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Work Outcomes as Predicted by Attitudes and Demographics of Hispanic and NonHispanics: A Literature Review

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John J. Pass
 John J. Pass
 By direction

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**Work Outcomes as Predicted by Attitudes and Demographics
of Hispanics and NonHispanics: A Literature Review**

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<p>Because Hispanics are becoming an increasingly larger percentage of the U.S. population, Navy contracted a review of studies that have investigated Hispanics in the workplace or Hispanics work-related attitudes. The review was to serve as the preliminary step in developing a survey of new hires (Hispanics and a control group of white males) in unskilled and semi-skilled, blue-collar, Navy civilian jobs.</p> <p>Past researchers have questioned the generalizability of results from pre-1970 studies of Hispanics because of sampling biases. Also, the few more recent investigations have suffered from numerous methodological problems: inadequate or no control groups, loosely defined traits, statistical concerns, etc. Given the limited number of studies which have utilized Hispanics combined with the concerns mentioned above, the literature provided few insights into issues that might differentially affect Hispanics vs. mainstream employees. For that reason, consideration of work-related theories, models, and findings derived for/from mainstream subjects were suggested as potential bases for designing the survey.</p>			
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SUMMARY

Problem

Hispanics will soon become the largest ethnic/racial minority in the U.S. While Hispanics comprise an increasingly larger percentage of the U.S. work force, they continue to be underrepresented in employment settings.

Objective

This review was initiated as a preliminary step in identifying work-related variables that could explain work-outcome differences for Hispanics vs. nonHispanics. The review emphasized studies that investigated organizational, social/cultural, and psychological variables rather than abilities and aptitudes. Literature on the latter variables was not reviewed because aptitude/ability testing is not included in the selection system for the Navy jobs that will be investigated in a planned research effort.

Approach

Computer searches of journals, books, government documents, and other technical reports were used to identify studies of potential interest. The searches used the key words: Hispanic, minorities, and equal employment. Perusal of titles and summaries/abstracts eliminated articles that were clearly unrelated to the goal of the project. Additional sources were added from the reference sections of initially selected sources.

Findings

Most pre-1970 research on Hispanics suffers from limitations that are severe enough that generalizations from those studies must be made with extreme caution. Similar concerns mar the few newer studies that have examined Hispanics in work places and Hispanics' work-related attitudes. As a result, existing literature offers few empirical insights into understanding Hispanic-nonHispanic work-related differences.

Recommendations

Given the paucity of research, a perhaps more fruitful method of studying Hispanics might be to design research with the theory, models, and findings established for mainstream subjects. Since much more data and results exist on Whites, replications on Hispanic samples might allow inferences about the effect of ethnicity. Support for such a position is found in Triandis' (1985) research, which reported that more similarities than differences existed between Hispanic and mainstream samples.

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INTRODUCTION

Zusman and Olson (1977) noted a recent proliferation of "social action research" projects; however, Weaver and Glenn (1970) suggested that Hispanics have not received a proportional amount of that research attention. In some ways, the latter conclusion is surprising given the rapidly expanding Hispanic population in the U.S. Estrada (1985) found that Hispanics accounted for 23 percent of the total U.S. population increase from 1970 to 1980. While the 1980 U.S. census found that there were 14.6 million Spanish-speaking persons in the U.S., some federal authorities have estimated that at least another 7.4 million undocumented aliens should be added to that figure to arrive at a truer impression of the U.S. Hispanic population (deForest, 1981). By 1990, the Hispanic population has been projected to be more than 10 percent of the total U.S. population; and by 2000, Hispanics should surpass Blacks to become the largest minority in the U.S. If Haner's (1983) opinion is correct that amnesty programs would increase tremendously the number of U.S. Hispanics, the previously mentioned projections should be met much sooner, given the Immigration Control and Reform Act of 1986 (INA, 1986). Already, populous states such as Texas and California have large percentages (21% and 19%, respectively) of residents with Hispanic origins.

Only now are we realizing how little we know about Hispanics in the work place. For example, the stereotype of the Mexican American as a rural farm worker is clearly false; Triandis (1981) reported that 1980 Census data showed that about 85 percent of U.S. Hispanics live in urban areas.

