, however, that the percentages used in the analysis are frequently based on rather small numbers of cases, so that all conclusions - but especially those based on tables in the latter stages of the analysis - must be regarded as highly tentative.

#### Parental Occupation (SES) and Educational Expectation

Educational expectation of males and females in the East Indian and Negro subgroups is compared, it appears that in both ethnic groups males tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than females. Table 6 reveals that among East Indians 48.2% of the males as compared with 41.5% of the females fall into the group with high educational expectation. Thus, the difference between the percentages of East Indian males and East Indian females reporting

definite university plans is 6.7%. In the Negro subgroup the males as compared with 28.7% of the females - a difference of 4.2% - report that they definitely plan to attend university. The sex-related difference in level of educational expectation is slightly larger among the East Indian than the Negro students.

The introduction of parental occupation (SES) as a variable seems to shed additional light on the relationship between sex and educational expectation. Among East Indians in all three categories of parental occupation, males are again more likely than females to report definite university plans. In the case of both high and middle SES males once more tend to report a higher level of educational expectation than their female counterparts. Among low SES Negroes the picture appears to be reversed.

With regard to the sex-related difference among students, Table 7 shows that high educational expectation is reported by 53.4% of the males, but 53.4% of the females in the high SES category, 41.0% of the males, but 34.7% of the females in the middle SES category, and by 47.7% of the males, but 31.1% of the females in the low SES category. The hypothesis that among East Indians males tend to report a higher level of educational expectation than females tends to be supported.

The finding regarding the difference in level of educational expectation between East Indian males and East Indian females supports the possibility of a greater rate of return on their investment in education by the males as compared with their female counterparts.

Table 6

Educational Expectation by Sex and Ethnicity  
(Percentage Distribution)

EAST INDIANS		
EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION	MALES	FEMALES
High	48.2	41.5
Low	51.8	58.5
N	(313)	(287)
NEGROES		
High	32.9	28.7
Low	67.1	71.3
N	(240)	(261)

in large measure to the differences in sex role in this ethnic group. The East Indian male is expected to assume major responsibility for supporting his family while the East Indian female after marriage tends to assume the full-time role of wife and mother. Also, one consequence of the cohesiveness of the East Indian family is the strong expectation frequently held that East Indian males who have become highly educated will in turn look after the education of younger siblings. In such a

Table 7

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University  
by Sex, Parental Occupation (SES) and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS			
SEX	PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	High	Middle	Low
Males	56.9	41.0	47.7
N	(97)	(105)	(111)
Females	53.4	34.7	31.1
N	(118)	(98)	(71)
Difference Between	3.3	6.3	16.6
NEGROES			
Males	35.2	35.8	20.9
N	(91)	(106)	(43)
Females	31.9	24.0	36.6
N	(91)	(129)	(41)
Difference Between	3.3	11.8	15.7

Note: In the above and following tables each "N" represents a specific subgroup of students as defined by the variables and categories in the table. Only the percentage of each subgroup reporting definite university plans is entered.



situation the return on a university education for the East Indian female and the social pressures for her to go to university are not likely to be as great as for the East Indian male to be worth the necessary investment. For this reason, East Indian females are less likely than their male counterparts to have high educational expectations.

It seems, however, that the degree of difference between males and females is not equally great in all East Indian SES subgroups, since the difference in level of educational expectation between males and females appears to vary across categories of parental occupation. The data in Table 7 shows that the difference between the percentages of males and females with high educational expectation is relatively small among high SES students (3.3%), is somewhat larger among middle SES students (6.3%), and is relatively large among low SES students (16.6%).

This variation in the magnitude of the sex-related difference among East Indians is probably due in part to the more pronounced difference in sex roles among lower SES subgroups than in the high SES one. High SES East Indians have increasingly adopted the norms and life style of high SES whites and "Créoles" in the society.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it seems, East Indian females of high SES have become increasingly interested in combining marriage with a high-status occupation requiring a university degree. Thus, as one moves up the SES scale East Indian females tend less and less to view themselves as becoming only wives and mothers. For this reason, females of higher SES are likely to place a relatively strong emphasis on education. Furthermore, high SES

parents are in general better able than low SES parents to pay for the education of their children.

Also, the expectation by the family that East Indian males will accept at least some responsibility for the education of younger siblings is more crucial at the lower SES than at the high SES level. Whereas high SES parents may be able to support a number of children at university, low SES parents may not have the resources to do so. The latter may expect that having supported an older son through extended schooling he will assume responsibility for the education of younger siblings. Because of this multiplier effect, the education of one male at the low SES level is likely to bring greater returns than the education of a female and hence may be more strongly emphasized.

With regard to the difference in level of educational expectation between Negro males and Negro females, Table 8 reveals that high educational expectation is reported by 35.2% of the males, but 31.9% of the females in the high SES category and by 35.8% of the males but 24.0% of the females in the middle SES category. However, in the low SES subgroup the sex-related difference in educational expectation appears to be reversed, 36.6% of the females, but 20.9% of the males reporting definite plans to attend university.

The somewhat higher level of educational expectation among high SES and middle SES Negro males than among their female counterparts may be attributed at least partly to the nature of sex role expectations in these subgroups. The tendency for Negroes of high SES to regard the whites in Trinidad and Tobago as a reference group has resulted

Table 8

Sex by Educational Expectation among Negroes,  
with Parental Occupation Controlled

SEX	PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	High	Middle	Low
Males	35.2	35.8	20.9
N	(91)	(106)	(43)
Females	31.9	24.0	36.6
N	(91)	(129)	(41)

in high SES Negro males being expected to assume the main responsibility for the support of their family.<sup>2</sup> Similar sex role expectations tend to prevail among middle SES Negroes.<sup>3</sup> Partly for such reasons, level of education is by and large a matter of greater significance to high SES and middle SES males than to their female counterparts. This seems to be reflected in a higher level of educational expectation among males than among females in these two Negro subgroups.

However, the difference (.3%) between the percentage with high educational expectation among high SES males and the corresponding percentage among high SES females is relatively small. This may be due in some measure to two factors. First, Negro females have revealed

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a fairly strong tendency to continue their career even after marriage.

During the course of the twentieth century in particular, high SES Negro females have been increasingly able - by making use of expanding educational facilities in the country - to pursue careers in such white-collar occupational sectors as the Civil Service and the teaching profession albeit mainly at the lower levels. Secondly, in more recent years such factors as the achievement by Trinidad and Tobago of constitutional independence from Britain, the apparently increasing openness of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago and the expansion of the public and private sectors of the economy of this society appear to have resulted in considerably increased occupational opportunities for individuals who, regardless of SES or ethnic origins, possess university or equivalent qualifications. High SES Negro females appear strongly inclined to seek university education in order to become eligible for the high-status positions that are growing increasingly available especially in those sectors, such as the Civil Service and the teaching profession, in which they have been substantially represented in the past. It seems that, as a result, they do not differ greatly from their male counterparts in terms of level of educational expectation.

Conclusions regarding differences in level of educational expectation between Negro males and Negro females of low SES must be drawn with even greater caution than was necessary in the case of high SES and middle SES Negroes. This is essential because the numbers on

which the percentages in Table 8 are based are much smaller for low SES Negroes (43 males and 41 females) than for high SES ones (91 males and 91 females) or middle SES ones (106 males and 129 females).

Having said this, it is to be noted from the table that among low SES Negroes females tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than males, 36.6% of the females but 20.9% of the males reporting definite plans to attend university.

At least two factors may be responsible for the direction of the sex-related difference in educational expectation among low SES Negroes. The first is the possibility that low SES Negro females may be required to play a dominant role regarding the support and the general welfare of their family. They may be required, in other words, to perform a sex role similar in many respects to that of the East Indian male. They seem as a result to be more inclined than their male counterparts to report definite university plans, probably viewing education as a means of enabling themselves to discharge their adult responsibilities for the support of their family if this proves necessary.

The second factor is the perceived desirability among low SES Negro females of legally recognized marriage.<sup>5</sup> It has been suggested that low SES Negroes tend to "stretch" their range of values so as to accommodate both those which guide their daily life as well as those in the dominant culture which they choose as desirable.<sup>6</sup> Low SES Negro females may regard non-legal types of mating relationship as acceptable and normal but may at the same time perceive legally recognized marriage -

the norm within groups which have adopted the dominant culture of the society - as being highly desirable. A university education, by facilitating entry into higher-status occupations, is likely to enhance the chances of Negro females originating at a low SES level to marry at a high SES level where legally recognized unions are the norm. Hence such females may be strongly impelled to entertain high educational expectations.

#### Sex, Parental Occupation (SES) and Educational Expectation

If sex is now treated as a control variable, one finds that the relationship between parental occupation and educational expectation is highly complex. There is little support for the hypothesis that among East Indians the SES subgroups are not strongly differentiated from one another with regard to level of educational expectation. In fact, rather interestingly, among East Indian males the relationship between parental occupation and educational expectation appears to be curvilinear. As Table 9 indicates, 56.7% of the high SES students, 41.0% of the middle SES students and 47.7% of the low SES students report definite university plans. Among East Indian females the association between SES and educational expectation seems to be linear and positive, since 53.4%, 34.7% and 31.0% of the high, middle and low subgroups respectively report definite university plans.

Again, it was hypothesized that educational expectation among Negro students varies with parental occupation, the children of higher SES parents tending to have higher levels of educational expectation

Table 9

Parental Occupation (SES) and Percentage ReportingDefinite Plans to Attend University,With Sex and Ethnicity Controlled

EAST INDIANS			
SEX	PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	High	Middle	Low
Males N	$\frac{56.9}{(97)}$	$\frac{41.0}{(105)}$	$\frac{47.7}{(111)}$
Females N	$\frac{53.4}{(118)}$	$\frac{34.7}{(98)}$	$\frac{31.1}{(71)}$
NEGROES			
Males N	$\frac{35.2}{(91)}$	$\frac{35.8}{(106)}$	$\frac{20.9}{(43)}$
Females N	$\frac{31.9}{(91)}$	$\frac{24.0}{(129)}$	$\frac{36.6}{(41)}$

Note: In the above and follow tables each "N" represents a specific subgroup of students as defined by the variables and categories in the respective tables. Only the percentages reporting definite university plans are entered. It would be necessary to include the percentage not reporting definite university plans to obtain 100.0% for each subgroup.

than those of lower SES parents. Somewhat surprisingly, however, the results for Negro males - presented in Table 9 - indicate that although the low SES students are the least likely to report high educational expectation there is little difference between high SES and middle SES students with regard to level of educational expectation. In the high SES subgroup 35.2%, in the middle SES subgroup 35.8%, and in the low SES subgroup 20.9% of the students say that they definitely plan to attend university. Among Negro

Among Negro females, interestingly enough, the relationship between SES and educational expectation tends to take the same curvilinear form that it does in the case of East Indian males. Thus, 31.9%, 24.0% and 36.6% of the high, middle and low SES subgroups respectively indicate that they have high educational expectation. As seen in Table 9, the largest percentage reporting high educational expectation among Negro females is found in the low SES subgroup.

In general, the findings regarding the association between parental occupation and students' educational expectation are highly interesting. The curvilinear relationship between these two variables among East Indian males and Negro females is quite different from the linear relationship typically reported by North American studies of the association between the two variables.

In Trinidad, low SES East Indian males, middle SES Negro males and low SES Negro females report unexpectedly high levels of educational expectation as compared with their counterparts of higher SES. The high levels of educational expectation in the former three



subgroups are perhaps due in part to such factors as deprivation with regard to income and social prestige,<sup>7</sup> the influence of reference groups, the increasing emphasis in the society on better educational and occupational opportunities for non-whites, and the peculiar nature of sex role expectations already discussed.

For example, low SES and middle SES groups are likely to have the lowest incomes and to be assigned the lowest prestige in Trinidad society. At the same time, in Trinidad and Tobago as in other developing societies the population is by and large characterized by rising expectations with regard to occupational opportunity, standard of living and other such concerns. This is likely to intensify the feeling of deprivation which middle SES and low SES members of the society probably experience.

However, East Indian and Negro youths attending the public secondary schools in Trinidad probably employ as reference groups those people who have achieved high status. For instance, these students are exposed daily to teachers from their own and other ethnic groups who have obtained university degrees and they are perhaps aware of other "successful" people in Government, the Civil Service and the higher professions. Furthermore, the new political elite in the society has increasingly attempted to eliminate the ascriptive element in occupational selection which existed in the colonial era and to place emphasis on greater opportunity for educational and occupational achievement by members of ethnic groups which have been relatively

underprivileged in the past with regard to such achievement.<sup>8</sup> In this type of situation East Indian and Negro students of lower SES are likely to attach considerable importance to education as a means of achieving upward social mobility.

It is probable, though, that in view of the variations in sex role expectation among East Indians and Negroes the different sex subgroups may not all react to perceived deprivation with the same degree of intensity. It seems possible that youths who expect or who think it may well be necessary for them to assume major responsibility for supporting their family will, in view of this added burden, feel stronger pressure than others to regard high educational achievement as important. Perhaps partly because of this factor, low SES East Indian males, middle SES Negro males and low SES Negro females tend to report levels of educational expectation which are surprisingly high as compared with those of their counterparts of high SES. Although middle SES East Indian males will in general also expect to have major responsibility for supporting their family they seem less inclined than low SES East Indian males to report definite university plans, perhaps because they tend not to experience as much deprivation as the latter. The majority of low SES East Indians are found in rural areas where they tend to be mostly general labourers, plantation workers or small farmers, usually with very low incomes and low social status.<sup>9</sup>

School Performance, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES)  
and Educational Expectation

School Performance and Educational Expectation

In this study, "School Performance" has been operationalized as number of passes in the General Certificate of Education examination which is taken by secondary school students at the end of their fifth form year. Students who passed in at least three subjects and who have consequently qualified for a certificate have been placed in the "High School Performance" category, while those passing two or fewer subjects, and therefore failing to obtain a certificate, have been placed in the "Low School Performance" category.

Consistently, a higher percentage of students with "high" school performance than of students with "low" school performance report definite plans for attending university. In the case of low SES Negro females, however, the difference though in the same direction is negligible. As Table 10 shows, 36.8% of the low SES Negro females with "high" school performance as compared with 36.4% of their counterparts with "low" school performance say that they definitely plan to attend university.

The positive relationship found in Trinidad between school performance and educational expectation, even with sex and parental occupation controlled, is consistent with that typically reported in North American studies.<sup>10</sup> However, the finding of an apparently negligible difference in level of educational expectation between

Table 10

Percentage Definitely Planning to Attend University by  
School Performance, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES)  
and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	MALES			FEMALES		
	Parental Occupation			Parental Occupation		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Performance	67.9	49.0	66.7	62.1	37.3	32.4
N	(53)	(51)	(45)	(87)	(59)	(34)
"Low" Performance	43.2	33.3	34.8	29.0	31.6	29.7
N	(44)	(54)	(66)	(31)	(38)	(37)
NEGROES						
"High" Performance	37.1	48.9	27.8	38.6	30.0	36.8
N	(35)	(45)	(18)	(57)	(60)	(19)
"Low" Performance	33.9	25.0	16.0	18.8	18.8	36.4
N	(55)	(60)	(25)	(32)	(69)	(22)

low SES Negro females with "high" school performance and their counterparts with "low" school performance is an interesting one. While the present data do not appear to shed light on the factors giving rise to this small difference, it might be suggested that the concern of low SES females with their possible future role as providers for their family as well as their perception of education as a means of enhancing their chances to marry at the higher SES level of the society overrides whatever consequences "low" school performance might normally have had for their level of educational expectation.

#### School Performance, Sex and Educational Expectation

The introduction of school performance as a control variable does not seem to alter previous findings regarding the relationship between sex and educational expectation among East Indians. As Table 11 shows, East Indian males tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than among females at each level of school performance and parental occupation.

Among Negroes, however, two interesting findings emerge. First, low SES females appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than their male counterparts whether or not they have enjoyed academic success at school. As Table 10 shows, among students with "high" school performance 36.8% of the females but only 27.8% of the males report having definite university plans, and among students with "low" school performance 36.4% of the females but only 16.0% of the

Table 11

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University  
by Sex, Parental Occupation (SES), School Performance  
and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS						
SEX	<u>"HIGH" SCHOOL</u> <u>PERFORMANCE</u>			<u>"LOW" SCHOOL</u> <u>PERFORMANCE</u>		
	<u>Parental Occupation</u>			<u>Parental Occupation</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Males	67.9	49.0	66.7	43.2	33.3	34.8
N	(53)	(51)	(45)	(44)	(54)	(66)
Females	62.1	37.3	32.4	29.0	31.6	29.7
N	(87)	(59)	(34)	(31)	(38)	(37)
NEGROES						
Males	37.1	48.9	27.8	33.9	25.0	16.0
N	(35)	(45)	(18)	(55)	(60)	(25)
Females	38.6	30.0	36.8	18.8	18.8	36.4
N	(57)	(60)	(19)	(32)	(69)	(22)

males report having such plans. Secondly, while it was previously observed that high SES and middle SES males tended to have higher educational expectations than their female counterparts an interesting variation seems to occur among the high SES Negroes when school performance is introduced as a control variable. Then, the sex-related difference in educational expectation in the high SES subgroup with "high" school performance tends to disappear. This suggests that for this subgroup at least school performance is a more important factor than sex in relation to students' level of educational expectation.

With regard to the first finding - that among low SES Negroes females report a high level of educational expectation than males at both levels of school performance - it might again be suggested that low SES Negro females are perhaps so concerned with both their possible role as major provider for their family and the importance of education in enhancing their chances of marrying at the high SES level that even when their school performance is "low" they are still more likely than their male counterparts to report definite university plans.

As observed above, another interesting finding with regard to sex-related differences in educational expectation is that among high SES students with "high" school performance, Negro females seem no less likely than Negro males to report definite plans to attend university. One reason for this phenomenon may be that sex roles are not as clearly differentiated among Negroes as they tend to be, for example, among lower SES East Indians. It is quite common for Negro females to continue their careers after marriage and thus to contribute to the support of their family. It appears that these high SES Negro

females, partly because of their academic success at secondary school,<sup>11</sup> may have formed a positive evaluation of their ability and consequently are quite identical to their male counterparts in reporting definite university plans. Conceivably, these females as well as males expect a good return on an investment in a university education.

#### School Performance, Parental Occupation (SES) and Educational Expectation

When level of school performance is treated as a control variable, the relationships between SES and educational expectation previously observed take on some interesting variations. The previously observed relationships appear to persist among students who are in the "high" school performance category but they tend to be modified among students in the low school performance category.

In the case of East Indian males, low SES students who are academically successful seem once more to have an unexpectedly high level of educational expectation as compared with high SES and middle SES students who have enjoyed similar academic success and the relationship between SES and educational expectation is again curvilinear. As can be seen in Table 11, 67.9% of the high SES males, 49.0% of the middle SES males, and 66.7% of the low SES males report having definite plans to attend university when they fall into the "high" school performance category. When East Indian males are in the subgroup with "low" school performance, however, low SES males do not seem to reveal an unusually high level of educational expectation as compared with East Indian males in the higher SES categories. Table 11 reveals that



among East Indian males in the "low" school performance subgroup 43.2% of the high SES, 33.3% of the middle SES, and 34.8% of the low SES students indicate that they definitely plan to attend university. The low SES students still have a high level of educational expectation as compared with the middle SES ones but the difference in level of educational expectation between these two groups is not as marked as it was among the students with "high" school performance. It seems that school performance is an especially crucial factor in relation to level of educational expectation among low SES East Indian males. These students apparently make realistic adjustments to their level of educational expectation when their school performance is low, perhaps partly because with their poorer academic performance they regard an investment in university education as a risky venture or perhaps regard admission to university as difficult to obtain.

As was found previously, among East Indian females, level of educational expectation tends to decline with SES of parents but only in the case of students with "high" school performance. Table 11 indicates that among students in the high school performance category 62.1% of the high SES, 37.3% of the middle SES and 32.4% of the low SES East Indian females report having definite plans to attend university. Among East Indian females in the "low" school performance subgroup, however, there is little difference among the SES categories with regard to level of educational expectation. As Table 10 shows, 29.0% of the high SES, 31.6% of the middle SES and 29.7% of the low SES students claim that they definitely plan to attend university. It seems that while

high SES East Indian females are prepared to entertain high educational expectation when they are academically successful, they are markedly less likely to do so when they are relatively unsuccessful at school, perhaps partly because their past school performance makes them regard their chances of doing well at university as poor, and partly because they are not normally expected to support their family as adults.

Among Negro males with "high" school performance the relationship between SES and educational expectation seems curvilinear, with the largest percentage of students who report definite university plans falling in the middle SES subgroup. The data in Table 11 reveal that 37.1% of the high SES, 48.9% of the middle SES and 27.8% of the low SES students with "high" school performance report having definite university plans. In the case of Negro males with "low" school performance, however, middle SES youths do not report the relatively high level of educational expectation apparent among their counterparts with high school performance. Like the low SES East Indian males, they seem to make fairly realistic adjustments to their level of educational expectation in the light of their degree of academic success. The result is that the relationship between SES and educational expectation among the Negro males with "low" school performance tends to be linear and positive. As Table 11 shows, 33.9% of the high SES, 25.0% of the middle SES and 16.0% of the low SES Negro males with "low" school performance report definite university plans.