Although wage discrimination is an issue only indirectly related to the goals of this study (the identification of variables related to the recruitment and retention of Hispanics), recent research in that area provides some insights into the potential underutilization of Hispanics in the work place. After stating that protected-group members continue to face income discrimination even when rules of promotion are well specified, Taylor and Shields (1984) went on to hypothesize three reasons why Hispanics fall behind Whites on most organizational success variables. First, they noted that federally employed Mexican Americans tend to be concentrated in defense agencies and defense agencies have a lower than average grade structure (and hence salaries). Rojas (1982) provided some insight into possible reasons for the concentration of Hispanics in lower grade jobs. Relative to nonHispanics, Hispanic Navy recruits had a poorer understanding of (1) the steps necessary to progress in the military, (2) Navy's structure and classification system, (3) the links between specific behaviors and reaching goals relevant to a Navy career, (4) expectations of recruits, and (5) other Navy-/organization-specific knowledge that would facilitate movement into the more desirable Navy jobs.

Taylor and Shields' (1984) second reason why Hispanics fall behind Whites on most organizational success variables is that Mexican Americans tend to be concentrated in lower-skilled jobs, possibly because of less education. Previously published statistics estimate that approximately 50 percent of Mexican American students drop out of high school before obtaining their diplomas; that statistic compares unfavorably with the dropout rate of 17.8 percent for White nonHispanics (Penley, Gould, & de la Vina, 1983). Taylor and Shields' third hypothesis: relatively stronger gender roles and a strong emphasis on family by Hispanic women as a reason for less organizational success by Hispanics, is discussed later.

Lisansky (1981) performed an extensive content analysis of the social science literature on interpersonal relations among Hispanics in the U.S. In her 250-page review of over 200 educational, anthropological, sociological, economic, linguistic, historical, and

psychological books, essays, and articles, she was able to identify few accepted generalizations that would help to distinguish Hispanics from nonHispanics in the work place. While discussing values, Lisansky pp. 31-32 noted "many authors question whether previous studies are applicable and generalizable to current Hispanics given [their] better acculturation" than the rural Hispanics predominantly studied earlier.

Triandis (1981) identified four classes of acculturation. Hispanics who are acculturated perceive, believe, and act in ways that make them indistinguishable from the mainstream. Isolationists attempt to maintain cultural patterns by avoiding contact with the mainstream; thus, they probably present a human resource that has chosen to remain out of the usual work force. Hispanics characterized as anomie similarly are probably seldom found in the work force since they are demoralized and disinterested in maintaining links to other Hispanics or the mainstream. Finally, Hispanic-rights activists and other Hispanics who use confrontation may progress less well in organizations even though they may be seeking only the opportunity to achieve. Gould (1980) suggested that Mexican Americans with moderate need for achievement (nAch) appeared to have more upward mobility than their high and low nAch peers. He hypothesized that career advancement for high nAch Mexican Americans could be thwarted in Anglo-dominated organizations because the former might be perceived as too ambitious or as upstarts. On the other hand, low nAch Mexican Americans would not be expected to progress since they would show little motivation to advance.

The University of Illinois Studies

To date, the most extensive research program on Hispanics has been undertaken by Triandis and his colleagues associated with the University of Illinois' Personnel Technology group. While the focus of their more than 30 technical reports was primarily on the Hispanic Navy recruit, some coverage of those studies seems appropriate given the limited number of empirical studies of civilian Hispanics' attitudes, beliefs, etc., regarding work and the work place.

In his final report on Hispanic and general population perceptions of organizational environments, Triandis (1985) summarized the findings, conclusions, and implications of four years of research by him and his co-workers. "Overwhelmingly," their results indicated more similarities (e.g., on locus of control and attributions of success and failure) than differences to the extent that they believed that the Navy was getting an "atypical" sample of Hispanics. Differences, however, were present. Triandis felt that the most important difference was that Hispanics indicated greater collectivism while nonHispanics espoused more individualism. The anthropological collectivism-individualism dichotomy translates into an allocentrism-idiocentrism dichotomy at a psychological level. Allocentrism is characterized by identification with in-group goals to the extent that personal goals are subordinate; whereas, idiocentrism emphasizes self-reliance and provides for personal goals unrelated to in-group goals.