In the subgroup comprised of Negro females with "high" school performance, the curvilinear relationship between SES and

educational expectation previously observed among Negro females again seems evident. Table 11 shows that among Negro females in the "high" school performance category 38.6% of the high SES, 30.0% of the middle SES and 36.8% of the low SES students indicate having definite plans to attend university. Among Negro females with "low" school performance, however, the relationship between SES and educational expectation seems to take a different form. As Table 11 reveals, 18.8% of the middle SES and 36.4% of the low SES Negro females with "low" school performance say that they definitely plan to attend university.

High SES Negro females in the subgroup with "low" school performance, like their East Indian counterparts, seem to reveal a considerably lowered level of educational expectation as compared with similar females having high school performance. This may be due in part to their estimation of their ability to succeed at university and to the lack of social pressures on them to support a family in the course of adult life. However, low SES Negro females with "low" school performance continue to report a comparatively high level of educational expectation. This might again indicate their strong interest in preparing for a possible role as providers for their family and in employing education as a means of material betterment as well as of enhancing their chances to marry at the high SES level where legally recognized marriage is the norm.

Parental Encouragement, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES), School Performance  
and Educational Expectation

Parental Encouragement and Educational Expectation

An examination of the relationship between parental encouragement to attend university and educational expectation with sex, parental occupation and school performance and ethnicity controlled is attempted, but because of the relatively small numbers of cases on which some of the percentages in Table 12 are based, all conclusions drawn from the data in the table must be regarded as tentative.

The relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation appears by and large to be positive. Table 12 shows that among East Indians or both sexes, both levels of school performance and all levels of SES students who perceive "high" parental encouragement tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than students who perceive "low" parental encouragement. In the case of Negroes, the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation also tends to be positive. One exception seems to occur among low SES-Negro females with high school performance. As can be seen from Table 12, 14.3% of the students in this subgroup who perceive "high" parental encouragement as compared with 50.0% of the students in the same subgroup who do not perceive such encouragement report definitely planning to attend university.

The finding of the present investigation that parental encouragement generally has a positive relationship with educational

Table 12

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University  
by Parental Encouragement, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES),  
School Performance and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS						
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Encouragement N	76.5 (34)	71.0 (31)	86.4 (22)	71.0 (62)	63.3 (30)	63.6 (11)
"Low" Encouragement N	52.6 (19)	15.0 (20)	47.8 (23)	40.0 (25)	10.0 (30)	17.4 (23)
	"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Encouragement N	70.8 (24)	47.4 (19)	60.9 (23)	52.9 (17)	52.6 (19)	50.0 (20)
"Low" Encouragement N	10.0 (20)	25.7 (35)	20.9 (43)	0.0 (14)	10.5 (19)	5.9 (17)
NEGROES						
	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Encouragement N	46.7 (15)	80.0 (15)	33.3 (6)	55.6 (27)	53.3 (15)	14.3 (7)
"Low" Encouragement N	30.0 (20)	36.7 (30)	25.0 (12)	22.6 (31)	20.5 (44)	50.0 (12)
	"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Encouragement N	56.5 (23)	50.0 (14)	22.2 (9)	25.0 (12)	33.3 (24)	44.4 (9)
"Low" Encouragement N	18.2 (33)	17.4 (46)	12.5 (16)	15.0 (20)	11.1 (45)	30.8 (13)

expectation is in agreement with that of many North American studies.<sup>12</sup>

In view of the cohesiveness typical of the East Indian family it is perhaps not surprising that East Indian parents are crucial significant others for their children and that the standards of achievement they are perceived to hold for their children are consistently related to the level of educational expectation of the youths.

The strong tendency for parental encouragement to be positively related to educational expectation among Negroes is also not surprising. Although as suggested in Chapter II the Negro family appears on the whole to be less cohesive than the East Indian, Negro parents nevertheless seem to be highly important significant others for their children. This is perhaps to be expected since high SES and middle SES Negroes have generally adopted the norms of the dominant culture regarding mating relationships, with the result that the family in these SES subgroups tends to constitute fairly strong social units. Even among low SES Negroes, there are links between parents and their children. For example, the female may continue living with her parents even while she has regular sexual relationships with and even bears children for a non-resident male. For this reason, low SES females are often greatly dependent upon their parents. Again, when young males begin working they frequently give money to their parents.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the youths in the present sample will tend to have fairly close links with their parents since they are likely to be dependent upon the latter for support while attending secondary school.

The finding that the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is positive among low SES Negro males but negative among low SES Negro females may perhaps be attributed to a greater tendency for females to reject as a preferred way of life the family context in which they were brought up. Thus, such females have a stronger desire to move out of this family context by being more unlike their mothers.

It was hypothesized that the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger among East Indians than among Negroes. The present data appear to provide a fair amount of evidence in support of the hypothesis. First, "high" parental encouragement tends to be associated with a higher level of educational expectation among East Indians than among Negroes. Secondly, "low" parental encouragement seems frequently to be associated with a lower level of educational expectation among East Indians than among Negroes. Thirdly, the change in percentage reporting definite plans to attend university appears in many subgroups to be greater among East Indians than among Negroes when the level of educational expectation of students with "high" parental encouragement is compared with that of students with "low" parental encouragement.

Generally, when East Indian and Negro students perceive "high" parental encouragement East Indians tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than Negroes. This is clearly seen in the percentages under "High Parental Encouragement" in Table 13. Two

exceptions to the dominant trend apparently occur, both among middle SES males. In the subgroup of middle SES males with "high school performance and "high" parental encouragement, a larger percentage of Negroes (80.0%) than of East Indians (71.0%) report having definite university plans. This reversal of the dominant direction of the ethnic difference may be due in part to the tendency, already discussed, for middle SES Negro males with "high" school performance to report an unexpectedly high level of educational expectation. Among middle SES males with "low" school performance and "high" parental encouragement, there is only a small difference between East Indians and Negroes. With regard to level of educational expectation, 47.4% of the East Indians and 50.0% of the Negroes reporting definite university plans.

Apart from these two exceptions, East Indians perceiving "high" parental encouragement are more likely than Negroes perceiving similar encouragement to report definite university plans. As Table 13 shows, the differences in level of educational expectations between these two ethnic groups range from 5.6% to 53.1%.

Additional evidence of the greater importance of parental encouragement among East Indians than among Negroes comes from an examination of the effects of "low" parental encouragement on the level of educational expectation of members of these two ethnic groups. In a number of subgroups, East Indians appear to be influenced more unfavourably than Negroes by "low" parental encouragement in the sense that they report a lower level of educational expectation than Negroes when both ethnic groups perceive "low" parental encouragement.



Table 13

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University:  
Ethnic Differences at Each Level of Parental Encouragement

"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT						
ETHNICITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
East Indians N	76.5* (34)	71.0 (31)	86.4* (22)	71.0* (62)	63.3* (30)	63.6* (11)
Negroes N	46.7 (15)	80.0 (15)	33.3 (6)	55.6 (27)	53.3 (15)	14.3 (7)
Difference Between %	29.8	-9.0	53.1	16.4	10.0	49.3
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
East Indians N	70.8* (24)	47.4 (19)	60.9* (23)	52.9* (17)	52.6* (19)	50.0* (20)
Negroes N	56.5 (23)	50.0 (14)	22.2 (9)	25.0 (12)	33.3 (24)	44.4 (9)
Difference Between %	14.3	-2.6	38.7	27.9	19.3	5.6

\*Percentage is greater among East Indians.

continued

Table 13 Continued

ETHNICITY	"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT					
	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
East Indians N	52.6 (19)	15.0* (20)	47.8 (23)	40.0 (25)	10.0 (30)	17.4* (23)
Negroes N	30.0 (20)	36.7 (30)	25.0 (12)	22.6 (31)	20.5 (44)	50.0 (12)
Difference Between %	22.6	-21.7	22.8	17.4	-10.5	-32.6
	"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	H	M	L	H	M	L
East Indians N	10.0* (20)	25.7 (35)	20.9 (43)	0.0* (14)	10.5* (19)	5.9* (17)
Negroes N	18.2 (33)	17.4 (46)	12.5 (16)	15.0 (20)	11.1 (45)	30.8 (13)
Difference Between %	-8.2	8.3	8.4	-15.0	-0.6	-24.9

\*Percentage if lower among East Indians.

As the percentage distributions under "Low Parental Encouragement" in Table 13 indicate, these subgroups are the middle SES males, middle SES females and low SES females with "high" school performance on the one hand and the high SES males, high SES females and low SES females with "low" school performance on the other. In these subgroups, the differences in level of educational expectation between East Indians and Negroes range from 8.2% to 32.6%. In one other subgroup - middle SES females with "low" school performance - the difference between the two ethnic groups though in the same direction as in the subgroups mentioned above is negligible.

In the remaining five subgroups under "Low Parental Encouragement" in Table 13, East Indians appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than Negroes despite "low" perceived parental encouragement. Three of these subgroups are found among students with "high" school performance and are comprised of high-SES males, low-SES males and high-SES females. It was shown previously that East Indians in these subgroups tend to report relatively high levels of educational expectation and this tendency probably accounts in large measure for the finding that they are more likely than Negroes in corresponding subgroups to report high educational expectation. The two other subgroups in which East Indians appear to have superiority over Negroes with regard to level of educational expectation are the middle SES and low SES males with "low" school performance.

Some additional evidence of the stronger relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation among East Indians than among Negroes can be obtained from a comparison of level of educational expectation when students perceive "high" parental encouragement with level of educational expectation when they perceive "low" parental encouragement. It can be seen from Table 14 that when such a comparison is made the difference in level of educational expectation between students with "high" parental encouragement and those with "low" parental encouragement is greater among East Indians than among Negroes in eleven out of twelve subgroups. Only in one instance - in the subgroup of middle SES males with "low" school performance - is the difference in level of educational expectation greater among Negroes than among East Indians.

The analysis of the data, therefore, provides a fair amount of evidence that parental encouragement tends to be a more important variable among East Indians than among Negroes in relation to level of educational expectation. It indicates that when perceived parental encouragement is "high" East Indians tend to report a higher level of educational expectation than Negroes, while conversely when perceived parental encouragement is "low" East Indians often report a lower level of educational expectation than Negroes. Furthermore, when the level of educational expectation of students perceiving "high" parental encouragement is compared with that of students perceiving "low" parental encouragement it is found that the difference in percentage with

Table 14

Ethnic Comparisons of Differences in Level of Educational  
Expectation (Percentage Reporting Definite University  
Plans) Between Students with High Parental Encouragement  
And Students With "Low" Parental Encouragement


<u>"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE</u>						
<u>MALES</u>			<u>FEMALES</u>			
<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>			<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>			
<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	
East Indians	23.9*	56.0*	38.6*	31.0*	53.3*	46.2*
Negroes	16.7	43.3	8.3	23.0	32.8	35.7
<u>"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE</u>						
East Indians	60.8*	21.7	40.0*	52.9*	42.1*	44.1*
Negroes	38.3	32.6	9.7	10.0	22.2	13.6

\*The difference in level of educational expectation between students with high parental encouragement and those with low parental encouragement is greater among East Indians than among Negroes.

high educational expectation tends to be greater among East Indians than among Negroes.

It appears that the observed ethnic difference in the strength of the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation can be attributed to some extent to differences in the family structure of East Indians and Negroes discussed earlier. It was indicated in Chapter II that East Indians tend to be strongly oriented to the family and to be kept closely attached to the family unit. Consequently, East Indian youths are by and large strongly integrated into their family. One result of this phenomenon appears to be a marked responsiveness on the part of such youths to the standards of achievement set by their parents.

Among Negroes, however, the family seems to be less cohesive. Obligations to and controls by the family appear to be fewer than in the case of the East Indians, with the result that there is less to integrate the Negro youth into his family. The weaker integration of Negro youths into their families apparently leads to a reduced level of responsiveness to and dependence upon the standards of achievement set by parents. Consequently, parental encouragement makes a greater difference among East Indians than among Negroes with regard to level of educational expectation.



### Parental Encouragement, Sex and Educational Expectation

It was indicated earlier that a higher percentage of East Indian males than of East Indian females tended to report high educational expectation. From Table 15 it seems that although this continues to be the dominant trend when parental encouragement is employed as a control variable, this relationship between sex and educational expectation does not necessarily hold in all situations. Among middle SES East Indians with "low" school performance but "high" perceived parental encouragement females appear to be slightly more likely than males to report definite university plans, 52.6% of the females but 47.4% of the males indicating that they have such plans.

It is difficult to explain this exception to the general finding regarding sex-related differences in level of educational expectation among East Indians. Perhaps these East Indian females of middle SES - since they tend to be more sheltered and protected than their male counterparts<sup>15</sup> - are more influenced than the males by the standards of achievement set by parents. Consequently, when they perceive their parents as strongly encouraging high educational expectation they tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than the males. However, the question of why such a phenomenon should occur only among middle SES East Indians seems to require further investigation.

In the case of Negroes, the introduction of parental encouragement as a control variable does not appear to result in any substantial

Table 15

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University  
by Sex, Parental Occupation (SES), School Performance  
Parental Encouragement and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS									
"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE									
SEX	<u>"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>						<u>"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>		
	<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>						<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>				<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Males	75.5	71.0	86.4				52.6	15.0	47.7
N	(34)	(31)	(22)				(19)	(20)	(23)
Females	71.0	63.3	63.6				40.0	10.0	17.4
N	(62)	(30)	(11)				(25)	(30)	(23)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE									
Males	70.8	47.4	60.9				10.0	25.7	20.9
N	(24)	(19)	(23)				(20)	(35)	(43)
Females	52.9	52.6	50.0				0.0	10.5	5.9
N	(17)	(19)	(20)				(14)	(19)	(17)

... continued




Table 15 Continued

NEGROES						
"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
SEX	<u>"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>			<u>"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>		
	<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>			<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Males N	46.7 (15)	80.8 (15)	33.3 (6)	30.0 (20)	36.7 (30)	25.0 (12)
Females N	55.6 (27)	53.3 (15)	14.3 (7)	22.6 (31)	20.5 (44)	50.0 (12)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
Males N	56.5 (23)	50.0 (14)	22.2 (9)	18.2 (33)	17.4 (46)	12.5 (16)
Females N	25.0 (12)	33.3 (24)	44.4 (9)	15.0 (20)	11.1 (45)	30.8 (13)

modification of the direction of the sex-related differences in level of educational expectation found earlier in this ethnic group. As can be seen in Table 15, high SES and middle SES males tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than their female counterparts.

One exception to this overall tendency seems to occur among high SES Negroes with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement. In this subgroup, the females appear more likely to have high educational expectation than the males, 55.6% of the former but 46.7% of the latter reporting definite plans to attend university.

It was noted previously that high SES Negro females with "high" school performance were virtually as likely as their male counterparts to report definite university plans. However, when in addition to having "high" school performance these high SES Negro females perceive their parents as supporting high educational expectation they seem to have an even higher level of educational expectation than corresponding males. On the other hand, when high SES Negro females with "high" school performance perceive "low" parental encouragement, they tend to have a lower level of educational expectation than corresponding males, 22.6% of the females but 30.0% of the males reporting definite university plans. This seems to suggest that the higher level of educational expectation among high SES females than among high SES males is due more to perceived parental encouragement than to school performance. This in turn seems to indicate once more that the fairly strong cohesiveness of the high SES Negro family may help to make high SES Negro parents very important significant others for their children.<sup>16</sup>



Among low SES Negroes, an interesting deviation occurs from previous findings regarding sex-related differences in level of educational expectation. While it was previously observed that among low SES Negroes females tended to report a higher level of educational expectation than males, it can be seen from Table 15 that when low SES males with "high" school performance perceive "high" parental encouragement they appear more likely than their female counterparts to report definite plans for attending university, 33.3% of the males but 14.3% of the females indicating that they have such plans.<sup>17</sup> Among low SES Negroes, in other words, the advantage normally held by females with regard to level of educational expectation seems to disappear when low SES males have "high" school performance and also believe that their parents encourage high educational achievement. Perhaps under such conditions the low SES Negro males are more confident than usual of achieving upward social mobility and hence develop higher educational expectations.

Parental Encouragement, Parental Occupation (SES) and Educational Expectation

When parental encouragement is treated as a control variable, there appear to be some interesting deviations from previously observed relationships between SES and educational expectation. It must be noted, however, that in view of the small numbers of cases in various subgroups all conclusions must be treated as highly tentative.

When parental encouragement is employed as a control variable, two deviations occur from the previous finding that among

East Indian males there is a curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation only in the case of students with "high" school performance. First, a curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation similar to that noted before among East Indian males with "high" school performance also seems to occur among East Indian males with "low" school performance but "high" perceived parental encouragement. As Table 15 shows, 70.8% of the high SES, 47.4% of the middle SES, and 60.9% of the low SES students report definite plans to attend university when they have "low" school performance but "high" parental encouragement. Secondly, another curvilinear relationship - in which middle SES students appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than the students in the other SES subgroups - apparently occurs among East Indian males with "low" school performance and "low" parental encouragement. In this subgroup, 10.0% of the high SES, 25.7% of the middle SES and 20.9% of the low SES students indicate that they definitely plan to attend University.

It would appear that both parental encouragement and school performance play an important role in mediating the relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian males. When students fall into the "high" category of one or both of the variables parental encouragement and school performance, the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation noted earlier appears to persist. However, when students are "low" in both parental encouragement and school performance, this relationship takes another

form: it is again curvilinear, but the middle SES students seem to have a higher level of educational expectation than those of the other two SES subgroups.

Among the East Indian males with "low" school performance and "low" parental encouragement, the relatively low level of educational expectation of the high SES students as compared with that of corresponding middle SES ones might be due in part to the availability to the former of alternative channels of upward mobility, for example through commerce, through inheritance and through white-collar occupations which do not require a university education.<sup>18</sup> The comparatively low level of educational expectation of the low SES males as compared with similar middle SES students might be due to some extent to the stronger integration of the low SES youths into their family,<sup>19</sup> and consequently to their greater dependence upon the standards of achievement parents are perceived to support.

While, as noted above, parental encouragement and school performance both seem to mediate the relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian males there appears to be some evidence in the data that "high" parental encouragement is associated with a higher level of educational expectation than "high" school performance. As can be seen from Table 15, when parental encouragement is "high" and school performance is "low", 70.8% of the high SES, 47.4% of the middle SES and 60.9% of the low SES East Indian males indicate having definite university plans. When parental encouragement is "low" and school performance is "high", however, only

52.6% of the high SES, 15.0% of the middle SES and 47.8% of the low SES East Indian males report definite plans to attend university.

It might also be noted that while it appeared from Table 10 that low SES East Indian males with "high" school performance were as likely as high SES East Indian males with similar school performance to report definite university plans, it can be seen from Table 15 that when low SES East Indian males are "high" in both parental encouragement and school performance they appear to have an even higher level of educational expectation than their high SES counterparts. Table 15 shows that in the subgroup of East Indian males with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement 76.5% of the high SES, 71.0% of the middle SES and 86.4% of the low SES students claim that they definitely plan to attend university. This finding indicates the crucial role played by parental encouragement among low SES East Indian males.

In the case of East Indian females, the result regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation differ somewhat from those reported previously. Among East Indian females with "high" school performance, the high SES students again tend to report a superior level of educational expectation than the other students. However, low SES students seem at least as likely as middle SES ones to report high educational expectation. As can be seen from Table 15, when East Indian females with "high" school performance are in the "High Parental Encouragement" category 71.0% of the high SES, 63.3% of the middle SES and 63.6% of the low SES students report having

definite university plans.<sup>20</sup> The high cohesiveness typical of the East Indian family appears to make East Indian parents extremely important significant others for their children. As a result, it seems, even low SES East Indian females show a relatively strong tendency to report definite university plans when they perceive their parents as supporting high educational achievement, provided these females have enjoyed academic success at secondary school.

Among East Indian females who have "high" school performance but "low" parental encouragement, low SES students appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than the middle SES ones. As Table 15 reveals, 40.0% of the high SES, 10.0% of the middle SES and 17.4% of the low SES students report definite university plans when they are "high" in school performance but "low" in parental encouragement. It is possible that while such factors as a positive evaluation of their own academic ability because of their success at school, a perception of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago as being increasingly open and a belief that upward mobility through education is possible may induce both middle SES and low SES East Indian females to emphasize education as a means of upward social mobility, such an emphasis is perhaps greater among the low SES females because of the greater deprivation they tend to experience economically as well as in terms of social prestige.