With regard to work behaviors and attitudes, Triandis (1985) reported that non-Hispanics' idiocentrism was exemplified by less confining and controlling family relationships and a more positive perception of work roles (e.g., intimacy in the work place). On the other hand, Hispanics were quite ambivalent about work relationships, preferring the "protective cocoon" of family relationships. Triandis suggested six ways that greater allocentrism might be displayed by Hispanics:

- (a) greater emphasis on cooperation rather than competition,
- (b) emphasis on interpersonal relationships as an end rather than as a

means to an end, (c) more external locus of control, (d) a greater role of demographic attributes in interpersonal perception (emphasis on ascribed rather than achieved attributes), (e) less experimentation with new life styles, [and] (f) less insecurity, rootlessness, and alienation, fewer divorces, and fewer suicides. (p. 21)

While Triandis (1985) maintained that there was empirical support for each of those points, such findings might not appear in comparisons of Hispanics vs. nonHispanics. Triandis, Marin, Betacourt, and Chang (1982) found that as Hispanics indicated more acculturation they exhibited less familism or allocentrism. Those investigators suggested that their Hispanic subjects were probably moderately to highly acculturated (i.e., monocultural to the extent to which they were indistinguishable from the U.S. mainstream).

Power distance is another psychological variable that might be useful in the study of Hispanics. Power distance pertains to the psychological difference perceived between those who have status/power and those who do not. Several sources have suggested that Hispanics are more accepting of discipline, criticism, control, and orders than non-Hispanics; however, once again acculturation moderates that relationship (Triandis, 1985).

Triandis (1985) concluded his discussion of the research with a statement about the several commonalities found between Hispanics and nonHispanics and a conviction that the Hispanic Navy recruits in their samples were atypical by virtue of their acculturation. Also, he reminded the reader that the differences found between the two cultures on collectivism and power distance were also replicated in a study of males and females in an El Paso high school.

Other Published Studies

Like the Personnel Technology group, other investigators have criticized earlier studies of Hispanics and have suggested that those studies are of limited utility. Chandler (1979) summarized a few of the reasons for that skepticism. First, anthropological findings from small, unrepresentative samples (e.g., isolated, rural Mexican-American communities) were inappropriately generalized to an entire ethnic group. Second, citation of traditional, unfavorable stereotypes somewhat implied that Whites should be relieved of blame for prejudice and discrimination. Third, data comparing Mexican Americans to Whites were seldom gathered even though numerous studies concluded that ethnic differences existed in psychological or value orientations. Fourth, many of the better investigations used groups (alcoholics, secondary school pupils, and migrants) that were so specially defined as to limit generalizations. Fifth, studies over 10 years old might reflect disadvantageously on Mexican Americans who are emerging into modern society.

Given that other writers have listed variations of these and other concerns, the studies cited in the remainder of this literature review are predominantly from the last 10 years. Still, most of the reviewed studies share many of those same problems (e.g., no comparison group of Whites). The review of other empirical findings is organized according to McCormick and Ilgen's (1985) dichotomy of variables influencing work performance. That dichotomy of individual variables vs. situational variables parallels Gould's (1982) distinction between individual characteristics and structural variables found in selection vs. developmental, career-progression models.

Individual Differences

Organizations seek to choose individuals who possess desired characteristics. Once selected, an individual's level of entry, promotion, termination, etc., are primarily dependent upon the characteristics possessed by that employee. McCormick and Ilgen (1985) listed 10 types of individual-difference variables: aptitudes, personality characteristics, value systems, physical characteristics, interests and motivation, age and sex, education, experience, cultural background, and other personal characteristics. The literature on selection bias in aptitude and ability testing has been omitted from this review because the sample to be studied will not have been tested for abilities or aptitudes as part of their selection. Olian and Wilcox's (1982) paper describes the elimination of the federal government's Professional and Administrative Career Examination as a selection instrument and highlights some of the career-progression obstacles that can result when disproportionate candidate flow rates are found for Hispanics and Blacks vs. Whites.