The finding reported earlier with regard to the relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian females with

"low" school performance appears to hold among these females even when in addition they perceive "high" parental encouragement. In the latter case, students of the three SES categories again seem to have a fairly similar level of educational expectation. Table 15 indicates that 52.9%, 52.6% and 50.0% of the high SES, middle SES and low SES subgroups respectively report definite university plans. These results differ somewhat from those for East Indian females with both "low" parental encouragement and "low" school performance. Here a curvilinear relationship seems to exist between SES and educational expectation. As can be seen from Table 15, 0.0% of the high SES, 10.5% of the middle SES and 5.9% of the low SES students with "low" parental encouragement and "low" school performance indicate that they have definite university plans.<sup>21</sup>

It appears that when high SES East Indian females with "low" school performance perceive "high" parental encouragement they are as likely as their middle SES and low SES counterparts to report definite university plans. However, when such high SES females perceive "low" parental encouragement they seem less likely than their middle SES and low SES counterparts to report high educational expectation. One reason for this might be that they expect to maintain their high SES through marriage, since in the East Indian "subculture" parents tend even at the high SES level to participate in or actually undertake the selection of mates for their children, and usually attempt to secure a "good match" for their sons and daughters.



Turning now to the other part of the sample of students, the introduction of parental encouragement as a control variable does not appear to alter earlier results regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation among Negro males. It was observed previously that among Negro males with "high" school performance there appeared to be a curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation with middle SES students having a higher level of educational expectation than the others, while among Negro males with "low" school performance there was a positive linear relationship between SES and educational expectation. These relationships appear to hold whether or not Negro males perceive high parental encouragement. As Table 15 shows, among Negro males with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement 46.7% of the high SES, 80.0% of the middle SES and 33.3% of the low SES students report having definite university plans while among similar Negro males who do not perceive "high" parental encouragement 30.0% of the high SES, 36.7% of the middle SES and 25.0% of the low SES students report having definite university plans. Again, in the subgroup of Negro males with "low" school performance and "high" parental encouragement 56.5%, 50.0% and 22.2% of the high, middle, and low SES students respectively report high educational expectation, while in the subgroup of Negro males with "low" school performance and "low" parental encouragement 18.2%, 17.4% and 12.5% of the high, middle and low SES students respectively report definite university plans.

It was also found earlier that among Negro females with "high" school performance the relationship between SES and educational expectation seemed to be curvilinear. It was noted, too, that among Negro females with "low" school performance there appeared to be little difference between high SES and middle SES students with regard to level of educational expectation but low SES students reported a higher level of educational expectation than the others. Some modification of these results seems to occur when parental encouragement is treated as a control variable.

For example, the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation among Negro females with "high" school performance is no longer evident. High SES and middle SES Negro females with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement appear to have roughly the same level of educational expectation, but their low SES counterparts report a much lower level of educational expectation. As can be seen from Table 15, 55.6% of the high SES, 53.3% of the middle SES and 14.3% of the low SES students report definite university plans. Apparently, when middle SES Negro females with "high" school performance perceive "high" parental encouragement, they tend to have roughly the same level of educational expectation as corresponding high SES Negro females.<sup>22</sup>

In the subgroup of Negro females with "high" school performance and "low" perceived parental encouragement, high SES and middle SES Negro females again report a fairly similar level of educational expectation, but similar students of low SES seem to have

a much higher level of educational expectation. As Table 15 indicates, 22.6% of the high SES, 20.5% of the middle SES and 50.0% of the low SES students say they definitely plan to attend university. While the relatively high level of educational expectation among the low SES students in this subgroup may be explained by such factors as perceived deprivation and sex role expectations on the part of low SES Negro females, it is difficult to explain the comparatively low percentage (14.3%) reporting definite university plans among equally successful low SES Negro females who perceive "high" parental encouragement. Further research seems to be necessary to shed light on the factors giving rise to this relatively low percentage with high educational expectation.<sup>23</sup>

Turning now to Negro females with "low" school performance, it can be observed that the tendency noted earlier for low SES students to report a higher level of educational expectation than corresponding high SES and middle SES students is still evident whether or not they perceive "high" parental encouragement. It can be seen from Table 15 that among Negro females with "low" school performance and "high" parental encouragement 25.0% of the high SES, 33.3% of the middle SES and 44.4% of the low SES students indicate that they definitely plan to attend university, while among similar Negro females with "low" parental encouragement, 15.0% of the high SES, 11.1% of the middle SES and 30.0% of the low SES students report having high educational expectation.

The relationships noted above between SES and educational expectation among Negro females with "low" school performance are highly interesting. When these students perceive "high" parental encouragement the association between SES and educational expectation seems to be linear and negative. The high SES Negro females report a relatively low level of educational expectation, perhaps partly because they do not anticipate being obliged to support their family and because they expect to maintain their high SES through marriage. When on the other hand Negro females with "low" school performance perceive "low" parental encouragement the relationship between SES and educational expectation appears to be somewhat curvilinear, 15.0% of the high SES, 11.1% of the middle SES and 30.8% of the low SES students claiming that they have definite university plans. In this case, the apparently low level of educational expectation among the middle SES females as compared with those of the two other SES subgroups might arise to some extent because of two factors. First, they are less likely than high SES females to have the financial resources needed to support themselves through university. Secondly, they are perhaps less likely than low SES females to feel a need to prepare themselves for the role of providers for their family. Consequently, when they do not perceive their parents as encouraging a university education they tend to show a relatively low interest in such an education.

Parental Encouragement, School Performance and Educational Expectation

With very few exceptions, previously noted results regarding the relationship between school performance and educational expectation appear to hold when parental encouragement is treated as a control variable. As Table 16 reveals, students with "high" school performance tend to report a higher level of educational expectation than students with "low" school performance. However, exceptions to the general trend seem to occur in two East Indian subgroups and two Negro subgroups.

It can be seen, from Table 16 that among middle SES East Indian males perceiving "low" parental encouragement, 15.0% of those with "high" school performance but 25.7% of those with "low" school performance report definite university plans, while among middle SES East Indian females with "low" parental encouragement 10.0% of those with "high" school performance but 10.5% of those with "low" school performance report high educational expectation.<sup>24</sup> In the Negro group 46.7% of the high SES males with "high" parental encouragement and "high" school performance, but 56.5% of their counterparts with "low" school performance report definite university plans. Also, 14.3% of the low SES females with "high" parental encouragement and "high" school performance report high educational expectation as compared with 44.4% of their counterparts with "low" school performance.

It is extremely difficult to explain these deviations from the overall finding. No clear explanation seems apparent for the exceptions evident among the middle SES East Indians. With regard to

Table 16

School Performance by Educational Expectation (Percentage  
Reporting Definite University Plans) With Sex, Parental  
Occupation (SES), Parental Encouragement and Ethnicity  
Controlled

EAST INDIANS						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" N	76.5 (34)	71.0 (31)	86.4 (22)	71.0 (62)	63.3 (30)	63.6 (11)
"Low" N	70.8 (24)	47.4 (19)	60.9 (23)	52.9 (17)	52.6 (19)	50.0 (20)
"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT						
"High" N	52.6 (19)	15.0 (20)	47.8 (23)	40.0 (25)	10.0 (30)	17.4 (23)
"Low" N	10.0 (20)	25.7 (35)	20.9 (43)	0.0 (14)	10.5 (19)	5.9 (17)

... continued

Table 16 Continued

NEGROES						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" N	46.7 (15)	80.0 (15)	33.3 (6)	55.6 (27)	53.3 (15)	14.3 (7)
"Low" N	56.5 (23)	50.0 (14)	22.2 (9)	25.0 (12)	33.3 (24)	44.4 (9)
"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT						
"High" N	30.0 (20)	36.7 (30)	25.0 (12)	22.6 (31)	20.5 (44)	50.0 (12)
"Low" N	18.2 (33)	17.4 (45)	12.5 (16)	15.0 (20)	11.1 (45)	30.8 (13)

the deviations among the Negroes, one might suggest a partial explanation. Perhaps high SES Negro males and low SES Negro females are so concerned about their sex role obligations that when they perceive strong parental support for university education their level of educational expectation is not unfavourably affected by "low" school performance. However, further research seems to be necessary before an explanation of these exceptions can be suggested.

Parental Encouragement, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES), School Performance and Educational Expectation: A Summary of Findings

On the whole parental encouragement appears to have a positive relationship with educational expectation among both East Indians and Negroes. It was also found that, as hypothesized, the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation tends to be stronger among East Indians than among Negroes.

The introduction of parental encouragement as a control variable does not appear to modify substantially the earlier findings regarding sex-related differences in educational expectation. Among East Indians, males tend to have higher educational expectations than females regardless of level of perceived parental encouragement. Among high SES and middle SES Negroes, a higher percentage of males than of females report having definite university plans though the direction of the sex-related difference is reversed in the case of high SES Negroes with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement. Among low SES Negroes, females tend to have higher



educational expectation than males but this sex-related difference is reversed among those low SES Negroes who have "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement.

When parental encouragement is controlled, the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation - in which middle SES students have a lower level of educational expectation than their high SES or low SES counterparts - persists among East Indian males with "high" school performance or with "low" school performance and "high" parental encouragement. Among East Indian females, the relationship between SES and educational expectation is more varied. In the case of East Indian females with "high" school performance, high SES students tend to have higher educational expectation than middle SES and low SES ones regardless of level of parental encouragement. When parental encouragement and school performance are both "high" there seems to be no difference between middle SES and low SES East Indian females in terms of level of educational expectation, but when parental encouragement is "low" and school performance is "high" the low SES females seem to have a higher level of educational expectation than the middle SES ones. When school performance is "low" but parental encouragement is "high", there seems to be little difference among the three East Indian female SES sub-groups regarding level of educational expectation. When both parental encouragement and school performance are "low", the middle SES student appear to have higher educational expectation than the high SES and low SES ones.

Regardless of level of parental encouragement, middle SES Negro males with "high" school performance tend to have higher educational expectation than high SES or low SES counterparts. However, when Negro males have "low" school performance the relationship between SES and educational expectation is linear and positive regardless of level of parental encouragement. With regard to Negro females, there are variations in the relationship between SES and educational expectation. When school performance and parental encouragement are both "high" there seems to be little difference between high SES and middle SES Negro females in terms of level of educational expectation, but their low SES counterparts have a much lower level of educational expectation. When school performance is "high" but parental encouragement is "low", there is again little difference between high SES and middle SES Negro females regarding level of educational expectation but their low SES counterparts appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than they do. When school performance is "low", the low SES Negro females again tend to have higher educational expectation than their high SES or middle SES ones regardless of level of parental encouragement.

By and large, school performance has a positive relationship with educational expectation among both East Indians and Negroes, with parental encouragement controlled.

Friends' Educational Plans, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES)  
School Performance and Educational Expectation

Friends' Educational Plans and Subjects' Educational Expectation

In all SES subgroups friends' educational plans tend to be positively related to subjects' educational expectation among both East Indians and Negroes, among students of both sexes and at both levels of school performance. Although the findings of the present study regarding the relationship between friends' educational plans and educational expectation are consistent with the typical conclusion of North American research<sup>25</sup> and in general support the hypothesis advanced, an exception to the overall trend apparently occurs among middle SES East Indian females with "high" school performance. It can be seen from Table 17 that in this subgroup only 32.3% of the subjects who have friends with plans to attend university as compared with 41.4% of the subjects who have friends without plans to attend university indicate that they themselves definitely plan to attend university.

In view of the evidence presented in Chapter II concerning the socialization of Negroes to emphasize social relationships outside the family, it is perhaps not surprising to find that the level of educational expectation of Negroes is positively related to that of peers. Negroes are likely to be fairly strongly oriented toward their peers and friends will therefore tend to be highly important significant others for them, the result being that the standards of expectation held by friends may serve as important influences on Negro youths.

Table 17

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University  
by Friends' Educational Plans, Sex, Parental Occupation  
(SES), School Performance and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS						
FRIENDS "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
Yes N	70.3 (37)	54.3 (35)	74.1 (27)	65.0 (60)	32.3 (31)	36.8 (19)
No N	62.5 (16)	37.5 (16)	55.6 (18)	55.6 (27)	41.4 (29)	26.7 (15)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
Yes N	46.7 (30)	37.0 (27)	52.2 (23)	31.3 (16)	50.0 (14)	33.3 (12)
No N	30.8 (13)	29.6 (27)	26.2 (42)	26.7 (15)	17.4 (23)	28.0 (25)

... continued

Table 17 Continued

NEGROES						
FRIENDS "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Yes	42.1	60.9	42.9	63.0	40.7	70.0
N	(19)	(23)	(7)	(27)	(27)	(10)
No	31.3	39.1	18.2	18.8	21.2	0.0
N	(16)	(23)	(11)	(32)	(33)	(9)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
Yes	35.3	31.3	20.0	30.8	22.7	57.1
N	(17)	(16)	(5)	(13)	(22)	(7)
No	33.3	22.7	15.0	10.5	17.0	26.7
N	(39)	(44)	(20)	(19)	(47)	(15)

It is interesting to observe, however, that in spite of the tendency of East Indians to be strongly integrated into their family their level of educational expectation is nevertheless positively associated with friends' educational plans. One reason for this might be a tendency for East Indian youths to become more strongly oriented toward their peers as they progress through secondary school. There is evidence that as students in the U.S.A. go through secondary school the peer group seems to become an increasingly important source of influence upon them, with the result that the relationship between their educational plans and those of their friends tends to increase in strength.<sup>26</sup> A similar phenomenon probably occurs among the East Indian students in Trinidad, the selective nature of the schools contributing to it.

The one exception to the overall finding which occurs among middle SES East Indian females with "high" school performance seems difficult to explain. Further research appears necessary in order to determine whether or not this relationship is indeed a significant one and if it is what might be the factor(s) giving rise to such a relationship.

It was also hypothesized that the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is stronger among Negroes than among East Indians. The data appear to provide some though not consistent support for the hypothesis.

First, there appears to be very little evidence that Negroes whose friends report definite university plans have a higher level of

educational expectation than East Indians whose friends also do. It can be seen from Table 18 that when friends have high educational expectation only in four subgroups does a larger percentage of Negroes than of East Indians report having definite university plans. These are the subgroups consisting of (a) middle SES males with "high" school performance, (b) middle SES females with "high" school performance, (c) low SES females with "high" school performance and (d) low SES females with "low" school performance. The ethnic difference in level of educational expectation in these subgroups ranges from 6.6% to 33.2%. In two other subgroups - high SES females with "high" school performance and middle SES females with "low" school performance - Negroes and East Indians whose friends report definite university plans differ little from each other with regard to level of educational expectation. In the remaining six subgroups comprised of students whose friends report definite university plans, East Indians tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than Negroes. Thus, in eight of the twelve subgroups in which friends report definite university plans East Indians reveal levels of educational expectation that are as high as, or higher than, those of corresponding Negroes.

Secondly, when friends do not report definite university plans there is a moderately strong tendency for Negroes to reveal a lower level of educational expectation than corresponding East Indians. As Table 18 shows, in seven of the twelve subgroups of students whose friends do not report definite university plans, Negroes seem to have a markedly lower level of educational expectation than

Table 18

Percentage Reporting Definite Plans to Attend University: Ethnic  
Comparisons at Each Level of Friends' Educational Plans

FRIENDS REPORTING DEFINITE UNIVERSITY PLANS

ETHNICITY

"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
East Indians N	70.3 (37)	54.3 (35)	74.1 (27)	65.0 (60)	32.3 (31)	36.8 (19)
Negroes N	42.1 (19)	60.9* (23)	42.9 (7)	63.0? (27)	40.7* (27)	70.0* (10)

"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

East Indians N	46.7 (30)	37.0 (27)	52.2 (23)	31.3 (16)	50.0 (14)	33.3 (12)
Negroes N	35.3 (17)	31.3 (16)	20.0 (5)	30.8? (13)	22.7 (22)	57.1* (7)

\*Percentage reporting definite plans to attend university is greater among Negroes.

?Little difference between East Indians and Negroes in percentage reporting definite university plans.

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 FRIENDS NOT REPORTING DEFINITE UNIVERSITY PLANS
 

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ETHNICITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
East Indians N	62.5 (16)	37.5 (16)	55.6 (18)	55.6 (27)	41.4 (29)	26.7 (15)
Negroes N	31.3* (16)	39.1? (23)	18.2* (11)	18.8* (32)	21.2* (33)	0.0* (9)

"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
East Indians N	30.8 (13)	29.6 (27)	26.2 (42)	26.7 (15)	17.4 (23)	28.0 (25)
Negroes N	33.3? (39)	22.7 (44)	15.0* (20)	10.5* (19)	17.0? (47)	26.7? (15)

\*Percentage reporting definite university plans is smaller among Negroes.  
 ?Little difference between East Indians and Negroes in percentage reporting definite university plans.

East Indians. The ethnic difference in level of educational expectation in these seven subgroups range from 11.2% to 37.4%. This seems to suggest that the lack of friends with high educational expectation to some extent results in Negroes having a lower level of educational expectation than East Indians.

Thirdly, a comparison of the level of educational expectation of students whose friends report definite university plans with that of corresponding students whose friends do not report such plans again seems to provide somewhat moderate evidence that friends' educational plans have a greater impact on level of educational expectation among Negroes than among East Indians. The differences in level of educational expectation between students whose friends report and those whose friends do not report definite university plans are presented in Table 19 for each ethnic group. It appears from this Table that these differences are greater among Negroes than among East Indians in seven of the twelve subgroups in which ethnic comparisons are possible. In these seven instances, the differences in level of educational expectation associated with variation in friends educational plans range from 20.3% to 40.0% among Negroes but from only 4.6% to 18.5% among East Indians.

The above results in general offer rather inadequate support for the argument advanced in Chapter II that Negro students tend to be more strongly oriented toward peers than East Indians are. The secondary school brings large numbers of students together for relatively long periods of time, and in this way tends to facilitate

Table 19

The Differences in Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans  
Between Students Whose Friends Report Definite University Plans  
and Students Whose Friends Do Not: East Indians and Negroes.

ETHNICITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
East Indians	7.8	16.8	18.5	9.4	9.1	10.1
Negroes	10.9	21.8*	24.7*	44.2*	19.5*	70.0*
	"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
East Indians	15.9	7.4	26.0	4.6	32.6	5.3
Negroes	2.0	8.6	5.0	20.3*	5.7	30.4*

\*The difference in level of educational expectation between students whose friends report definite university plans and those students whose friends do not seems clearly greater among Negroes than among East Indians.

the development of youth groups, though not necessarily of distinct youth subcultures.<sup>27</sup> Again it might be suggested that as East Indian students go through secondary school they become more strongly oriented toward peers with the result that friends eventually serve as fairly important significant others for them.

Also, East Indians and Negroes attend the same public secondary schools and this probably facilitates a certain degree of cultural assimilation as East Indians increasingly acquire the norms and life style of their Negro schoolmates. This would again help to explain the fairly strong orientation of East Indians toward their peers.

Furthermore, high SES and upwardly mobile East Indians have employed the whites as a reference group and are increasingly adopting the norms and life style of that ethnic group. As a result they are giving their children - though mainly the males - increasing freedom to associate more freely with peers in social and recreational activities of various kinds.

For reasons of the kind discussed here, East Indian students - though mainly males - perhaps tend to be quite strongly oriented toward peers, one result being that there is often a fairly strong relationship between their level of educational expectation and that of their friends. Consequently, there is only limited evidence in support of the hypothesis that the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is stronger among Negroes than among East Indians.

It was also hypothesized that

- (a) among East Indians the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is at least as strong as that between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation
- (b) among Negroes the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is at least as strong as that between parental encouragement and educational expectation.

The data in the present study appear to provide reasonably strong evidence that among East Indians the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger than that between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation. As can be seen from Table 20, when East Indian students perceive "high" parental encouragement they appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than when their friends report definite university plans. In one subgroup - that of middle SES females with low school performance - the difference between the percentages with high educational expectation is quite small, being only 2.6%. In the remaining eleven subgroups, however, the differences range from 6.2% to 31.0%.

It can also be seen from Table 20 that among East Indian students "low" parental encouragement is associated generally with a lower level of educational expectation than having friends who do not report definite university plans. The percentages when these students perceive "low" parental encouragement are from 4.9% to 31.4% lower than

Table 20

Comparison of Relationships of Parental Encouragement and  
Friends' Educational Plans with Educational Expectation  
 (Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans), East Indians

"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
	MALES			FEMALES		
	<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>			<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
"High" Parental Encouragement N	76.5* (34)	71.0* (31)	86.4* (22)	71.0* (62)	63.3* (30)	63.6* (11)
Friends With University Plans N	70.3 (37)	54.3 (35)	74.1 (27)	65.0 (60)	32.3 (31)	36.8 (19)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
"High" Parental Encouragement N	70.8* (24)	47.4* (19)	60.9* (23)	52.9* (17)	52.6* (19)	50.0* (20)
Friends With University Plans N	46.7 (30)	37.0 (27)	42.2 (23)	31.2 (16)	50.0 (14)	33.3 (12)

\*Level of educational expectation is higher when students perceive "high" parental encouragement than when their friends report definite plans to attend university.

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"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"Low" Parental Encouragement N	52.6* (19)	15.0* (20)	47.8* (23)	40.0* (25)	10.0* (30)	17.4* (23)
Friends: No University Plans N	62.5 (16)	37.5 (16)	55.6* (18)	55.6 (27)	41.4 (29)	26.7 (15)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
"Low" Parental Encouragement N	10.0* (20)	25.7* (35)	20.9* (43)	0.0* (14)	10.5* (19)	5.9* (17)
Friends: No University Plans N	30.8 (13)	29.6 (27)	26.2 (42)	26.7 (15)	17.4 (23)	28.0 (25)

\*Level of educational expectation is lower when students perceive "low" parental encouragement than when they have no friends reporting definite university plans.

when their friends do not report definite university plans.

Further evidence of the greater importance of parental encouragement than of friends' educational plans with regard to educational expectation among East Indians can be obtained by making a comparison of the difference in level of educational expectation associated with variation of parental encouragement with the corresponding difference associated with variation in friends' educational plans. From Table 21 it can be observed that the former difference appears in all subgroups to be greater than the latter.<sup>8</sup>

On the basis of the foregoing evidence, it appears reasonable to suggest that in the East Indian group the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger than that between friends' educational plans and the educational expectation of subjects. "High" parental encouragement is associated with a higher level of educational expectation than having friends who report definite university plans is, while "low" parental encouragement is accompanied by a lower level of educational expectation than having friends not reporting definite university plans is. Furthermore, the difference in level of educational expectation associated with variation in parental encouragement is consistently greater than the corresponding difference associated with variation in friends' educational plans.

In addition to providing support for the hypothesis, the above findings tend to confirm the conclusions of some North American studies.<sup>28</sup> Also, previous discussions about the cohesiveness of the East Indian family and the marked integration of the East Indian youth



Table 21

Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans: Comparisons of  
Differences Between Levels of Parental Encouragement  
and Levels of Friends' Educational Plans, East Indians

"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Difference by Parental Encouragement	23.9*	56.0*	38.6*	31.0*	53.3*	46.2*
Difference By Friends' Educational Plans	7.8	16.8	18.5	9.4	9.1	10.1
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
Difference by Parental Encouragement	60.8*	21.7*	40.0*	52.9	42.1*	44.1
Difference By Friends' Educational Plans	15.9	7.4	26.0	4.6	32.6	5.3

\*Difference in level of educational expectation is greater by parental encouragement than by friends' educational plans.

into the family are perhaps relevant here. It appears that although there might be a growing tendency for East Indian youths attending secondary schools to be oriented toward their peers, the family still remains a more significant source of influence than peers on such youths, and the standards of achievement parents are perceived to support seem more crucial to the educational expectations of youths than the reported educational plans of their peers.

Turning now to the Negro students, one finds rather weak support for the hypothesis that in this ethnic group the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is at least as strong as that between perceived parental encouragement and educational expectation. First, as Table 22 indicates, only in five out of twelve possible subgroups do Negro students have a higher level of educational expectation when their friends report definite university plans, than when they perceive "high" parental encouragement. The differences in level of educational expectation (as indicated by percentage reporting definite university plans) in these five subgroups range from 5.8% to 55.7%. Only in a relatively small number of instances, therefore, is level of educational expectation among Negroes higher when friends report definite university plans than when parents are perceived as providing "high" encouragement. In two other subgroups - high SES males with "high" school performance and low SES males with "low" school performance - there appears to be little difference between "high" parental encouragement and having friends who report definite university plans

Table 22

Comparison of Relationships of Parental Encouragement and  
Friends' Educational Plans with Educational Expectation  
(Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans), Negroes

"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
MALES			FEMALES			
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Parental Encouragement N	46.7 (15)	80.0 (15)	33.3 (6)	55.6 (27)	53.3 (15)	14.3 (7)
Friends With University Plans N	42.1 (19)	60.9 (23)	42.9* (7)	63.0* (27)	40.7 (27)	70.0* (10)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
"High" Parental Encouragement N	56.5 (23)	50.0 (14)	22.2 (9)	25.0 (12)	33.3 (24)	44.4 (9)
Friends With University Plans N	35.3 (17)	31.3 (16)	20.0 (5)	30.8* (13)	22.7 (22)	57.1* (7)

\*Level of educational expectation is higher when friends report definite university plans than when perceived parental encouragement is "high."

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 "HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE
 

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	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"Low" Parental Encouragement N	30.0 (20)	36.7 (30)	25.0 (12)	22.6 (31)	20.5 (44)	50.0 (12)
Friends: No University Plans N	31.3 (16)	39.1 (23)	18.2* (11)	18.8* (32)	21.2 (33)	0.0* (9)

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 "LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE
 

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"Low" Parental Encouragement N	18.2 (33)	17.4 (46)	12.5 (16)	15.0 (20)	11.0 (45)	30.8 (13)
Friends: No University Plans N	33.3 (39)	22.7 (44)	15.0 (20)	10.5* (19)	17.0 (47)	26.7* (15)

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\*Level of educational expectation is lower when friends do not report definite university plans than when perceived parental encouragement is "low."

with regard to influence on level of educational expectation. In the remaining five subgroups, students appear to have a higher level of educational expectation when they perceive "high" parental encouragement than when they have friends who report definite university plans. It seems, therefore, that in general having friends with reported university plans is no more important than "high" parental encouragement with regard to level of educational expectation among Negroes.

Secondly, when friends do not report definite university plans the level of educational expectation of Negroes is low as compared with the corresponding level when they perceive "low" parental encouragement in only five out of twelve subgroups. As Table 22 reveals, these are the very five subgroups in which having friends with reported university plans is associated with a higher level of educational expectation than "high" parental encouragement. In most of the five subgroups, however, the difference between the percentages associated with "low" parental encouragement and having no friends with reported university plans is quite small, ranging from 3.6% to 6.0%. In three additional subgroups - high SES males, middle SES males and middle SES females, all with high school performance - there seems to be little difference between friends' educational plans and perceived parental encouragement with regard to influence on level of educational expectation. In the remaining four subgroups in Table 22 the lack of friends with reported university plans seems to be associated with higher levels of educational expectation than "low" parental encouragement. It seems that, in the majority of cases, the lack of friends with

reported university plans **does** not depress level of educational expectation more frequently than "low" parental encouragement in the subgroups formed when sex, SES and school performance are simultaneously controlled.

Thirdly, the difference in level of educational expectation associated with variation in friends' educational plans is greater than the corresponding difference associated with variation in parental encouragement in only five of the twelve subgroups possible when sex, SES and school performance are controlled. As Table 23 indicates, these five subgroups are low SES males, high SES females, and low SES females with "high" school performance on the one hand and high SES females and low SES females with "low" school performance on the other. These are the very subgroups which were shown in Table 22 to be most strongly influenced by friends' educational plans - that is, their level of educational expectation is higher when their friends report definite plans to attend university than when the subjects perceive "high" parental encouragement while their level of educational expectation is lower when their friends do not report definite university plans than when the subjects perceive "low" parental encouragement. In the remaining seven subgroups in Table 23, the difference in level of educational expectation associated with friends' educational plans seems generally lower than the corresponding difference associated with perceived parental encouragement.

Table 23

Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans: Comparisons of  
Differences Between Levels of Friends' Educational Plans With  
Differences Between Levels of Parental Encouragement, Negroes

"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Difference by Parental Encouragement	16.7	43.3	8.3	23.0	32.8	35.7
Difference By Friends' Educational Plans	10.9	21.8	24.7*	44.2*	19.5	70.0*
Difference by Parental Encouragement	38.3	32.6	9.7	10.0	22.2	13.6
Difference By Friends' Educational Plans	2.0	8.6	5.0	20.3*	5.7	30.4*

\*Difference by Friends' Educational Plans is greater than difference by perceived parental encouragement.

On the basis of the evidence presented above it might be suggested that friends' educational plans has a slightly smaller overall influence than parental encouragement on subjects' level of educational expectation. Three of the five subgroups in which the difference in level of educational expectation associated with variation in friends' educational plans is greater than the corresponding difference associated with variation in parental encouragement are comprised of students with low parental SES. It is at this SES level that the Negro family in Trinidad and Tobago tends to be least cohesive. Perhaps because of this factor as well as the tendency of Negro parents to encourage their children to emphasize social relationships outside the family, friends often become more important significant others than parents for low SES Negro secondary school students, at least in relation to educational expectation. Consequently, among low SES Negroes there is a strong tendency for the relationship between friends' educational plans and educational expectation to be more pronounced than that between parental encouragement and the latter.

It seems quite difficult, however, to explain why the hypothesis regarding the relative importance of friends' educational plans and parental encouragement appears to be confirmed among high SES Negro females but not among high SES males and middle SES males and females. Further research appears necessary to determine the factors which contribute to such a phenomenon.<sup>29</sup>



### Friends' Educational Plans, Sex and Educational Expectation

When "friends' educational plans" is treated as a control variable, the findings regarding the direction of the sex-related differences in level of educational expectation remain by and large the same as when parental encouragement was controlled. In nearly all East Indian subgroups, regardless of whether or not friends report having definite university plans, males appear to have a higher level of educational expectation than females (see Table 24).

As Table 24 indicates, however, there appear to be three exceptions to the overall trend. First, among middle SES East Indians with "high" school performance but without friends who report definite university plans, 37.5% of the males and 41.4% of the females claim to have high educational expectation, a small difference of 3.9%. Secondly, among low SES East Indians with "low" school performance and without friends who report definite university plans, 26.2% of the males and 28.0% of the females report having definite university plans, a rather negligible difference of 1.8%. Thirdly, in the case of middle SES East Indians with "low" school performance but with friends who report definite university plans, 37.0% of the males but 50.0% of the females indicate having definite university plans, the difference in percentage being 13.0%.

The exceptions among middle SES East Indians to the overall finding with regard to sex-related differences in level of educational expectation may be due in part to the strong tendency for East Indian females to regard education as a means of achieving a "desirable"

Table 24

Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans by Sex, Parents'Occupation (SES), School Performance, Friends'Educational Plans and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS									
SEX		"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE							
		FRIENDS REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS			FRIENDS NOT REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS				
		<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>			<u>PARENTAL OCCUPATION</u>				
		<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>		
Males		70.3*	54.3*	74.1*	62.5*	37.5	55.6*		
N	0	(37)	(35)	(27)	(16)	(16)	(18)		
Females		65.0	32.3	36.8	55.6	41.4	26.7		
N		(60)	(31)	(19)	(27)	(29)	(15)		
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE									
Males		46.7*	37.0	52.2*	30.8*	29.6*	26.2		
N		(30)	(27)	(23)	(13)	(27)	(42)		
Females		31.3	50.0	33.3	26.7	17.4	28.0		
N		(16)	(14)	(12)	(15)	(23)	(25)		

\*A higher percentage of males than of females report having definite university plans.

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NEGROES						
SEX	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	FRIENDS REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS			FRIENDS NOT REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
Males N	42.1 (19)	60.9* (23)	42.9 (7)	31.3* (16)	39.1* (23)	18.2* (11)
Females N	63.0 (27)	40.7 (27)	70.0 (10)	18.8 (32)	21.2 (33)	0.0 (9)
"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
Males N	35.3* (17)	31.3* (16)	20.0 (5)	33.3* (39)	22.7* (44)	15.0 (20)
Females N	30.8 (13)	22.7 (22)	57.1 (7)	10.5 (19)	17.0 (47)	26.7 (15)

\*Males have a higher level of educational expectation than females.

marriage.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps middle SES females, because of their proximity in the social structure to high SES subgroups, tend to perceive upward mobility through education and marriage as being a fairly strong possibility and for this reason report an unexpectedly high level of educational expectation. As a result, their level of educational expectation exceeds that of their male counterparts. The negligible sex-related difference in level of educational expectation among the low SES East Indians may be due to the possibility that "low" school performance and lack of friends with high educational expectation have depressed educational expectation to the same level in both sex subgroups.

In relation to the Negro students, the findings regarding differences in level of educational expectation between males and females still hold when friends' educational plans is substituted for parental encouragement as a control variable. In other words, high SES and middle SES males tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than their female counterparts while the picture tends to be reversed among low SES Negroes.

An exception to the overall finding among high SES and middle SES Negroes occurs in the case of high SES students with "high" school performance and with friends reporting high educational expectation, 63.0% of the females but 42.1% of the males indicating that they definitely plan to attend university. This exception corresponds with one occurring when parental encouragement was controlled.

There also seems to exist a deviation from the overall finding that among low SES Negroes females tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than males. In the subgroup comprised of low SES Negro students with "high" school performance but with friends not reporting definite university plans, 18.2% of the males, but 0.0% of the females indicate having definite university plan. This finding may be due in part to the tendency for friends' educational plans to have a far greater influence on the level of educational expectation of low SES Negro females than on that of corresponding Negro males (see Table 23). Perhaps as a result of this, the level of educational expectation of low SES Negro females with "high" school performance tends to be depressed more than that of their male counterparts when friends have low educational expectation. For the same reason, perhaps, when friends report definite university plans the level of educational expectation tends to be higher among low SES Negro females with "high" school performance than among their male counterparts. Then 70.0% of the females but 42.9% of the males report definite university plans. This sex-related difference is in the opposite direction to that observed in the corresponding subgroup when parental encouragement was the control variable. Thus, the present deviations from the differences between males and females found earlier in corresponding subgroups when parental encouragement was controlled seem attributable in large measure to sex differences in the impact of friends' educational plans on level of educational expectation among low SES Negro males and females.

Friends' Educational Plans, Parental Occupation (SES) and Educational Expectation

In the subgroup comprised of East Indian males, the relationships observed earlier are changed very little by substituting friends' educational plans for parental encouragement as a control variable. As Table 24 indicates, the relationship between SES and educational expectation again tends to be curvilinear with middle SES students apparently having a lower level of educational expectation than the others.

Once more, there is once exception to the overall finding among the East Indian males: among the students with "low" school performance and without friends reporting definite university plans there seems to be little difference among the three SES subgroups with regard to level of educational expectation. As Table 24 reveals, 30.8% of the high SES, 29.6% of the middle SES and 26.2% of the low SES students in this subgroup claim to have definite university plans. Just as when parental encouragement and school performance were controlled, the high SES and low SES East Indian males appear to lose their superiority in level of educational expectation over middle SES ones when their school performance is "low" and their friends do not have high educational expectation. In other words, friends' educational plans and school performance seem to mediate the relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian males in the same way that parental encouragement and school performance have done.

The relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian females with "high" school performance and with friends reporting definite university plans is quite similar to that noted earlier among East Indian females with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement. A greater proportion of high SES females (65.0%) than of middle or low SES ones appear to have high educational expectation and there is but little difference between the latter two subgroups with regard to level of educational expectation. As Table 24 shows, 32.3% of the middle SES and 36.8% of the low SES East Indian females indicate having high educational expectation.

Among East Indian females with "high" school performance but without friends reporting definite university plans, there seems to be a positive association between SES and educational expectation, 55.6% of the high SES, 41.4% of the middle SES and 26.7% of the low SES students reporting definite university plans (see Table 24). The main factor leading to this positive and linear relationship appears to be a surprising increase in level of educational expectation among the middle SES East Indian females as compared with the level of educational expectation of such students when their friends report definite university plans. In the latter case only 32.3% of the middle SES East Indian females had high educational expectation, whereas in the absence of friends with high educational expectation 41.4% of the such females report definite university plans.

In the case of East Indian females with "low" school performance but with friends who have high educational expectation,

the relationship between SES and educational expectation is apparently curvilinear. As was found when school performance and parental encouragement were controlled, high SES and low SES East Indian females have roughly the same level of educational expectation since 31.3% of the former and 33.3% of the latter say that they definite plan to attend university. However, middle SES East Indian females now seem to have a higher level of educational expectation than those of the other SES subgroups, a departure from the finding when parental encouragement was controlled. As Table 24 shows, 50.0% of these middle SES students have high educational expectation. The results seem to suggest that middle SES East Indian females have a relatively high level of educational expectation. Their school performance is "low" and their friends report definite university plans.

When East Indian females have "low" school performance as well as friends with low educational expectation, another curvilinear relationship apparently exists between SES and educational expectation. The level of educational expectation of the middle SES East Indian females is depressed more than that of their high SES or low SES counterparts by "low" school performance and having friends with low educational expectation. As Table 24 reveals, 26.7% of the high SES, 17.4% of the middle SES and 28.0% of the low SES students indicate having definite university plans. In general, friends' educational plans and school performance appear to play an important role in mediating the relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian females. However, much more research seems to be



needed to suggest explanations for the variations observed in this relationship.

In the case of Negro males, the results regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation when parental encouragement was controlled still hold when friends' educational plans and school performance appear to play an important role in mediating the relationship between SES and educational expectation among East Indian females. However, much more research seems to be needed to suggest explanations for the variations observed in this relationship.

In the case of Negro males, the results regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation when parental encouragement was controlled still hold when friends' educational plans is treated as a control variable. As Table 24 indicates, this relationship is again curvilinear among Negro males with "high" school performance - with middle SES students having a higher level of educational expectation than the others - but tends to be linear and positive among Negro males with "low" school performance.

However, the findings among Negro females with regard to the relationship between SES and educational expectation when friends' educational plans is controlled tend to differ from the corresponding findings when parental encouragement was controlled. Whereas earlier a linear relationship was observed between SES and educational expectation among Negro females with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement, a curvilinear relationship now seems to occur in the corresponding subgroup. As Table 24 shows, 63.0% of

the high SES, 40.7% of the middle SES and 70.0% of the low SES students report having definite university plans.<sup>31</sup>

An important reason for this deviation from the earlier finding when parental encouragement was controlled may be the much stronger influence of friends' educational plans on educational expectation among low SES Negro females as compared with their middle SES counterparts (see Table 22). Low SES Negro families with "high" school performance and with friends who report definite plans to attend university have a higher level of educational expectation than corresponding middle SES Negro females. However, low SES Negro females with "high" school performance but without friends who report definite university plans have a lower level of educational expectation than their middle SES counterparts (see Table 22). This probably helps to account for the unusually high educational expectation of low SES Negro females with "high" school performance and consequently for the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation observed among Negro females with "high" school performance and with friends reporting definite university plans.

The greater influence of friends' educational plans on educational expectation among low SES Negro females with "high" school performance than among corresponding middle SES Negro females perhaps also helps to account for the nature of the relationship between SES and educational expectation among Negro females with "high" school performance and consequently for the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation observed among Negro females with "high"

school performance and with friends reporting definite plans for attending university.

The greater influence of friends' educational plans on educational expectation among low SES Negro females with "high" school performance than among corresponding middle SES Negro females perhaps also helps to account for the nature of the relationship between SES and educational expectation among Negro females with "high" school performance but with friends not reporting definite university plans.

In this subgroup, there is again a small difference between high SES and middle SES students with regard to level of educational expectation - 18.8% of the former and 21.2% of the latter reporting definite university plans - but the low SES students do not appear to have high educational expectation since 0.0% of this subgroup report definite university plans.<sup>32</sup> It seems that the lack of friends with high educational expectation depresses the level of educational expectation of these low SES students more than that of the middle SES ones, thus giving rise to the specific relationship between SES and educational expectation observed in the subgroup of Negro females being discussed.

In the subgroup of Negro females with "low" school performance but with friends who report definite university plans, there appears to be a curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation whereas the relationship between these two variables was linear and negative in the corresponding subgroup when parental encouragement was controlled. As can be seen from Table 24, 30.8% of the high SES, 27.7% of the middle SES and 57.1% of the low SES students with "low" school

performance but with friends who have high educational expectation indicate that they definitely plan to attend university. The departure from the corresponding relationship when parental encouragement was controlled seems to be due in part to the decline in level of educational expectation among the middle SES students and the increase in level of educational expectation among high SES and low SES students as compared with the corresponding levels of educational expectation when parental encouragement was controlled (i.e. 25.0% of the high SES, 33.3% of the middle SES and 44.4% of the low SES students having high educational expectation).

The decrease in level of educational expectation in the middle SES subgroup of Negro females might to some extent have arisen because, in this subgroup, having friends who report definite university plans is associated with a lower level of educational expectation than "high" parental encouragement (see Table 22). The increases in level of educational expectation may be explained in part by earlier findings that among high SES and low SES Negro females with "high" school performance (a) "friends' educational plans" has a greater impact than parental encouragement on educational expectation, and (b) when friends report definite university plans the high SES and low SES students tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than the middle SES ones (see Table 22). It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that when school performance and friends' educational expectation are "high" the high SES and low SES students now reveal a higher level of educational expectation than the middle SES ones.

Turning now to Negro females with "low" school performance and with friends having low educational expectation, a linear negative relationship is observed between SES and educational expectation. As Table 24 shows, 10.5% of the high SES, 17.0% of the middle SES and 26.7% of the low SES students in this subgroup claim that they definitely plan to attend university. In the corresponding subgroup when parental encouragement was controlled, the percentages in the three SES subgroups were 15.0%, 11.1% and 30.8% respectively (see Table 15). It appears that the change from the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation observed when parental encouragement was controlled to the present linear relationship is due in part to a decline in level of educational expectation among the high SES students and a rise in level of educational expectation among the middle SES ones. The decline in the high SES subgroup may be due to the possibility noted earlier that (a) "friends' educational plans" has a greater impact than parental encouragement on level of educational expectation in this subgroup and (b) among high SES students with "low" school performance, having friends with low educational expectation tends to depress students' level of educational expectation more than "low" perceived parental encouragement (see Table 22). The increase in level of educational expectation among the middle SES Negro females may occur because as noted earlier (a) parental encouragement appears to have a greater influence than "friends' educational plans" on level of educational expectation in this subgroup and (b) when middle SES Negro females with "low" school performance have friends with low educational expectation they tend to report a

higher level of educational expectation than similar students with "low" parental encouragement (see Table 22). Thus, as a result of the differential impact of parental encouragement and friends' educational plans on educational expectation, the relationship between SES and educational expectation among Negro females who have "low" school performance and friends with low educational expectation tends to differ from the relationship between SES and educational expectation in the remaining subgroup when parental encouragement was controlled.