Gould (1982) presents the only study of career progression (operationally defined as annual salary adjusted for tenure) involving Hispanics. In that study of 111 Mexican-American college graduates from 15 public and private organizations, Gould examined the relative contributions derived from selection-model and developmental-model career progressions. When individual-difference variables were forced onto the hierarchical stepwise multiple regression analysis after the covariate (tenure), they increased the percentage of accounted-for variability in career progression from 21 to 49 percent; whereas, when both tenure and organizational variables were entered first, the individual-difference variables still were able to increase the accounted-for variability from 39 to 59 percent. Examination of the zero-order correlation coefficients shows a less optimistic picture. Salary (rather than salary with the effect of tenure partialled out) was significantly correlated with only tenure (.46), tolerance for ambiguity (.28), and the psychological feeling that success had been achieved in the respondent's job or profession (.48); however, salary was not related to work ethic (.12), nAch (.12), or self-reported high school grades (-.19). While the relationship between psychological success and salary might be expected, given that many people use salary as a yardstick to measure success, the tolerance for ambiguity finding merits added discussion. Gould suggested that the latter finding was logical given that jobs higher in the organizational hierarchy pay more but require more tolerance for ambiguity because those jobs are less structured. Also, the reported relationship between nAch and salary was probably an underestimate since curvilinearity was present. In conclusion, some skepticism is warranted in assessing the generalizability of those results given (1) no White group was available to examine the effect of race; (2) the sample was atypical since all the subjects were college graduates and since as recently as 1975 only 4.6 percent of Mexican Americans graduated college; (3) all of the subjects were from the same Southern city, probably San Antonio; (4) no cross validation could be performed on the multiple regression equations because of the small sample size; and (5) career progression probably connotes something more than salary.

Gould (1982) had apparently used that same data set before. In his earlier study, Gould (1980) had operationally defined "upward mobility" or "career success" as salary, salary divided by age (so as to take into account the lower salaries typically reported by younger employees), and a subjective upward mobility index (subjective career aspirations statistically added to salary). It must be remembered that only two years later, salary and salary with the effect of tenure partialled out were referred to as measures of "career progression." In his 1980 study, the 111 Mexican-American subjects were trichotomized into high, moderate, and low nAch groups. Only three of the six one-way

analyses of variance were significant. Significant mean differences for salary, salary divided by age, and the subjective upward mobility index were in the predicted direction; that is, moderate nAch subjects had higher means scores than their lower and higher nAch counterparts on all three dependent variables. For the other three analyses, nAch was unrelated to tenure, age, and career aspirations. Considering the sample-specific trichotomization on a nonrepresentative sample, caution should be exercised when predicting that moderate nAch Mexican Americans will show more "upward mobility" than high or low nAch peers.

In another study that employed salary as the dependent variable, Garcia (1982) used 1970 Census data and 1976 Survey of Income and Education data. He found that Mexican Americans who immigrated after age 14 received much lower wages than any other group of workers, and to a less extent, both native Mexican Americans and immigrants who arrived from Mexico before age 14 received lower wages than Whites. Garcia recommended using finer categories of arrival in the U.S. (e.g., second or third generation). No ethnic difference in salary was found between Mexican-American and White females for the 1970 data set, but Mexican-American females were paid less than their White counterparts in the 1976 survey. Regardless of ethnic group status, females earned substantially less than White males.

That study (Garcia, 1982) shows both the strengths and weaknesses derived from using archival data such as census information. Censuses and other large data bases have the advantages of providing large numbers of cases and allowing for sampling strategies that approximate the proportions found in the subpopulations of concern. The price to be paid for those benefits are high. Because such data bases usually contain only the limited number of variables of interest to the individuals originally performing the survey, demographic characteristics tend to be the variables of choice. Furthermore, demographics traditionally have been poor predictors of work outcomes.