#### Friends' Educational Plans, School Performance and Educational Expectation

Among both East Indians and Negroes, school performance tends to be positively associated with educational expectation when "friends' educational plans" is treated as a control variable. As can be seen from Table 25, students with "high" school performance tend almost consistently to have a higher level of educational expectation than students with "low" school performance. However, a very small number of exceptions to the overall finding seems to occur in both ethnic groups.

Among middle SES East Indian females whose friends report definite university plans, students with "high" school performance appear to have a lower level of educational expectation than students with "low" school performance, 32.3% of the former but 50.0% of the latter reporting definite university plans. Among low SES East Indian females, there seems to be little difference between students with "high" school performance those with "low" school performance, whether

Table 25

School Performance by Educational Expectation (Percentage  
Reporting Definite University Plans), With Sex, Parental Occupation  
(SES), Friends' Educational Plans and Ethnicity Controlled

EAST INDIANS						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	FRIENDS REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" N	70.3* (37)	54.3* (35)	74.1* (27)	65.0* (60)	32.3 (31)	36.8* (19)
"Low" N	46.7 (30)	37.0 (27)	52.2 (23)	31.3 (16)	50.0 (14)	33.3 (12)
FRIENDS NOT REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS						
"High" N	62.5* (16)	37.5* (16)	55.6* (18)	55.6* (27)	41.4* (29)	26.7 (15)
"Low" N	30.8 (13)	29.6 (27)	26.2 (42)	26.7 (15)	17.4 (23)	28.0 (25)

\*Students with "high" school performance have a higher level of educational expectation than those with "low" school performance.

... continued

NEGROES						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	FRIENDS REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" N	42.1* (19)	60.9* (23)	42.9* (7)	63.0* (27)	40.7* (27)	70.0* (10)
"Low" N	35.3 (17)	31.3 (16)	20.0 (5)	30.8 (13)	22.7 (22)	57.1 (7)
FRIENDS NOT REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS						
"High" N	31.3 (16)	39.1* (23)	18.2* (11)	18.8* (32)	21.2* (33)	0.0 (9)
"Low" N	33.3 (39)	22.7 (44)	18.0 (20)	10.5 (19)	17.0 (47)	26.7 (15)

\*Students with "high" school performance have a higher level of educational expectation than those with "low" school performance.



or not they have friends with high educational expectation. As Table 25 reveals, when these students have friends with high educational expectation 36.8% of those with "high" school performance and 33.3% of those with "low" school performance indicate having definite university plans. Again, when low SES East Indian females have friends with low educational expectation 26.7% of those with "high" school performance as compared with 28.0% of those with "low" school performance say that they definitely plan to attend university.

With regard to the low SES East Indian females, the fairly clear difference (13.0%) in level of educational expectation noted earlier in this subgroup between students with "high" school performance and those with "low" school performance when perceived parental encouragement was high no longer seems evident when the students have friends with high educational expectation. In other words, "high" parental encouragement gave the students with "high" school performance a greater advantage over their counterparts with "low" school performance than having friends with definite university plans appears to do. This is perhaps another indication that parental encouragement has a greater influence than friends' educational plans on level of educational expectation among East Indian females. It appears, also, that when low SES East Indian females have friends with low educational expectation the level of educational expectation of those with "high" school performance is roughly similar to that of their counterparts with "low" school performance. However, as was seen in Table 16, the corresponding students with "high" school performance had a clearly

higher level of educational expectation than those with "low" school performance when parental encouragement was "low" (17.4% of those with "high" school performance as compared with 5.9% of those with "low" school performance having high educational expectation). In other words, "low" parental encouragement seems to accentuate the depressing effect of "low" school performance on level of educational expectation more than having friends with low educational expectation does, perhaps another indication of the greater impact of parental encouragement than of friends' educational plans on educational expectation among these East Indian students.

In the Negro group, there apparently occur two deviations from the overall finding that school performance tends to be positively related to educational expectation. First, as Table 25 indicates, among high SES Negro males whose friends have low educational expectation 31.3% of those with "high" school performance as compared with 33.3% of their counterparts with "low" school performance report definite university plans. Here again it seems that, as in the case of low SES East Indian females, when high SES Negro males have friends with low educational expectation, "low" school performance has a less pronounced depressing effect on level of educational expectation than when these Negro males perceive "low" parental encouragement (in the latter case, 52.6% of those with "high" school performance but 10.0% of those with "low" school performance reporting definite university plans). This seems to indicate the greater influence of parental

encouragement than of friends' educational plans on the educational expectation of high SES Negro males. Secondly, a negative relationship seems to exist between school performance and educational expectation among low SES Negro females whose friends do not report definite university plans. As can be seen in Table 25, 0.0% of the students with "high" school performance but 26.7% of those with "low" school performance indicate having high educational expectation - a finding which is difficult to explain.

Friends' Educational Plans, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES), School Performance and Educational Expectation: A Summary of Findings

The variable friends' educational plans was by and large positively related to subjects' educational expectation among both East Indians and Negroes. However, there was very little support for the hypothesis that the relationship between these two variables is stronger among Negroes than among East Indians.

There was fairly strong evidence that among East Indians the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation was stronger than that between friends' educational plans and educational expectation of subjects. However, the data provided only weak evidence in support of the hypothesis that among Negroes the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation is stronger than that between parental encouragement and educational expectation.

Among East Indians, males tended to have higher educational expectation than females, with friends' educational plans controlled.

Among Negroes, earlier findings regarding sex-related differences when parental encouragement was controlled still held when "friends' educational plans" was controlled. That is, in the high SES and the middle SES subgroups males tended to have higher educational expectation than females whereas in the low SES subgroup the direction of the sex-related difference tended to be reversed.

With regard to the relationship between SES and educational expectation, the dominant trend among East Indian males was again towards a curvilinear relationship with middle SES males having lower educational expectation than their counterparts in the two other SES subgroups. Among East Indian females, the relationship between SES and educational expectation was again quite complex. On the whole, high SES East Indian females had higher educational expectation than East Indian females in the two other SES subgroups when their school performance was "high" but not when it was "low."

In the case of Negro males, a curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation was again evident among those with "high" school performance whereas a positive linear relationship between these two variables occurred among those with "low" school performance. Among Negro females, the association between SES and educational expectation was quite complex. However, there was a strong tendency for low SES Negro females to have higher educational expectation than those in the two other SES subgroups.

With friends' educational plans controlled, school performance was on the whole positively related to educational expectation among both East Indians and Negroes.

Sex, School Performance, Parental Encouragement,  
Friends' Educational Plans, Parental Occupation (SES)  
and Educational Expectation

An attempt will now be made to examine the percentage distribution of students reporting definite plans to attend university with sex, school performance, parental encouragement, friends' educational plans, parental occupation (SES) and ethnicity controlled. It is extremely important to note, however, that the percentages used in the analysis are frequently based on very small numbers of cases, and their magnitude may often be quite misleading. Consequently, they are at best useful for indicating or illustrating general trends and not at all for a detailed study of hypothesized relationships.

Sex and Educational Expectation

On the whole, the introduction of parental encouragement and friends' educational plans as control variables does not substantially alter the previous findings regarding the relationship between sex and educational expectation. Among East Indians, for example, males appear by and large to have a higher level of educational expectation than females. As can be seen from Table 26, some deviations from the dominant trend apparently occur though mainly among middle SES East Indian students. These findings regarding sex-related differences are quite consistent with those reported earlier.

Among high SES and middle SES Negroes, males again tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than females. Once more

Table 26

Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans by Sex,  
School Performance, Parental Encouragement, Friends' Educational  
Plans, Parental Occupation (SES) and Ethnicity

## EAST INDIANS

## FRIENDS REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS

SCHOOL  
PERFORMANCE

"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

HIGH SES

MIDDLE SES

LOW SES

SEX

SEX

SEX

M

F

M

F

M

F

78.3  
(23)73.8  
(42)76.2  
(21)52.9  
(17)92.3  
(13)66.7  
(6)75.0  
(16)50.0  
(10)53.8  
(13)55.6  
(9)62.5  
(8)50.0  
(6)

"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

"High"  
N57.1  
(14)44.4  
(18)21.4  
(14)7.1  
(14)57.1  
(14)23.1  
(13)"Low"  
N14.3  
(14)0.0  
(6)21.4  
(14)40.0  
(5)46.7  
(15)16.7  
(6)

... continued

Table 26 Continued

NEGROES						
FRIENDS' REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT					
	HIGH SES		MIDDLE SES		LOW SES	
	SEX		SEX		SEX	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
"High" N	50.0 (10)	61.1 (18)	81.8 (11)	55.6 (9)	66.3 (3)	33.3 (3)
"Low" N	80.0 (5)	25.0 (4)	50.4 (4)	33.3 (6)	50.0 (2)	75.0 (4)
"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT						
"High" N	33.3 (9)	66.7 (9)	41.7 (12)	33.3 (18)	25.0 (4)	85.7 (7)
"Low" N	16.2 (12)	33.3 (9)	25.0 (12)	18.8 (16)	0.0 (3)	33.3 (3)

... continued

Table 26. Continued

FRIENDS NOT REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT					
	HIGH SES		MIDDLE SES		LOW SES	
	SEX		SEX		SEX	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
"High" N	40.0 (5)	50.0 (10)	75.0 (4)	57.1 (7)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (4)
"Low" N	50.0 (18)	25.0 (8)	50.0 (10)	33.3 (18)	14.3 (7)	20.0 (5)
"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT						
"High" N	27.3 (11)	4.5 (22)	31.6 (19)	11.5 (26)	25.0 (8)	0.0 (5)
"Low" N	19.0 (21)	0.0 (11)	14.7 (34)	6.9 (29)	15.4 (13)	30.0 (10)



exceptions to this trend occur, though mainly among high SES Negroes who have "high" school performance and perceive "high" parental encouragement. With regard to low SES Negro students, there again seems to be a strong tendency for females to hold a higher level of educational expectation than males. Once more a deviation from the last finding seems evident among low SES Negroes with "high" school performance, "high" parental encouragement and friends with high educational expectation.

#### School Performance and Educational Expectation

When parental encouragement and friends' educational plans are controlled, there is still a strong tendency for students with "high" school performance to have a higher level of educational expectation than students with "low" school performance. Some exceptions to the overall finding seem to occur, largely among middle SES East Indian and low SES Negro females. These findings tend to be consistent with those noted previously with regard to the association of school performance with educational expectation.

#### Parental Encouragement and Educational Expectation

The inclusion of friends' educational plans as a control variable does not greatly modify earlier findings regarding the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation. As can be seen from Table 27, East Indian students with "high" parental encouragement appear consistently to have a higher level of educational

Table 27

Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans by Parental Encouragement, Friends' Educational Plans, School Performance, Sex, Parental Occupation (SES) and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS						
"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
FRIENDS REPORTING UNIVERSITY PLANS	MALES					
	HIGH SES		MIDDLE SES		LOW SES	
	<u>PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>		<u>PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>		<u>PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT</u>	
	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>L</u>
Yes	78.3	57.1	72.6	21.4	92.3	57.1
N	(23)	(14)	(21)	(14)	(13)	(14)
No	72.7	40.0	60.0	0.0	77.8	33.3
N	(11)	(5)	(10)	(6)	(9)	(9)
FEMALES						
Yes	73.8	44.4	52.9	7.1	66.7	23.1
N	(42)	(18)	(17)	(14)	(6)	(13)
No	65.0	28.6	83.3	12.5	60.0	10.0
N	(20)	(7)	(12)	(16)	(5)	(10)

## "LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

## MALES

	HIGH SES		MIDDLE SES		LOW SES	
	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	
	H	L	H	L	H	L
Yes	75.0	14.3	53.8	21.4	62.5	46.7
N	(16)	(14)	(13)	(14)	(8)	(15)
No	57.1	0.0	33.3	28.6	60.0	7.4
N	(7)	(6)	(6)	(21)	(15)	(27)

## FEMALES

	HIGH SES		MIDDLE SES		LOW SES	
	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	
	H	L	H	L	H	L
Yes	50.0	0.0	55.6	40.0	50.0	16.7
N	(10)	(6)	(9)	(5)	(6)	(6)
No	57.1	42.8	44.4	17.6	50.0	39.6
N	(7)	(14)	(9)	(17)	(14)	(15)

## NEGROES

## "HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

FRIENDS  
REPORTING  
UNIVERSITY  
PLANS

## MALES

## HIGH SES

## MIDDLE SES

## LOW SES

PARENTAL  
ENCOURAGEMENTPARENTAL  
ENCOURAGEMENTPARENTAL  
ENCOURAGEMENT

H

L

H

L

H

L

Yes

N

50.0 33.3  
(10) (9)81.8 41.7  
(11) (12)66.7 25.0  
(3) (4)

No

N

40.0 27.3  
(5) (11)75.0 31.6  
(4) (19)0.0 25.0  
(3) (8)

## FEMALES

Yes

N

61.1 66.7  
(18) (9)55.6 33.3  
(9) (18)33.3 85.7  
(3) (7)

No

N

50.0 4.5  
(10) (22)57.1 11.5  
(7) (26)0.0 0.0  
(4) (5)

## "LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

## MALES

Yes

N

80.0 16.7  
(5) (12)50.0 25.0  
(4) (12)50.0 0.0  
(2) (3)

No

N

50.0 19.0  
(18) (21)50.0 14.7  
(10) (34)14.3 15.4  
(7) (13)

## FEMALES

Yes

N

25.0 33.3  
(4) (9)33.3 18.8  
(6) (16)75.0 33.3  
(4) (3)

No

N

25.0 0.0  
(8) (11)33.3 6.9  
(18) (29)20.0 30.0  
(5) (10)

expectation than similar students with "low" parental encouragement.

Among Negroes, too, there appears to be a strong tendency for parental encouragement to be positively related with educational expectation.

#### Friends' Educational Plans and Subjects' Educational Expectation

When parental encouragement is treated as a control variable, earlier findings regarding the relationship between friends' educational plans and subjects' educational expectation do not appear to be altered substantially. As Table 27 suggests, there is a general tendency for East Indian students whose friends report definite university plans to have a higher level of educational expectation than similar students whose friends do not report definite plans. A similar trend can be observed among Negro students (see Table 27).

#### Parental Occupation (SES) and Educational Expectation

The inclusion of both parental encouragement and friends' educational plans as control variables does not appear to result in any substantial changes in the overall findings regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation. As can be seen from Table 28, the curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation noted earlier for East Indian males tends to hold among these students when they have "high" school performance and/or "high" parental encouragement regardless of the level of educational expectation of their friends.

In the subgroup comprised of East Indian females, the high SES students tend to have a higher level of educational expectation than those of middle or low SES when they have "high" school performance and/or perceive "high" parental encouragement, while the low SES students by and large reveal a relatively high level of educational expectation when they perceive "high" parental encouragement, regardless of level of school performance or of friends' educational expectation. On the whole, the relationship between SES and educational expectation among these East Indian females seems to vary frequently from one subgroup to another.

The curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation observed previously among Negro males persists when these students have "high" school performance regardless of whether they perceive "high" parental encouragement or possess friends with high educational expectation (see Table 28). When Negro males have "low" school performance, the relationship between SES and educational expectation seems to assume varying forms. In general, however, low SES Negro males tend to have a lower level of educational expectation than their high SES or middle SES counterparts.

Apart from the subgroup of Negro females with "high" school performance and "high" parental encouragement, the level of educational expectation of low SES Negro females, as Table 28 shows, again tends to be as high as or higher than that of corresponding high SES or middle SES students.

Table 28

Percentage Reporting Definite University Plans by Parental  
Occupation (SES), Sex, School Performance, Parental Encouragement,  
Friends' Educational Plans and Ethnicity

EAST INDIANS									
"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE									
"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT									
FRIENDS "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY	MALES					FEMALES			
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	H	M	L	H	M	L	H	M	L
Yes	78.3	76.2	92.3	73.8	52.9	66.7	73.8	52.9	66.7
N	(23)	(21)	(13)	(42)	(17)	(6)	(42)	(17)	(6)
No	72.7	60.0	77.8	65.0	83.3	60.0	65.0	83.3	60.0
N	(11)	(10)	(9)	(20)	(12)	(5)	(20)	(12)	(5)
"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT									
Yes	57.1	21.4	57.1	44.4	7.1	23.1	44.4	7.1	23.1
N	(14)	(14)	(14)	(18)	(14)	(13)	(18)	(14)	(13)
No	40.0	0.0	33.3	28.6	12.5	10.0	28.6	12.5	10.0
N	(5)	(6)	(9)	(7)	(16)	(10)	(7)	(16)	(10)

... continued

## "LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

FRIENDS  
"DEFINITELY"  
PLANNING  
TO ATTEND  
UNIVERSITY

## "HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

MALES

FEMALES

## PARENTAL OCCUPATION

## PARENTAL OCCUPATION

H      M      L

H      M      L

Yes  
N

75.0    53.8    62.5  
(16)    (13)    (8)

50.0    55.6    50.0  
(10)    (9)    (6)

No  
N

57.1    33.3    60.0  
(7)    (6)    (15)

57.1    44.4    50.0  
(7)    (9)    (14)

## "LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

Yes  
N

14.3    21.4    46.7  
(14)    (14)    (15)

0.0    40.0    16.7  
(6)    (5)    (6)

No  
N

0.0    28.6    7.4  
(6)    (21)    (27)

42.8    17.6    39.6  
(14)    (17)    (15)

... continued



## NEGROES

FRIENDS  
"DEFINITELY"  
PLANNING  
TO ATTEND  
UNIVERSITY

"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

MALES

FEMALES

## PARENTAL OCCUPATION

## PARENTAL OCCUPATION

	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>		<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
Yes	50.0	81.8	66.7		61.1	55.6	33.3
N	(10)	(12)	(3)		(18)	(9)	(3)
No	40.0	75.0	0.0		50.0	57.1	0.0
N	(5)	(4)	(3)		(10)	(7)	(4)

"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

Yes	33.3	41.7	25.0		66.7	33.3	85.7
N	(9)	(12)	(4)		(9)	(18)	(7)
No	27.3	31.6	25.0		4.5	11.5	0.0
N	(11)	(19)	(8)		(22)	(26)	(5)

... continued

FRIENDS  
"DEFINITELY"  
PLANNING  
TO ATTEND  
UNIVERSITY

"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

"HIGH" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

MALES

FEMALES

PARENTAL OCCUPATION

PARENTAL OCCUPATION

	H	M	L
Yes	50.0	50.0	50.0
N	(5)	(4)	(2)
No	50.0	50.0	14.3
N	(18)	(10)	(7)

	H	M	L
Yes	25.0	33.3	75.0
N	(4)	(6)	(4)
No	25.0	33.3	20.0
N	(8)	(18)	(5)

"LOW" PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT

Yes	16.7	25.0	0.0
N	(12)	(12)	(3)
No	19.0	14.7	15.4
N	(21)	(34)	(13)

Yes	33.3	18.8	33.3
N	(9)	(16)	(3)
No	0.0	6.9	30.0
N	(11)	(29)	(10)

### Interrelationships Among Variables

It was hypothesized that the "profile" of the North American secondary school student with high educational expectation - that is a high SES male with "high" school performance, "high" parental encouragement and friends who have high educational expectation - does not necessarily apply to students in the present sample. It was also hypothesized that the same holds with respect to the "profile" of the North American students with low educational expectation - that is, a low SES female with "low" school performance, "low" parental encouragement and friends who have low educational expectation.

It is extremely difficult to carry out an adequate test of these hypotheses with the present data. First, the percentages in Table 28 - in which all the independent variables in the present study are included - are frequently based on very small numbers, and may sometimes be quite misleading. Secondly, the association of sex, SES and to a lesser extent school performance with educational expectation appears to be so complex that it is difficult to combine different categories of these three independent variables in a systematic way so as to predict successive levels of educational expectation.

It appears from Table 28 that among East Indians the students most likely to have high educational expectation are low SES males with "high" school performance, "high" parental encouragement and friends who have high educational expectation, 92.3% of the students in this category reporting definite plans to attend university. However, it seems impossible to determine from the data in Table 28 which specific

subgroup is least likely to have definite university plans. In the case of the Negro students the numbers of cases on which the percentages in Table 28 are based are often even smaller than the corresponding ones among East Indians, and it seems inappropriate to attempt to determine from the table the "profiles" which would tend to be associated with high or low educational expectation among Negroes.

### Summary

In the present chapter, an attempt was made to test most of the hypotheses advanced in Chapter II. The last two hypotheses could not be tested because of the extremely small numbers of cases in many of the cells in the final table in the chapter.

There appeared to be strong support for the hypotheses regarding the association of the variables school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans with educational expectation. Also, the findings regarding ethnic differences in the relationship between sex and educational expectation tended to support the hypotheses advanced. There also seemed to be fairly strong evidence in support of the hypothesis regarding differences between East Indians and Negroes in the strength of the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation, and that between friends' educational plans and educational expectation among East Indians also appeared to receive fairly strong support from the data.

However, there was little support for the hypotheses with respect to ethnic differences in the relationship between SES and educational expectation. This relationship was highly complex among both East Indians and Negroes and there was little evidence of the linear positive relationship between these two variables typically reported by North American research.

Also, there was little support for the hypotheses regarding the relative strength of the relationship between friends' educational plans and educational expectation among East Indians and Negroes or for the hypothesis regarding the relative strength of the relationships of parental encouragement and friends' educational plans among Negroes.

To avoid repetition, the specific nature of the findings - or the interpretations of these findings - will not be reviewed here, since this is an important concern in the final chapter, "Summary and Conclusions."

## FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, Green, H. B., "Socialization Values in the Negro and East Indian Subcultures of Trinidad," Journal of Social Psychology, 64 (1964), pp. 1-20.
2. Ibid., p. 7; Braithwaite, L., "Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism," in Rubin, V. (ed.), Social and Cultural Pluralism in the Caribbean, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 83, Article 5, 1960, p. 828; Klass, M., "East and West Indian: Cultural Complexity in Trinidad," in Rubin, V. (ed.), op. cit., p. 857.
3. Clarke, E., My Mother Who Fathered Me (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1957), p. 27; Blake, J., Family Structure in Jamaica: The Social Context of Reproduction (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961), pp. 118-123.
4. There is no published evidence on this point. The present writer is here relying completely on participant observation in Trinidad society.
5. See, for example, Blake, op. cit., pp. 118-123; Goode, W. J., "Illegitimacy in the Caribbean Social Structure," American Sociological Review, 25 (February, 1960), p. 24.
6. Rodman, H., Family Relationships in a Lower-Class Negro Village in Trinidad, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1957, p. 27; Rodman, H., "Marital Relationships in a Trinidad Village," Marriage and Family Living, 23 (May, 1961), pp. 166-167.
7. Reference is being made here to deprivation economically as well as in terms of social prestige. Deprivation by itself does not necessarily lead to a striving for upward social mobility. It may in fact frequently give rise to a downward adjustment of expectations. Under some conditions, however, individuals who are "deprived" in the senses suggested here may strive for the enhancement of their wealth or social prestige. It has been suggested, for example, that among the factors which may help to determine whether or not "deprived" individuals will seek such enhancement are the opportunity structure of the society and the individuals' beliefs and expectations concerning the opportunity structure. See, for example, Tumin, M., Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 104; Perrucci, R., "Education, Stratification, and Mobility," in Hansen, D. A. and Gerstl, J. E. (eds.), On Education - Sociological Perspectives (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 118-119.

The present writer is arguing that in Trinidad the feeling of "deprivation" is intensified by rising expectations. At the same time, the opportunity structure is apparently becoming increasingly open and furthermore is likely to be perceived by East Indians and Negroes as being increasingly open. Such factors probably help to develop among East Indian and Negro students of lower SES a strong emphasis on education as a means of achieving upward social mobility. In other words, "deprivation" operates in conjunction with other factors to help give rise to a strong emphasis on education among these students.

8. See discussions relating to the increasing openness of the social structure of Trinidad and Tobago in Chapters I and II. Some opportunities were available to Trinidad citizens even before the attainment of political independence. In the post-World War II period the British Colonial Office was willing to substitute for "expatriates" a small number of Trinidadians with slightly less attainments and qualifications. See, Pujadas, L., "A Note on Education Development in Trinidad and Tobago 1956-1966," Research Papers, No. 6 (Trinidad and Tobago: Central Statistical Office, 1969), p. 7.
9. Niehoff, A. and Niehoff, J., East Indians in the West Indies (Milwaukee, Wis.: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1960), pp. 14-26; Green, op. cit., p. 15.
10. See, for example, Rogoff, N., "Local Social Structure and Educational Selection," in Halsey, A. H., Floud, J. and Anderson, C. A. (eds.), Education, Economy, and Society (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 245-246; Herriott, R., "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspiration," Harvard Educational Review, 32 (Spring, 1963), pp. 165-167; Sewell, W. H. et al., "The Educational and Early Occupational Attainment Process," American Sociological Review, 34 (February, 1969), pp. 88-89.
11. See, for example, Sewell et al., op. cit., pp. 88-89.

These authors suggest that the "direct" relationship they have found between school performance and educational expectation may be mediated by some such factor as self-concept of ability.

12. See, for example, Bordua, D. J., "Educational Aspirations and Parental Stress on College," Social Forces, 38 (March, 1960), pp. 266-267; Bell, G. D., "Processes in the Formation of Adolescents' Aspirations," Social Forces, 42 (December, 1963), p. 183; Cohen, E. G., "Parental Factors in Educational Mobility," Sociology of Education, 38 (Fall, 1965), pp. 418-419.
13. Rodman, H., Family Relationships in a Lower-Class Negro Village in Trinidad, Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Harvard University, 1957, pp. 110-111.

14. There is evidence which suggests that among low-SES Negroes males tend to have a closer relationship than females with parents. For example, a son may turn over money to his parents when he begins to work (see Rodman, op. cit., pp. 110-111). Although daughters may continue to reside with their parents while having a mating relationship with a non-resident male, this does not necessarily mean that parents desire this situation. They may indeed become angry with a daughter who becomes pregnant in this way (see Goode, op. cit., pp. 24-25). Thus, the dependence of the low-SES female upon her parents does not necessarily mean that she has a closer relationship with them than their male counterparts do.

15. Green, op. cit., p. 15.

16. In view of the fair degree of similarity in family structure among high-SES subgroups of all ethnic sections of the population, it is possible that as in the case of East Indians high-SES Negro females tend to be more integrated into their family than their male counterparts, with the result that the former are more responsive than the latter to parental encouragement.

17. It is necessary to indicate that these percentages are based on such small numbers (6 males and 7 females) that one cannot say with certainty that this is a reliable finding. The finding and the discussion of it must therefore be regarded as very tentative.

18. For the purposes of this discussion, upward social mobility may be defined as achieving a higher SES than one's parents or maintaining the SES of one's family of orientation if one belongs to a high-SES family.

19. See Niehoff and Niehoff, op. cit., pp. 14-26.

These writers indicate that the majority of low-SES East Indians are concentrated in rural areas and are less "Westernized" than urban East Indians. Thus, the East Indian family structure discussed in Chapter II may be even more typical of low-SES East Indians than of those of high SES or middle SES.

See, also, Green, op. cit., p. 7.

20. The percentage (63.6%) for the low-SES East Indian females is based on a relatively small number of cases (11), so that perhaps one cannot place too much confidence in this result.

21. Again, the small numbers of cases on which these percentages are based present a problem regarding the amount of confidence that can be placed in these results. What is also interesting here is that East Indian females of all SES subgroups report a very low level of educational expectation when they have low school performance and low parental encouragement.



22. Kahl found the prediction of educational expectation difficult among "middle-class" and "working-class" students with high I.Q. He distinguished between "getting ahead" parents (who were dissatisfied with their own achievements in life and consequently tried to push their children upward) and "getting by" parents (who were in general contented with their achievements and did not reveal a need to compensate through children's achievements for any perceived lack of success on their own part). See Kahl, J., "'Common Man' Boys," in Halsey, A. H., Floud, J., and Anderson, C. A. (eds.), Education, Economy and Society (New York: Free Press, 1961), pp. 349ff. Among students of this "middle range", therefore, it was parental orientation towards education rather than students' I.Q. which distinguished youths who planned to go to college from those who did not. A similar phenomenon seems to occur here among Negro females.
23. Again, caution is necessary in presenting and discussing these results. In the subgroup of low-SES Negro females with high school performance but low parental encouragement there are only 12 cases (50.0% of these with high educational expectation) while in the corresponding subgroup with high parental encouragement there are only 7 cases (14.3% with high educational expectation).
24. In other words, among middle-SES East Indian females school performance does not appear to make much difference to educational expectation in the absence of high parental encouragement. It appears that for this specific subgroup high parental encouragement is a necessary condition for the relationship between school performance and educational expectation to occur.
25. See, for example, Haller, A. P. and Butterworth, C., "Peer Influences on Occupational and Educational Aspirations," Social Forces, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 292-295; Krauss, I., "Sources of Educational Aspirations Among Working-Class Youth," American Sociological Review, 29 (December, 1964), p. 877.
26. McDill, E. L. and Coleman, J. S., "Family and Peer Influences on College Plans of High School Students," Sociology of Education, 38 (Winter, 1965), pp. 112-126.
27. See, for example, Coleman, J. S., The Adolescent Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961) for a discussion of a supposedly distinct adolescent subculture.
28. See, for example, Simpson, R. L., "Parental Influence, Anticipatory Socialization, and Social Mobility," American Sociological Review, 27 (August, 1962), pp. 520-521; McDill and Coleman, op. cit., p. 121.

29. A relevant factor here may be the small numbers in some cells. Because of such small numbers it is difficult to assert strongly the existence of the relationships discussed above or to offer a coherent explanation of them.
30. Cross, M. and Schwartzbaum, A. M., "Social Mobility and Secondary School Selection in Trinidad and Tobago," Social and Economic Studies, 14 (June, 1969), pp. 189-207.
31. It must be noted, however, that the number of cases in this low-SES subgroup is extremely small (10), which raises some doubt about the amount of confidence that might be placed in the percentage (70.0%) reported for this cell.
32. It may again be observed that the percentage (0.0%) for these low-SES females is based on an extremely small number of cases (9).

## Chapter V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It was stated in Chapter I that the present investigation was guided by three main objectives. The first was to shed light on the relationship of sex, socio-economic status, school performance, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans with the educational expectation of East Indian and Negro students attending public secondary schools in Trinidad. The second objective was to discover whether it could be suggested that certain aspects of the social structure of Trinidad - already discussed in the literature on Trinidad society - influenced the relationships indicated above. These aspects of social structure were the system of social stratification and ethnicity. The third objective was to raise some issues concerning social stratification - more specifically, social mobility - in Trinidad. The contents of the present chapter will be organized around these three objectives. In addition, there will be a brief discussion relating to possible lines for future research.

#### Relationships Between the Selected Variables and Educational Expectation

On the whole the association of each of the variables parental encouragement, friends' educational plans and school performance with subjects' educational expectation was positive. It was suggested that in general parents and friends were important significant others for both East Indian and Negro students and that, as a result, parental

encouragement and friends' educational plans were positively related to the educational expectation of these students. It was also suggested that "high" school performance gave students greater confidence in their ability to succeed at university than "low" school performance did, resulting in a positive relationship between school performance and educational expectation. The findings of the present study regarding the relationships of parental encouragement, friends' educational plans and subjects' school performance with educational expectation tended to be consistent with those of North American studies.

It was found, however, that the relationships of sex and SES with educational expectation differed to some extent from those typically reported by North American studies. The association between SES and educational expectation in particular was found to be quite complex. The association of sex and SES with educational expectation will be discussed briefly in the following section of the chapter. The major findings of the study are summarized in Appendix C.

#### Possible Influence of Selected Aspects of the Social Structure of Trinidad on Specified Relationships

Ethnic differences in sex role expectations were regarded as influencing the relationship between sex and educational expectation. It was found that among East Indians of all SES subgroups as well as Negroes of the high-SES and middle-SES subgroups males tended to have higher educational expectation than females. The nature of these findings was attributed to sex role expectations. In these subgroups males would

generally be expected to assume major responsibility for the support of their family as adults. In view of this an extended education would tend to be regarded as more desirable for them than for their female counterparts since the returns on an investment in extended schooling was likely to bring greater returns in the case of males than of females. However, in the case of high-SES Negroes with "high" school performance and either (a) "high" parental encouragement or (b) friends with high educational expectation males tended to have higher educational expectation than females.

Among low-SES Negroes, females tended to have higher educational expectation than males. It was suggested that this could be due partly to the importance attached by these females to preparing themselves for the possible role of major providers for their families, education being viewed as an important means of enabling them to support their family if necessary. The suggestion was also made that the relatively strong emphasis placed by these low-SES females on securing a legally recognized marriage probably contributed to the tendency among them to have higher educational expectation than their male counterparts. A university education would enhance their chances of marrying at the high-SES level of the society where legally recognized unions are the norm. However, among low-SES Negroes with "high" school performance and either (a) "high" parental encouragement or (b) friends with low educational expectation males tended to be more likely than females to report having definite university plans.

The findings regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation were very complex. Among East Indian females

with "high" school performance and either "high" parental encouragement or friends reporting definite university plans, the high-SES students appeared to have a clearly higher level of educational expectation than the others. Under other conditions, however, the level of educational expectation of high-SES students tended to be relatively close to - and sometimes lower than - that of their middle-SES and low-SES counterparts. In other words, SES differences in level of educational expectation among East Indian females tended to be minimized when school performance was "low," parental encouragement was "low" and friends had low educational expectation.

Among East Indian males (a) with "high" school performance and/or "high" parental encouragement or (b) with "high" school performance and/or friends reporting definite university plans, the relationship between SES and educational expectation tended to be curvilinear. The middle-SES East Indians males were the least likely to report having definite university plans. When school performance was "low" and either (a) parental encouragement was "low" or (b) friends had low educational expectation, middle-SES East Indian males were as likely as or more likely than their high-SES and low-SES counterparts to report definite university plans.

Among Negro males with "high" school performance there seemed to be a curvilinear relationship between SES and educational expectation, with middle-SES students having a higher level of educational expectation than their high-SES or low-SES counterparts. When Negro males had "low" school performance, there seemed to be a positive linear relationship between SES and educational expectation among them. Both these relation-

ships held when parental encouragement or "friends' educational plans" was controlled. Among Negro females, the association of SES with educational expectation was again quite complex. However, one fairly consistent feature of the findings among these Negro females was that low-SES students tended to have higher educational expectation than corresponding high-SES and middle-SES ones.

The highly varied relationships found between SES and educational expectation in the present sample differed somewhat from the fairly stable, positive and linear relationship observed among secondary school students in North America. It appeared that in Trinidad East Indian and Negro students of certain middle-SES and low-SES subgroups in the present sample had a level of educational expectation which was fairly similar to and sometimes higher than that of students in corresponding high-SES subgroups. The possibility was raised that such a phenomenon could be due to a number of factors, including structural ones. It was suggested that one possible factor was rising expectations in the population as a whole but especially in SES subgroups previously deprived in terms of material standards of living and prestige. Others included increases in occupational opportunities of the type which would facilitate upward social mobility and a growing emphasis in the society on improved educational and occupational opportunities for groups which have been relatively underprivileged with regard to such opportunities. It was suggested that such factors would tend to minimize sex-related differences among these secondary school students with respect to level of educational expectation.

It appeared, however, that not all subgroups of middle-SES and low-SES students had relatively high levels of educational expectation.

Those that did were, in the main, comprised of respondents who had enjoyed a fairly high degree of academic success at secondary school, perceived their parents as encouraging university education and/or had friends with high educational expectation. Furthermore, the middle-SES and low-SES subgroups with relatively high levels of educational expectation were mainly those comprised of students who would regard it as normal for them to assume major responsibility for the support of their family as adults. These subgroups were middle-SES Negro males, low-SES Negro females and low-SES East Indian males.

It was also found that the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation was stronger among East Indians than among Negroes. When parents were perceived as encouraging university education, East Indian students tended to have a higher level of educational expectation than their Negro counterparts. However, when parents were not perceived as encouraging university education East Indian students tended to have a lower level of educational expectation than similar Negro students.

The stronger relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation among East Indians than among Negroes was attributed at least partly to ethnic differences in the cohesiveness of the family. It was suggested that as a result of their greater integration into the family East Indian youths are more responsive to and dependent upon the standards of educational achievement parents are perceived to support than corresponding Negro youths tend to be. The strong orientation of East Indian youths toward the family was also suggested as a possible



explanation for the finding that among East Indians the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation was stronger than that between friends' educational plans and educational expectation.

In view of the ethnic differences in child role expectations reported in the literature, it was hypothesized that friends' educational plans has a stronger relationship with educational expectation among Negroes than among East Indians. It was argued that, since Negroes were socialized to emphasize social relationships outside the family whereas East Indians by and large were not, Negroes would be more strongly oriented than East Indians toward peers and consequently would tend to be more strongly influenced by their friends' educational plans. However, the data provided little evidence to support such an argument. Indeed, there was a fairly strong tendency for East Indians whose friends reported definite university plans to have a higher level of educational expectation than corresponding Negroes whose friends also reported definite university plans. It was suggested that one explanation for this unexpected finding could be the increasing orientation of East Indian youths toward peers as they progressed through secondary school. It was noted, however, that the lack of friends with high educational expectation tended to depress the level of educational expectation of Negroes more than that of East Indians.

Contrary to the hypothesis advanced, the data analysis provided rather weak evidence that among Negroes the relationship between friends' educational plans and educational expectation was stronger than that between parental encouragement and educational expectation. In only five out of twelve Negro subgroups was there support for the hypothesis. These subgroups were low-SES males, high-SES females and low-SES females with

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low school performance. The fact that the hypothesis received support for low-SES Negroes could be attributed to some extent perhaps to the relatively low cohesiveness of the Negro family at this level, which would tend to render the influence of parents on youths' educational expectation relatively weak. However, it was difficult to explain why the hypothesis was supported among high-SES Negro females but not among their male counterparts. The major interpretations discussed in this section of the chapter are summarized in Appendix D.

In view of its importance for occupational attainment, education is of central concern in the analysis of social stratification and social mobility. In the following section, an attempt will be made to draw upon the major findings of this study and the suggested interpretations of these findings in order to speculate about social mobility in Trinidad.

#### Some Issues Regarding Social Mobility in Trinidad

As suggested in Chapter I, education has become increasingly important for access to occupations in Trinidad and is therefore highly relevant to the analysis of social mobility in the society.<sup>0</sup> However, this study has no data on educational achievement and a considerable amount of caution is necessary in employing the findings relating to educational expectation and the suggested interpretations of such findings in order to discuss social mobility in Trinidad.<sup>1</sup>

There are various reasons why such caution is necessary. First, no research appears to have been conducted in Trinidad regarding the extent to which youths succeed in transforming educational expectation

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into educational achievement. Thus the degree to which the level of educational expectation of such youths is a useful predictor of their level of educational achievement is not known. Secondly, there exists no evidence as to whether (a) East Indians and Negroes or (b) males and females are equally successful in transforming educational expectation into educational achievement. Thus, any proposition relating to social mobility which is based on the assumption that level of educational expectation predicts level of educational achievement to the same degree in both ethnic groups or both sex subgroups must be regarded as largely speculative and requiring empirical investigation.

It may also be noted that while the findings of the present study with regard to the association of the variables sex, SES, parental encouragement and friends' educational plans with educational expectation have been interpreted to a large extent in terms of selected aspects of the social structure of Trinidad, the existence of the links between these findings and such aspects of the social structure has not yet been demonstrated empirically. Furthermore, while in the following discussion it is assumed that the opportunity structure in Trinidad is equally open to East Indians and Negroes as well as to males and females, the present investigation can draw upon no empirical data to support such assumptions.

For such reasons, the following discussion is largely speculative in character and conclusions may be regarded by and large as hypotheses subject to empirical testing. Indeed, some of the main objectives of exploratory studies are to attempt refinement of existing

hypotheses, to develop new hypotheses or to formulate problems for more precise investigation.

As indicated earlier in the present chapter, the variables of parental encouragement, friends' educational plans and school performance are on the whole positively related to educational expectation. Given the assumptions made above with regard to the existence of a link between educational expectation and social mobility, it appears possible that these variables - being related to educational expectation - would tend by implication to be related also to upward social mobility on the part of the youths in the sample.

As observed above, however, the objectives of exploratory studies may include the development of hypotheses or the formulation of problems for more precise investigation. Accordingly, an attempt will now be made on the bases of the findings and suggested interpretations of such findings in the present study to raise some issues relating to social mobility in Trinidad.

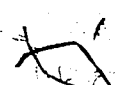
For example, it is frequently suggested that in developed societies an individualistic orientation is functional for upward social mobility whereas a strong familistic orientation is not.<sup>2</sup> Perrucci, for example, refers to the "functional role played by loose family ties in the process of mobility" especially among working-class youths. Such youths are then inclined "to look outside the family for information, advice, and support for upward social mobility" and are not held back by such factors as involvement in the extended family or concern about leaving the family.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of the findings and their discussion in the present study, however, it may be asked whether in Trinidad a strong familistic orientation is necessarily dysfunctional with regard to educational expectation and, by implication, upward social mobility. It seems that East Indians tend to retain much of the "familism"<sup>4</sup> which is frequently regarded by social scientists as typical of "traditional" societies. As a result of this "familism", however, East Indian youths are by and large markedly responsive to the expectations of their parents. Consequently, they tend to have relatively high levels of educational expectation as compared with Negro youths so long as they perceive their parents as supporting such levels of educational expectation. In Trinidad, in other words, the "traditional" element of "familism" may well contribute to the individual social mobility which is reportedly characteristic of "modernity."<sup>5</sup>

It is interesting to note, however, that development of societies is frequently conceived as involving a linear change from tradition to modernity,<sup>6</sup> a change from one polar extreme to another. It is necessary for new social forms and values - usually those regarded as characteristic of already modernized societies - to replace traditional ones in the society which is in the process of development. It is possible, however, to question this point of view.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, it has been suggested that traditional social forms and values can co-exist with and even contribute to modernity.<sup>8</sup> The findings and their interpretation between parental encouragement and educational expectation raise the possibility that the latter view could be the more defensible one.