Besides Gould's (1980) attempt to gather "career success" and "upward mobility," three studies have examined work-related aspirations. Chavez and Ramirez (1983) gathered five single-item, vocational-aspiration responses from 31 employed and 19 unemployed "Chicanos" who sought employment through a private, nonprofit agency. No difference was found between employed and unemployed individuals when respondents indicated how important it was to have a job that offered (1) an opportunity for advancement, (2) co-workers one can get along with, (3) independence in deciding how work should be done, (4) long-term employment, and (5) "decent pay." In a second set of analyses comparing individuals' aspiration levels on each item to the perceived chances of their present or future jobs meeting those goals, correlated *t*-tests showed that the unemployed respondents had negative outlooks (lower expectations than aspirations) on four of the five comparisons; only the aspirations and expectations for finding co-workers that they could get along with were nonsignificantly different. The employed group had less negative views. They differed only on the independence and income items. When the individuals were asked about the appropriateness of tardiness, absenteeism, being "high" on the job, not calling in when arriving to work late, loafing on the job, and taking too many breaks, 95 percent of both groups reported that those actions were inappropriate. In summary, Chavez and Ramirez noted that even though their sample of Chicanos generally perceived that their occupational aspirations would not be met by their present or future jobs, they continued to have positive work attitudes and aspirations.

The samples in both of the other studies on aspirations (Kuvlesky & Patella, 1971; Marshall & Miller, 1977) were Mexican-American high-school sophomores from Texas. Marshall and Miller's (1977) data had been gathered four years earlier in five communities

described as "small, agriculturally dependent, economically depressed, and relatively isolated" (p. 349). The thesis of that research involved the congruence between Mexican-American youths' status aspirations and their occupational, educational, and familial orientations. Upward social mobility aspirations were evidenced by (1) 36 percent of both the males ($N = 152$) and females ($N = 191$) desiring jobs that required college graduation, while only 8 percent of the principal family breadwinners for those students had such jobs; (2) none of the females and only 19.7 percent of the males wanting operative, farming, or service category jobs despite coming from homes where 64.9 percent of the breadwinners were so employed; and (3) male and female students desiring 15 years of education even though breadwinners had obtained only an average 8.71 years of education. Turning to a comparison between desired education and required education for desired occupation, all females and 85.6 percent of the males who wanted "high" professions held congruent desires; but 41.9 percent of the females and 40.0 percent of the males reported inadequate educational goals for the teaching and helping professions. No respondent desiring a job that required a high-school education aspired to leave school before graduation. A second type of prerequisite conflict was assessed by taking the difference between desired age of marriage and age when sufficient education would have been obtained for the desired occupation. The desired ages of marriage for males and females were 23.3 and 21.6 years, respectively; both figures were comparable to norms reported from other studies. Only 20 percent of the 55 males whose desired occupations required college degrees and only 1 of the other 123 males indicated marital-occupational conflicts. The percentages of marital-occupational conflict were much higher for females: 38.5 percent for high professions, 67.3 percent for teaching and helping professions, 17.6 percent for glamour jobs, and 23.3 percent for health and science technician employment. Finally, males reported very traditional attitudes regarding women's roles. The average male desired 3.58 children, and 69.4 percent of the males opposed female employment after marriage. In contrast, females desired 3.16 children, and 86 percent of the females wished to work after marriage.

Kuvlesky and Patella's (1971) sample of 289 male and 307 female Mexican-American, high-school sophomores also came from Texas areas with high proportions of low-income, rural families. In those counties, the average education for adults over 24 years of age was 5-6 years. Data had been gathered from the interviewees in 1967. The data included occupational mobility aspirations (the difference between the occupational class of the principal breadwinner and the respondent's occupational aspiration) and ethnic identification (see Appendix A) (the product of scores from two items measuring the use of Spanish in communications). Comparisons of interviewees who aspired upward mobility with those who had no such aspirations revealed no difference with regard to ethnicity level, socioeconomic status, or gender.

The obvious major conclusion of this investigation--that degree of identification with the Mexican-American subculture does not generally influence the frequency of occurrence or the magnitude of intergenerational mobility projected by youth--stands as a provocative hypothesis until refuted by other research. (p. 243)

While Kuvlesky and Patella's conclusion is somewhat grandiose, no research in the 15 years since that time has presented a well-designed study to refute their conclusion. One matter that has gone unmentioned in the work-aspiration literature using Hispanics has been the difference between aspirations and interests vs. abilities and aptitudes. Although an individual may very much desire a particular type of employment, requisite abilities or aptitudes must be there for successful accomplishment of the goal--desired type of employment. Hispanics' high dropout rate from high school and their low

graduation rate from college mentioned earlier might question some of the findings reported in the last three studies. To really understand the effects of those aspirations, researchers need to recontact previous subjects to ascertain the effects of ethnicity, aspirations, etc. A true criterion did not exist in any of the last three studies; instead of gathering a measure of success, the researchers merely looked at the interrelationships between predictors using samples that were probably very different from the Hispanic population as a whole.