Again, one might ask how important structural factors are in accounting for "social-class" or ethnic differences in emphasis on "success." It was found in the present study that certain subgroups of middle-SES and low-SES secondary school students were as likely as or even more likely than their high-SES counterparts to report having definite university plans. It was suggested that one of the factors giving rise to such a phenomenon is the increasing openness of the social structure of Trinidad as growing emphasis is placed on improving educational and occupational opportunities for groups which have been relatively underprivileged in the past in terms of such opportunities. In other words, certain middle-SES and low-SES subgroups of secondary school students reported relatively high levels of educational expectation perhaps in part because the channels of upward social mobility in Trinidad have become increasingly open. If this interpretation of the finding is correct, then the latter suggests that structural factors may contribute to apparent "social-class" differences in emphasis on "success."

The importance of structural factors again seems evident when one considers the question of differences between East Indians and Negroes with regard to emphasis on education. As noted in Chapter II, East Indians are reported as a group to possess a "striving orientation" and to place a strong emphasis on educational achievement as a means of social mobility whereas there is little evidence of a similar tendency among Negroes as a group. Applied to the students in the present sample, this would imply that East Indians tend to have higher educational



expectation than Negroes because of a cultural difference - that is, a difference relating to emphasis on educational achievement. However, such a conclusion may prove to be an oversimplification of reality.

The present investigation has found that the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation is stronger among East Indians than among Negroes. When students perceive "high" parental encouragement, East Indians generally have a higher level of educational expectation than their Negro counterparts. In other words, even when Negro students perceive their parents as supporting high educational achievement they still have a lower level of educational expectation than similar East Indian youths. This finding has been attributed in the present study to an ethnic difference in the cohesiveness of the family. If this interpretation is correct it follows that differences between East Indians and Negroes with respect to level of educational expectation, and by implication social mobility, may be due partly to a structural factor - to membership in ethnic groups which differ in terms of family cohesiveness. Implicit here, of course, is a distinction between the usage of "ethnic group" as indicating the possession of certain cultural characteristics and the usage of "ethnic group" as denoting a unit in the social structure of the society. It is in the latter sense that ethnicity may be regarded as a structural factor.

An issue which may be raised in relation to the foregoing discussion concerns the extent to which differences between SES or ethnic groups in level of "aspiration"<sup>9</sup> - and, by implication, upward

social mobility - may be attributed primarily to structural or to cultural and other factors.<sup>10</sup> For example, apparent "social-class" differences in "aspiration" have often been regarded as due to cultural differences between such social classes. Working-class people, it has been suggested, place less value on formal education and are less ambitious than middle-class people.<sup>11</sup> However, there is evidence that these social classes do not differ significantly from each other with regard to the importance attached to occupational and other forms of "success."<sup>12</sup> Apparent social-class differences in the emphasis placed on "success" are then seen as due to factors related to social structure. These factors include, for example, the perception by many working-class youths that the channels to occupational success are largely closed to them or the downward adjustment by such youths of their goals in the light of unfavourable financial and other circumstances.<sup>13</sup>

It has not been established empirically whether the interpretations of the findings in the present investigation regarding (a) the relationship between SES and educational expectation and (b) ethnic differences in the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation are correct. If they are, however, these findings appear to lend some support to the point of view which emphasizes the importance of structural factors in attempting to explain apparent social-class and, to some extent, ethnic differences in emphasis on "success."

One might also ask whether in Trinidad the educational system is viewed by different ethnic groups as an important instrument in the



competition for economic, prestige and other rewards. The present investigation has no data relating to this issue. However, some studies do suggest that a certain amount of competition for social status prevails between Negroes and East Indians.<sup>14</sup>

If these two ethnic groups use the educational system in competing for social status, it is possible that East Indian youths attending public secondary schools will tend to be more successful in the contest than their Negro counterparts - assuming of course that the two ethnic groups are equally able to transform educational expectation into educational achievement and that the opportunity structure is equally open to the two groups.

As indicated in Chapter II, published literature on Trinidad society suggests that East Indians as a group place a greater emphasis than Negroes on educational achievement. If East Indian youths continue to be more strongly oriented towards the family than their Negro counterparts, then the East Indian family will tend to be more successful than the Negro family in encouraging the young to hold high educational expectation. If there are no forces - such as peer group influence - which are strong enough to compensate for the relatively weak influence of the Negro family, then East Indian youths will perhaps tend to have higher educational expectation - and presumably a higher rate of upward social mobility - than their Negro counterparts.

An issue which can be raised in the light of the foregoing discussion is related to the question of the importance of a system of stratification in a society. Functionalists - generally emphasizing equilibrium, balance and functional interconnections within a society -

tend to see the stratification system as performing an integrative function.<sup>15</sup> Although individuals are allocated to positions differing from one another in terms of rewards, such individuals - it is claimed - tend to respond to their fates with the feeling that they have been fairly treated. Generally, the system of education is one of the principal mechanisms for the allocation of individuals to positions in the society.

Conflict theorists, on the other hand, view social stratification as "a major source of continuing conflict in a society."<sup>16</sup> Collins - using a Weberian framework - observes, for example, that a modern industrial society contains within its social structure a number of "status groups" competing for such "goods" as wealth, power or prestige. In such a situation, the educational system may be perceived by such groups and may indeed function as an important means of helping them in their struggle for desired "goods."<sup>17</sup>

Collins' perspective on the role of education in modern industrial society may be applicable to developing societies also. For example, it has been suggested that one source of the popular demand for education in India has been the competition among groups (e.g. castes) for social prestige and other rewards.<sup>18</sup>

With regard to Trinidad society, one may ask how far the educational system serves mainly as a mechanism for allocating individuals to positions in the society and consequently can be said to play an important role in facilitating the integrative function of the system of stratification. One may ask whether, alternatively, the educational

system in Trinidad serves as an instrument for competition between ethnic groups for rewards of various kinds. The issue in other words is whether a functionalist or a conflict perspective is the more appropriate one for an understanding of the full significance of the role played by education regarding social mobility in Trinidad.

The final issue which will be raised here concerns the adequacy of the investigation of intergenerational mobility (and the study of educational expectation is related to this form of investigation) for a full understanding of the factors influencing social mobility in developing societies. It is frequently assumed, for example, that as societies modernize there tends to be a shift from emphasis on ascribed characteristics to emphasis on achieved ones in the allocation of persons to positions in society.<sup>19</sup> It has been suggested that education, for instance, becomes an important dissolver of barriers to social mobility, opening up the class structure and increasing the amount of circulation through class positions.<sup>20</sup>

In a recent study, however, Jacobson and Kendrick have challenged the assumption that in modernization there is necessarily a shift from ascribed to achieved characteristics, insofar as the role of education is concerned, in determining individuals' chances for career advancement. They argue that such an assumption has been based on studies of intergenerational mobility and that studies of intragenerational mobility are more appropriate for studying such changes.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of a study of the career experiences of three Puerto Rican age cohorts, they conclude that in some respects modernization is accompanied by a

shift from achievement to ascription. Their evidence indicated that the growth of certification requirements damaged the career mobility opportunities of some workers. When new certification requirements for employment and promotion were introduced into an already existing labour force the criteria for career advancement were no longer achievement (how well one could do a job) but increasingly became ascription (how much education one had).

In the light of the investigation by Jacobson and Kendrick, it may be suggested that the study of educational expectation or educational achievement and their relationship to intergenerational mobility has limitations regarding the contribution it can make toward providing a full understanding of the factors influencing social mobility in developing societies. There seems to be a need for studies of intra-generational mobility - and the part played by formal educational requirements in influencing such mobility - in order to provide more adequate knowledge of changes in the factors influencing social mobility in societies such as Trinidad.

#### Suggestions for Future Research

A major problem in the present investigation concerns the degree of confidence that may be placed in the findings. Frequently, the percentages in the tables are based on very small numbers of cases. A study similar to the present one but using a much larger sample would be useful for indicating whether or not the findings of this study may be accepted with greater confidence.

It is also important that all hypotheses be tested with more refined data. For example, a more refined measure of educational expectation (such as allowing subjects to choose from a wider range of educational levels) will facilitate finer distinctions among students with regard to educational expectation. Similarly, it appears useful to devise more sensitive and refined measures of such variables as SES and parental encouragement since subjects could then be differentiated more clearly in terms of such independent variables.

While the presentation of suggestions for future research has so far dealt with the quality of the data, it is also possible to identify a number of specific research problems. Some of these relate to the task of determining whether the interpretations of the findings in the present study are valid. Others arise out of the speculations regarding social mobility in Trinidad.

For example, it has been suggested that the strong relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation among East Indians than among Negroes is due to the stronger orientation of East Indians towards their family. It is possible to test empirically the validity of such an argument. Instruments measuring degree of orientation toward the family may be devised.<sup>32</sup> If the argument concerning ethnic differences in degree of orientation toward the family is valid, ethnic differences in the relationship between parental encouragement and educational expectation ought at least to decline when degree of orientation toward the family is controlled.

It may be worthwhile to include other factors in the study of educational expectation in Trinidad. For example, relatives other than

members of the household to which the youth belongs may influence the youth with respect to educational expectation. Teachers may also be an important influence. So might peers outside the school.

The suggested interpretations of the findings regarding sex-related differences in educational expectation raise a number of questions for empirical investigation. For example, are there differences between high-SES East Indian females on the one hand and middle-SES and low-SES ones on the other with respect to desire to combine marriage with a career? To what extent are low-SES Negro females, as compared with their male counterparts, concerned about the possibility that they may have to assume responsibility for the support of their family? To what extent is their degree of concern related to educational expectation? To what extent are low-SES Negro females, as compared with their male counterparts, concerned about (a) achieving a legally recognized marriage and (b) employing education as a means of achieving such a marriage?

The interpretation of the findings regarding the relationship between SES and educational expectation also raises questions for future research. For example, how open are the social structure and the opportunity structure of Trinidad? How strong is the relationship between "perception of the openness of the social structure" and educational expectation?

A line of investigation relevant to the present study would require longitudinal data. Information about educational expectation as well as educational achievement of youths in Trinidad would enable one to discover the extent to which educational expectation is

transformed into educational achievement. Additional data concerning the extent to which these youths translate educational achievement into occupational achievement would also be useful. Data of the kind being discussed here would enable one to discover whether ethnic or sex subgroups differ from each other in terms of ability to transform educational expectation into educational achievement and ultimately into occupational achievement. The discussion in the present chapter relating to social mobility in Trinidad assumes there is no such difference between ethnic or sex subgroups but empirical evidence is needed on this point.

With regard to the issue of the extent to which "tradition" and "modernity" are mutually exclusive, there are possible research problems. For example, do East Indians have a stronger familistic orientation than Negroes? What is the nature of the relationship between "familism" and educational expectation among East Indians?

With respect to the issue regarding the appropriateness of a functionalist as opposed to a conflict perspective on the significance of the role played by education in social mobility, certain questions arise. For example, to what extent do East Indians and Negroes see themselves as competing with each other for social status? To what extent do they view education as a means of competing for such status?

Empirical evidence bearing on research problems or questions such as those raised above may shed valuable light on the validity of interpretations of some of the findings in the present study. Such evidency may also contribute towards resolving some of the issues raised regarding social mobility in Trinidad.

## FOOTNOTES

1. See, for example, Hauser, R. M., Socio-Economic Background and Educational Performance (Washington, D.C.: American Sociological Association, 1971), p. 107; Sewell, W. H., "Inequality of Opportunity for Higher Education," American Sociological Review, 36 (October, 1971), p. 799.
2. See, for example, Perrucci, R., "Education, Stratification and Mobility," in Hansen, D. A. and Gerstl, J. E. (eds.), On Education - Sociological Perspectives (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 135-136; Banks, O. The Sociology of Education (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1968), pp. 78-80.
3. Perrucci, op. cit., pp. 135-136.
4. One might ask whether the cohesiveness of the East Indian family is not related to a familistic orientation among East Indians. It appears that no attempts have been made to measure "familism" among East Indians in Trinidad. It is possible, however, that such phenomena as the relatively close supervision and control of youths' activities, the expectation that young adults would submit to parental participation or responsibility in the choice of spouses for them, the obligation frequently thrust upon older educated sons to assume responsibility for the education of younger siblings, and the usually strong integration of youths into and orientation towards the family are all indicative of an underlying familistic orientation among East Indians.
5. It has been indicated that modernization tends to be associated with an increase in individual social mobility. See, for example, Smelser, N. J. and Lipset, S. M. (eds.), Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), p. 12. These authors observe that during periods of rapid development social structures tend to become differentiated from one another and consequently individual mobility through occupational and other structural hierarchies tends to increase. The latter signifies "the separation of the adult's roles from his point of origin."
6. Gusfield, J. R., "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," American Journal of Sociology, 72 (January, 1967), pp. 351-352.
7. See, for example, Frank, A. G., Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution (New York: Modern Reader, 1969), pp. 23-39; Gusfield, op. cit., pp. 351-357.



8. Gusfield, op. cit., pp. 356-357.

Gusfield argues that "tradition" and "modernity" are not mutually exclusive. He indicates, for example, how in India major industrial organizations have grown out of and have been supported by the existence of "traditional" family units.

9. "Aspiration" as employed in many discussions is equivalent to "expectation" as defined in the present study.
10. For a discussion of psychological factors (such as achievement motivation) which may be associated with social mobility see, for example, Crockett, Jr., H. J., "Psychological Origins of Mobility," in Smelser and Lipset (eds.), op. cit., pp. 280-309; Banks, op. cit., pp. 85-87.
11. For discussions of this point see, for example, Banks, op. cit., pp. 74-76; Craft, M. (ed.), "Family, Class, and Education: Changing Perspectives," in Craft, M. (ed.), Family, Class and Education (London: Longmans, 1969), pp. 18-20; McKinley, D. G., Social Class and Family Life (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1964), pp. 19-22.
12. See, for example, Banks, op. cit., pp. 76-78; Craft, op. cit., pp. 18-20. See, also, Turner, R., The Social Context of Ambition (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 213. Turner discussed the concept of "value relevancy:" different social strata may accept the same value but may differ from one another in the extent to which they translate it into a goal for their own behaviour.
13. See, for example, Perrucci, op. cit., p. 133; Banks, op. cit., pp. 77-78; Craft, op. cit., pp. 19-20; Caro, F. G., "Social Class and Attitudes of Youth Relevant for the Realization of Adult Goals," Social Forces, 44 (June, 1966), pp. 492-498; Caro, F. G. and Pihlblad, C. T., "Aspirations and Expectations: A Reexamination of the Bases for Social Class Differences in Occupational Orientations of Male High School Students," Sociology and Social Research, 49 (1964-65), pp. 465-475, especially p. 468.
14. See Niehoff, A. and Niehoff, J., East Indians in the West Indies (Milwaukee, Wis.: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1960), pp. 64-65, 184-185. These authors observe that as East Indians gained greater economic and professional success and also moved into fields previously dominated by Negroes, there were indications of rivalry and friction. They indicate specifically there has been some status competition between East Indians and Negroes.

Klass describes the fear expressed by some East Indians that the Negroes want to elevate themselves but keep the East Indians down. See Klass, M., East Indians in Trinidad: A Study of Cultural Persistence (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 244.

Somewhat similar evidence comes from Lewis, G. K., "The Trinidad and Tobago General Election of 1961," Caribbean Studies, 2 (July, 1962), pp. 22-23; Naipaul, V. S., The Middle Passage (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 79.

15. Tumin, M., Social Stratification: The Forms and Functions of Inequality (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 10.
16. Tumin, op. cit., p. 11.
17. Collins, R., "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification," American Sociological Review, 36 (December, 1971), pp. 1004-1011.
18. Gusfield, J., "Educational and Social Segmentation in Modern India," in Fischer, J. (ed.), The Social Sciences and the Comparative Study of Educational Systems (Scranton, Penn.: International Textbook Co., 1970), p. 273.
19. See, for example, Smelser and Lipset (eds.), op. cit., p. 12; Goslin, D. A., The School in Contemporary Society (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1965), pp. 8-9.
20. Smelser and Lipset, op. cit., p. 34.
21. See Jacobson, B. and Kendrick, J. M., "Education and Mobility: From Achievement to Ascription," American Sociological Review, 38 (August, 1973), pp. 439-460.

The distinction between ascription and achievement criteria usually refers to the extent to which children inherit their parents' social status. The data for such comparisons come from comparative studies of intergenerational social mobility. ...The basic model for the study of modernization or industrialization is a "transition" model. ...Researchers specify beginning and end points of change such as tradition and modernity or being non-industrialized and industrialized. The beginning points of each are then searched for factors which account for the successful transitions of one as opposed to another society. ...The chief shortcoming of these models for the study of historical change is the assumption that time is an irrelevant formal dimension. Researchers need not refer to the temporal order of events to account for change. However,

factor language is causal language and causal language requires that the temporal order of variables be correct. ...Moving from a transition model to a sequence model encourages research on the role of education in stratification change. Temporal order requires dating the elements in analysis as closely as possible. This makes the conventional intergenerational comparisons less than adequate. Jacobson and Kendrick, op. cit., pp. 439-441.

22. See, for example, Abu-Laban, B., "The Adolescent Peer Group in Cross-Cultural Perspective," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 7 (August, 1970), pp. 201-211.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix A

### INTRODUCTION TO QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a study of the plans of Fifth Form students regarding education and employment. All information you give will be strictly private and confidential. Your name, or the name of your form or school, will not be mentioned anywhere when your answers are being studied and analyzed.

This is not a test. Any answer you give will be correct, so long as you believe it to be true.

Please make sure that you have three things:

- 1) a questionnaire booklet,
- 2) a foolscap sheet, and
- 3) a printed IBM answer sheet.

The questionnaire has two sections. The first section is to be answered on the foolscap sheet and the second section on the IBM answer sheet. If one foolscap sheet is not enough you may ask for another.

Please do not write anything in the questionnaire booklet.

Please read and follow very carefully all instructions in the questionnaire. Do not consult other students about the questionnaire.

As soon as you have finished both sections of the questionnaire, please place your answer sheets together face down and take them to the table you have been shown. Also, please take the questionnaire booklet to the table you have been shown.

You may begin.

## Appendix B

### THE QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is part of a study of the educational and occupational plans of Fifth Form students. Any answer you give is correct, so long as you think it true. All information you provide will be strictly private and confidential. For example, your name will not be mentioned anywhere when your answers are being studied and analyzed. However, your name is necessary for the analysis of certain items in the questionnaire.

Please read and follow very carefully all instructions in the questionnaire.

Work steadily through the two sections of the questionnaire.

#### Section A

The answers for this section must be written on the foolscap sheet. Please do not write in the questionnaire booklet.

Number your answers carefully as you go along.

1. What is your name in full?
  2. What was your age last birthday?
  3. Are you Male or Female?
  4. What is the name of the town or village where you parents live (e.g. "Piparo, Williamsville")?
  5. If you do not ordinarily live with your parents, what is the name of the town or village where you live?
  6. With which adult relatives do you live? (For example, "mother and father," "mother and stepfather," "grandmother," "grandmother and mother," "uncle," etc.)
  7. What is the name of your father's job? If he has retired, name the job he had before his retirement. (For example, "motor-mechanic," "teacher," "labourer," "carpenter," "doctor," etc.)
  8. Please describe carefully as possible the work that he does. (For example, "Works in the garage at Neal and Massey. Repairs motor-
-

vehicles;" "Teaches in a Government elementary school;" "Works on the sugar-cane estates of Caroni Ltd. Plants and harvests sugar-cane;" etc.)

9. If your mother is employed, what is the name of her job?  
(For example, "receptionist," "nurse," "teacher," "domestic," etc.)
10. Please describe as carefully as possible the work that she does if she is employed. (For example, "Works as a receptionist in a doctor's office;" "Takes care of patients at the General Hospital in San Fernando;" "Teaches in an Anglican secondary school;" "Works for a family. Mainly does the cooking and washing up; etc.)
11. If you do not live with your parents, please name the job(s) held and describe the work done by the adult relative(s) with whom you live. Following are the headings you may use, with examples of the kind of information you might give:

<u>Relation of Adult Relative to Me</u>	<u>Name of Job</u>	<u>Type of Work</u>
Uncle	Motor-mechanic	Works in the garage at Neal and Massey. Repairs motor-vehicles.
Aunt	Receptionist	Works as a receptionist in a doctor's office.
Brother	Labourer	Works on the sugar-cane estates of Caroni Ltd. Plants and harvests sugar-cane.

12. Please describe as completely and carefully as possible the education your father has received. (For example, "He went to primary school. Then he attended secondary school;" "He attended primary school and then took an apprenticeship course at Texaco;" "He went to primary school, then to secondary school. Then he took a correspondence course in Accountancy. Then he attended university;" etc.)
13. Please describe as completely and carefully as possible the education your mother has received. (For example, "She went to primary school and then took a commercial course at a private secretarial school in San Fernando;" "She went to primary school, secondary school and a school of nursing;" etc.)
14. If you do not live with your parents, please describe as completely and carefully as possible the education received by the adult relative(s) with whom you live.

Below are the headings you may use, with examples of the kind of information you might give:

Relation of Adult  
Relative to Me

Education Received

Uncle

Attended primary school, secondary school and then the agricultural institute at Centeno.

Brother

Attended primary school, Took an apprenticeship course at Texaco and a correspondence course from England.

Aunt

Attended primary school and took a commercial course at a secretarial school.

Sister

Attended primary school, secondary school and a school of nursing.

15. Suppose you had the opportunity to enter any occupation you wished. What is the name of the job you would choose? (For example, "teacher," "economist," "nurse," "civil servant," "hairstresser," "doctor," etc.)
16. Please describe as carefully as possible the work you will be doing if you had this job. (For example, "Working as an economist in the Ministry of Finance;" "Working as a nurse at the General Hospital;" "Working as a civil servant in the Warden's Office;" etc.)
17. You have described the occupation you would like to enter if you had the opportunity to do so. However, it may not always be possible for you to have all your wishes answered. What is the name of the occupation you think you will actually enter? (For example, "teacher," "civil servant," "nurse," "hairstresser," "economist," "lawyer," etc.)
18. Please describe as carefully as possible the work you expect to be doing in the job you name. (For example, "Teaching in a primary school;" "Working as a civil servant, doing clerical-type work in a Warden's Office;" "Working as a nurse in the General Hospital;" "Working as a laboratory assistant in a research laboratory of one of the oil companies;" etc.)
19. What is the name of the occupation you think you will be engaged in about fifteen years from now?
20. As you did in Question 18, please describe carefully the work you expect to be doing about fifteen years from now.
21. Please give the name(s) of any other occupation(s) you might be seriously considering for your life work or career.



22. Which of the following do you think is the single most important factor in enabling you to get a job you want:
- a) education,
  - b) knowing the right people,
  - c) luck,
  - d) any other you believe more important than those given above (please state on your answer sheet).
23. Without consulting anyone in your class, will you please write the full names of your best two friends of your own sex and from your own form or class.
24. Without consulting your best two friends, do you think any of them plans to continue his or her studies beyond Fifth Form?
25. How many children do your parents or guardians support in the home where you live?
26. How many of these children are boys older than you?
27. How many of these children are girls older than you?
28. How many of these children are boys younger than you?
29. How many of these children are girls younger than you?
30. Have any of the older boys or girls from your home ever attended, or are any of them at present attending, a secondary school?

If you have an extra foolscap sheet, please make sure that you have written your name at the top.

You may go straight on to Section B.

The answers for Section B are to be recorded in a special way on the printed IBM answer sheet. Please read the instructions at the beginning of Section B very carefully.

### Section B

Your answers are to be recorded on the IBM answer sheet with pencil in a special way. Let us look at a couple of examples.

Please turn to Question 1 in Section B. Suppose you wished to answer "Very Poor." This is numbered (A) in the question. You simply turn to Number 1 on the answer sheet and shade in the space inside the double-line below (A). If you chose to answer "Very Good" instead, this is labelled (E) in the question. Therefore you would shade in the space below (E) for Number 1 on the answer sheet.

Now look at Question 4. If you chose answer (A), you would then look for Number 4 on the IBM answer sheet and shade in the space inside the double-line below (A). If you chose answer (B) instead, you would then shade in the space below (B) in Number 4.

Use only Part I of the IBM answer sheet, beginning with Number 1 at the top. Always make sure you are using the right numbers on the answer sheet.

Use only pencils to record your answers.

Please write your name in the space provided at the top of the IBM answer sheet. Do not write anything else at the top.

Now you may begin Section B.

Please do not write in the questionnaire booklet.

1. Suppose a store in the town advertised a job and you had the right educational qualifications for the job. How good do you think your chances are of getting the job, provided that not too many people applied for it?

- (a) Very Poor
- (b) Poor
- (c) Fair
- (d) Good
- (e) Very Good

2. Some people think that (a) it is pointless to plan your future, for planning only makes you unhappy since your plans hardly work out anyway. Others believe that (b) it is necessary to make careful plans if you are going to succeed.

With which of these two views - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

3. Some people say that (a) there isn't much you can do about the way things are going to turn out in life. Other say that (b) you can do a great deal to determine the way things are going to turn out in life.

With which of these two statements - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

4. Some people believe that (a) when looking for a job a person ought to find a position in a place located near his parents, even if that means giving up a good opportunity elsewhere. Other people think that (b) he should not give up a good opportunity, even if he will be located away from his parents.

With which of these two views - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree with?

5. Some people think that (a) even when a young person gets married he should still follow his parents' or guardians' wishes, no matter if he disagrees with them. Other people think that (b) when a young person marries he is under no obligation to follow his parents' or guardians' wishes if he disagrees with them.

With which of these two views - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

6. Some people think that it is better for young people to spend their extra money on enjoying themselves at times rather than try to save it all for the future. Are you more likely (a) to agree or (b) to disagree with this view?

7. Some parents believe that (a) nowadays they should teach a child to live for today and take things just as they come. Others think that (b) they should teach a child to take an active part in shaping own future.

With which of these two views - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

8. Some people say that (a) nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving far away from your parents or guardians. Others say that (b) a person has to look after his own self and hence is justified in moving far away from his parents or guardians if necessary.

With which of these two statements - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

9. Some people say that it is pointless to deny yourself things in the present just to save money for future purposes.

Are you more likely to (a) agree, or (b) disagree with this statement?

10. Some people say that (a) you shouldn't expect too much out of life because you might only be disappointed. Others say that (b) life has much to offer and you should try to get as much out of life as you can.

With which of these two statements - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

11. Some people say that a young man should not neglect his parents or guardians even if this means that he has to give up the opportunity for a job he wants. Are you more likely (a) to agree or (b) to disagree with this statement?
12. Some people believe that (a) when a man is born the success he is going to have is already determined, so he might as well accept his fate and not fight against it. Other people think that (b) a man can do a lot to determine his own fate.

With which of these two opinions - (a) or (b) - are you more likely to agree?

13. It is sometimes said that young people should not think of parting from their family to live overseas, even if going overseas may provide good opportunities for getting ahead in education and a career.

Are you more likely (a) to agree or (b) to disagree with this statement?

14. How often have the adults (parents or other relatives) with whom you live suggested to you that education is necessary for getting ahead in this country?

- (a) Never
- (b) Very Seldom (once or twice in last two years)
- (c) Occasionally (about 3-4 times in last two years)
- (d) Often (about 5-8 times in last two years)
- (e) Very Often

15. How often have the adults (parents or other relatives) with whom you live inquired about your work at school in order to find out how well you were doing?

- (a) Never
- (b) Very Seldom (once or twice in last two years)
- (c) Occasionally (about 3-4 times in last two years)
- (d) Often (about 5-8 times in last two years)
- (e) Very Often

16. Of your best three friends in class, how many do you think are planning to go to Sixth Form (considering friends of your own sex only)?

- (a) None
- (b) One
- (c) Two
- (d) Three

17. How often have the adults (parents or other relatives) with whom you live suggested to you that you should continue your studies after taking the O-Level examinations?

- (a) Never
- (b) Very Seldom (once or twice in last two years)
- (c) Occasionally (about 3-4 times in last two years)
- (d) Often (about 5-8 times in last two years)
- (e) Very Often

18. How often have the adults (parents or other relatives) with whom you live suggested to you that you should go on to Sixth Form?

- (a) Never
- (b) Very Seldom (about once or twice in last two years)
- (c) Occasionally (about 3-4 times in last two years)
- (d) Often (about 5-8 times in last two years)
- (e) Very Often

19. Suppose you had suitable educational qualifications for a Civil Service job you wanted. Suppose, also, that other Trinidadians of your own sex - and with the same educational qualifications as yours - also wanted the same job. Which of the following statements do you think would be true of you?

- (a) I have a much poorer chance than the others of getting the job.
- (b) I have a poorer chance than the others of getting the job.
- (c) I have as good a chance as the others of getting the job.
- (d) I have a better chance than the others of getting the job.
- (e) I have a much better chance than the others of getting the job.

20. How often have the adults (parents or other relatives) with whom you live suggested to you that you should go on to university?

- (a) Never
- (b) Very Seldom (once or twice in last two years)
- (c) Occasionally (about 3-4 times in last two years)
- (d) Often (about 5-8 times in last two years)
- (e) Very Often

21. Of your best three friends - of your own sex - in class, how many do you think are planning to go to university?

- (a) None
- (b) One
- (c) Two
- (d) Three

22. How often have adults who are not related to you suggested to you that you should continue your education beyond Fifth Form?

- (a) Never
- (b) Very Seldom (once or twice in last two years)
- (c) Occasionally (about 3-4 times in last two years)
- (d) Often (about 5-8 times in last two years)
- (e) Very Often

23. Assuming that you had the money and the opportunity to continue your studies, would you go on to Sixth Form?

- (a) Definitely Not
- (b) Probably Not
- (c) Probably Yes
- (d) Definitely Yes

24. Suppose you had the right educational qualifications for a Government job you wanted. How good do you think your chances are of getting the job (provided that not too many people applied for it)?

- (a) Very Poor
- (b) Poor
- (c) Fair
- (d) Good
- (e) Very Good

25. Assuming that you had the money and the opportunity to continue your studies, would you try to go on to university?

- (a) Definitely Not
- (b) Probably Not
- (c) Probably Yes
- (d) Definitely Yes

26. It usually takes three to four years to get a Bachelor's Degree in Arts or Science at the University. If you continued studying for 3-4 years after that you can qualify as a medical doctor or obtain a Ph.D. Degree. The latter is the highest degree the university usually awards.

If you had the opportunity and the money to continue your studies, would you try to qualify as a medical doctor or obtain the Ph.D. degree?

- (a) Definitely Not
- (b) Probably Not
- (c) Probably Yes
- (d) Definitely Yes

27. So far, you have described the amount of education you would like to have if you had the money and the opportunity. However, it is not always possible to have all your wishes answered. Assuming you obtain 5-6 good passes in your O-Level examinations this year, which of the following do you plan or expect to do?
- (a) Try to get a job
  - (b) Try to get a job and continue studying part-time
  - (c) Continue studying full-time
28. Which of the following categories do you believe most accurately describes your average examination mark in Form Five?
- (a) Excellent
  - (b) Good
  - (c) Average
  - (d) Below Average
  - (e) Poor
29. Do you plan to go to Sixth Form next year if you obtain 5-6 good passes in your O-Level examinations this year?
- (a) Definitely Not
  - (b) Probably Not
  - (c) Probably Yes
  - (d) Definitely Yes
30. Do you plan or expect to go to university some time in the future?
- (a) Definitely Not
  - (b) Probably Not
  - (c) Probably Yes
  - (d) Definitely Yes

Please put your two answer sheets together and place them face down on the table. Also, return the questionnaire to the table. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

# Appendix C

## SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS REGARDING THE RELATIONSHIPS OF SCHOOL PERFORMANCE, PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT, FRIENDS' EDUCATIONAL PLANS, SEX AND SES WITH EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATION

	Favourable Conditions		Less Favourable Conditions <sup>a</sup>	
	SCHOOL PERFORMANCE		SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
	<u>Educational Expectation</u>		<u>Educational Expectation</u>	
East Indians	Higher	Lower*	Higher	Lower*
Negroes	Higher	Lower*	Higher	Lower*
	PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	
	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>
	<u>Educational Expectation</u>		<u>Educational Expectation</u>	
East Indians	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower
Negroes	Higher	Lower*	Higher	Lower

<sup>a</sup>Favourable Conditions

For School Performance: Either High Parental Encouragement or Friends Reporting Definite University Plans

For Parental Encouragement: High School Performance

Less Favourable Conditions

For School Performance: Either Low Parental Encouragement or Friends Not Reporting Definite University Plans

For Parental Encouragement: Low School Performance.

\*Occasional Exceptions Encountered.



	Favourable Conditions		Less Favourable Conditions <sup>a</sup>	
	FRIENDS' EDUCATIONAL PLANS		FRIENDS' EDUCATIONAL PLANS	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
	<u>Educational Expectation</u>		<u>Educational Expectation</u>	
East Indians	Higher	Lower*	Higher	Lower
Negroes	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower
	SEX		SEX	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
	<u>Educational Expectation</u>		<u>Educational Expectation</u>	
East Indians	Higher	Lower*	Higher	Lower*
Negroes				
High and Middle SES	Higher	Lower*	Higher	Lower*
Low SES	Lower	Higher*	Lower	Higher

#### Favourable Conditions

For Friends' Educational Plans: High School Performance  
 For Sex: High School Performance and Any Level of Parental  
 Encouragement of Friends Reporting Definite University Plans

#### Less Favourable Conditions

For Friends' Educational Plans: Low School Performance  
 For Sex: Low School Performance and Any Level of Parental  
 Encouragement or Friends' Educational Plans

\*Occasional Exceptions Encountered.

	Favourable Conditions			Less Favourable Conditions		
	PARENTAL OCCUPATION			PARENTAL OCCUPATION		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
	<u>Educational Expectation</u>			<u>Educational Expectation</u>		
East Indians						
Males	H/Int.	Lowest	H/Int.	H/Int.	Lowest	H/Int.*
Females	H	Varied		Varied	Relationships	
Negroes						
Males	Int.	H	Lowest	H	Int.	Lowest
Females	H/Int.	Varied		Varied		H

Key: H = Highest Int. = Intermediate

<sup>a</sup> Favourable Conditions

For Parental Occupation: High School Performance and Any Level of High Parental Encouragement or Friends Reporting Definite University Plans

Less Favourable Conditions

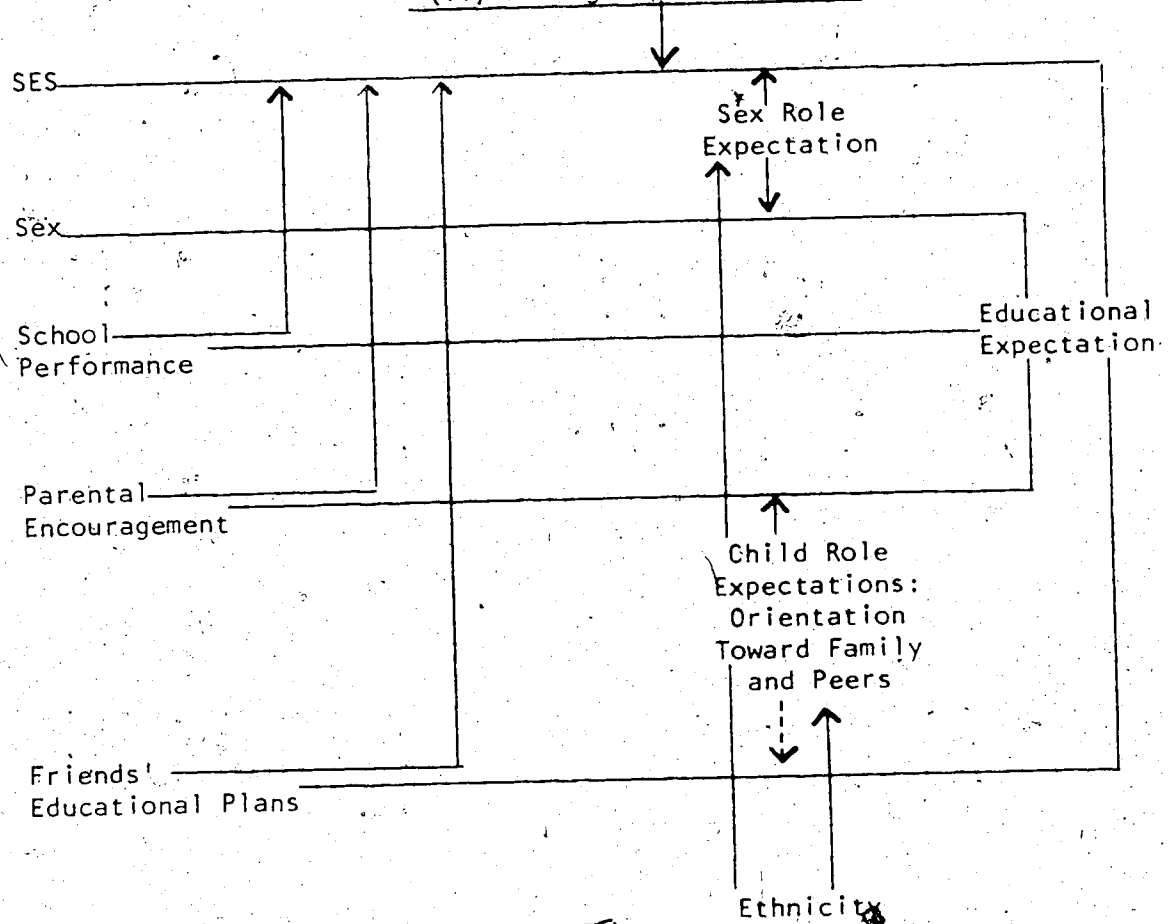
For Parental Occupation: Low School Performance and Any Level of Parental Encouragement of Friends' Educational Plans.

\*Occasional Exceptions Encountered.

Appendix D

DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF MAJOR SUGGESTED  
INTERPRETATIONS OF FINDINGS

- (i) Stratification System  
and Related Factors
- (ii) Rising Expectations



# Appendix E

PERCENTAGE "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY BY  
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE, SEX, PARENTAL EDUCATION AND ETHNICITY\*

EAST INDIANS						
SCHOOL PERFORMANCE	MALES			FEMALES		
	Parental Education			Parental Education		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
"High" Performance N	63.3 (30)	50.0 (38)	67.7 (65)	65.8 (38)	53.8 (26)	43.3 (60)
"Low" Performance N	43.8 (32)	33.3 (21)	39.7 (156)	29.4 (34)	38.1 (21)	30.6 (98)
NEGROES						
"High" Performance N	47.6 (21)	44.4 (18)	43.3 (30)	47.6 (21)	50.0 (22)	21.6 (37)
"Low" Performance N	34.9 (43)	29.5 (44)	20.3 (79)	21.9 (32)	25.9 (58)	24.1 (87)

\*In this table parental education is substituted for parental occupation as an index of SES. The data in this table may be compared with those in Table 10.

# Appendix F

## PERCENTAGE "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY BY SEX, PARENTAL OCCUPATION, SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AND PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT, TOTAL SAMPLE

PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	<u>Parental Occupation</u>			<u>Parental Occupation</u>		
	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>L</u>
High N	66.0 (47)	73.3 (45)	75.0 (28)	66.7 (87)	56.1 (41)	44.4 (18)
Low N	41.0 (39)	28.0 (50)	40.0 (35)	30.2 (53)	15.5 (71)	28.6 (35)

"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
High N	63.8 (47)	48.5 (33)	50.0 (32)	41.4 (29)	41.9 (43)	48.3 (29)
Low N	15.1 (53)	21.8 (81)	18.6 (59)	8.8 (34)	10.9 (64)	16.7 (30)

# Appendix G

PERCENTAGE "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY BY SEX,

PARENTAL OCCUPATION, SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AND FRIENDS'

EDUCATIONAL PLANS, TOTAL SAMPLE

FRIENDS "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	Parental Occupation			Parental Occupation		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
Yes N	60.7 (56)	57.1 (56)	67.6 (34)	64.6 (82)	34.5 (55)	48.3 (29)
No N	43.3 (30)	38.5 (39)	41.4 (29)	36.2 (58)	26.3 (57)	16.7 (24)
	"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
Yes N	42.6 (47)	34.9 (43)	46.4 (28)	31.0 (29)	33.3 (36)	42.1 (19)
No N	32.7 (52)	25.4 (71)	22.6 (62)	17.6 (34)	17.1 (70)	27.5 (40)

# Appendix G

## PERCENTAGE "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY BY SEX, PARENTAL OCCUPATION, SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AND FRIENDS' EDUCATIONAL PLANS, TOTAL SAMPLE

FRIENDS "DEFINITELY" PLANNING TO ATTEND UNIVERSITY	"HIGH" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE					
	MALES			FEMALES		
	Parental Occupation			Parental Occupation		
	H	M	L	H	M	L
Yes N	60.7 (56)	57.1 (56)	67.6 (34)	64.6 (82)	34.5 (55)	48.3 (29)
No N	43.3 (30)	38.5 (39)	41.4 (29)	36.2 (58)	26.3 (57)	16.7 (24)

"LOW" SCHOOL PERFORMANCE						
Yes N	42.6 (47)	34.9 (43)	46.4 (28)	31.0 (29)	33.3 (36)	42.1 (19)
No N	32.7 (52)	25.4 (71)	22.6 (62)	17.6 (34)	17.1 (70)	27.5 (40)