A frequent criterion in industrial research is job satisfaction. One of the most consistent findings associated with that variable is that it is negatively related to turnover (McCormick & Ilgen, 1985) (i.e., as satisfaction decreases, turnover increases). Two empirical studies concerning turnover and another "Short Note" following-up the comments made in one of the empirical articles was found. In the first study, Moch (1980) gathered data from 466 people (63% of whom were Whites) employed at an assembly and packing plant in the South. Among the individual-difference variables gathered were job satisfaction; employee race/ethnic group; the importance of interpersonal relationships, intrinsic rewards, and extrinsic rewards; social integration into or isolation from friendship networks at work; and relative deprivation (the likelihood of finding another job with the same pay and benefits). Mexican Americans reported more job satisfaction than Blacks or Whites. Moreover, Mexican Americans indicated more job satisfaction when they were included in work groups that were disproportionately Mexican American; whereas, Blacks were less satisfied when included in disproportionately Black work groups. Race alone accounted for 53 percent of the variance in job satisfaction. Not surprisingly, little additional variance (4%) in job satisfaction could be accounted for after the initial entry of race into the multiple regression equations.

In her reexamination of Moch's (1980) data, Konar (1981) suggested that Moch may have been too pessimistic in concluding that his Mexican-American and Black (race/ethnic group) findings did not fit any of the traditional explanations for job satisfaction. Partialling the variance of job satisfaction into unique and shared variance components, Konar found that more than two-fifths of the variance accounted for by race could also be accounted for by the other variables. Furthermore, without including race in the regression equation, 26 percent of the variance of job satisfaction could be accounted for by the other variables. In predicting job satisfaction, structural variables (discussed in the next section) accounted for 18 percent; social psychological, 8 percent; cultural, 3 percent; and social, 2 percent. Konar recommended more research to better explain the interplay between those variables.

In the other study of Mexican Americans' job satisfaction, Hawkes, Guagnano, Smith, and Forest (1984) investigated how satisfaction with nonwork activities (see Appendix B) spills over to influence the perception of job satisfaction. Sampling from a large data base that had included persons from 14 states, Hawkes et al. selected 245 males. Other demographics of the sample included: 58 percent were from urban areas, 87.7 percent were Catholic, mean age was 42.45 years, mean education was 8.81 years, and each was part of a two-parent household, which included at least one child under 19 years of age. When age and education of the respondent were partialled out, job satisfaction was found to be higher for the persons in jobs with higher status; and when the effects of occupational status and age were held constant, job satisfaction decreased as education increased. The zero-order correlations between job satisfaction and other attitudes for urban and rural samples, respectively, were as follows: control over life, .36 vs. .24; satisfaction with employment opportunities, .23 vs. .42; satisfaction with spouse, .22 vs. .21; satisfaction with leisure time, .52 vs. .24; satisfaction with the standard of living, .38 vs. .38; and satisfaction with community, .51 vs. .30. In general, people who were more

satisfied with their jobs were also more satisfied with nonwork variables. Two differences emerged in the comparison of relationships between urban and rural samples. Hawkes et al. noted that (1) satisfaction with leisure time activities "was significantly more important" (emphasis added) for the urban sample and that (2) satisfaction with community employment opportunities was a significant predictor for only the rural group. In that first explanation, Hawkes et al. misinterpreted the meaning of a difference between two correlations. Their interpretation for their first difference should have been that there was a stronger relationship between satisfactions with the job and leisure activities in the urban group than the rural group. A difference in correlations is not the same as a difference in means. That misconception colored the remainder of their discussion. Also, the spillover model that was used as the theoretical basis for that study assumes that nonwork satisfaction influences job satisfaction. The data would not allow such a test of causality since only survey data were gathered once rather than twice.

Chandler (1974, 1979) conducted two surveys of households in Lubbock, Texas. Both surveys focused on the modernity of Mexican Americans. In addition to a Composite Modernity score, four subscale scores are derivable (see Appendix C). The Activity-Time subscale contains six items measuring the active control of events and an orientation toward the future. The four-item Integration with Kin subscale assesses how close the ties are to one's parents following marriage. The four-item Trust subscale quantifies the confidence in others needed to fully participate in an urban, bureaucratized society. Finally, the four-item Occupational Primacy subscale gauges the priority of occupational values relative to nonwork values. All subscales use the same four-point Likert-type scale that varies from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree.

Only Mexican Americans were included in Chandler's (1974) first study. Females comprised 49 percent of the 300 interviewees. The percentage of subjects classified as modern on each subscale were 43 percent on Activity-Time, 15 percent on Trust, 53 percent on Integration with Kin, and 35 percent on Occupational Primacy. Age, educational level attained by the respondent, and occupational status (unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled) were found to be consistently related to the modernity subscales. Significant positive trends in the percentages of persons classified as modern were found between age and both Integration with Kin and Occupational Primacy, education level and both Activity-Time and Trust, and occupational level and Activity-Time. Significant negative trends (i.e., decreasing percentages) were found between age and Activity-Time, education and both Integration with Kin and Occupational Primacy, and occupational level and both Integration with Kin and Occupational Primacy. In general, those findings suggest that younger, better-educated Mexican Americans possess more modern value orientations; however, a comparison against other Mexican Americans begs the question as to how those levels of modernity compare with the U.S. mainstream.

Chandler (1979) attempted to answer that question with another study. In that study, an area-probability sample of 712 Whites (median educational level = 12.4 years) and 323 Mexican Americans (median educational level = 8.2 years) were interviewed. For Composite Modernity, 92 percent of the Whites and 44 percent of the Mexican Americans had scores high enough to classify them as modern. The correlations between education and Composite Modernity was .50. Ethnic-group means were statistically different for each of the subscales and the composite. Those differences remained significant when means were compared with analysis of covariance holding education, age, and occupation constant.

In general, the individual-differences research on Hispanics offers little insight into the recruitment or retention of Hispanics. When significant relationships or differences

have been reported, other studies have not attempted to replicate those findings. At the risk of sounding ethnocentric, a perhaps more fruitful method of studying Hispanics might be to design the research with the theory, models, and findings established for mainstream subjects. Three factors support such a conclusion. Since much more data and results exist on Whites, replications on Hispanic samples might allow more inferences about the effects of ethnicity. Also, Triandis (1985) reported that many more similarities than differences existed between the Hispanic and mainstream samples in the University of Illinois studies. Finally, comments (Humphreys, 1973) made with regard to the pseudo-problem of the differential validity of ability and aptitude tests may be equally true for many other individual-difference variables. That is, even though differences exist, they may not be so profound as to necessitate separate explanations of behaviors for the different groups.

Structural Variables

McCormick and Ilgen (1985) subdivided structural variables into two classes: job and work environment vs. organizational social variables. Among the former class were methods of work, design or work equipment, condition of work equipment, work space and arrangement, and physical environment. The variables included under the organizational and social variables rubric were character and policy of the organization, type of training and supervision, types of incentives, social environment, and union relations. Most of the limited research on structural variables using Hispanics as subjects has opted to examine the variables included under the organizational and social heading.

In Gould's (1982) study of career progression (salary after the effect of tenure was removed), the addition of organizational variables to a regression equation containing only tenure increased the variance accounted for from 21 to 39 percent. When organizational variables were added to the regression equation after both tenure and six individual-difference variables had been entered, the accounted-for variance increased from 49 to 59 percent. In the former situation, the number of career development programs (e.g., training programs and an affirmative action office) and the type of industry (e.g., manufacturing and service) were significant predictors, adding 13 and 4 percent to the 21 percent of variance in career progression already accounted for by tenure. Organization size was a nonsignificant predictor since it could add only 1 percent unique variance in the prediction of career progression.

As noted earlier, Konar (1981) found that structural variables accounted for much more variability in job satisfaction scores than did any of the other groups of variables. The beta coefficients associated with that finding were low on most variables. Most of the strength of the showing by the structural variables appears to have been caused by the strong relationship between dissatisfaction of Blacks in groups which were disproportionately Black (beta = $-.43$). The Mexican-American job satisfaction, which resulted from being in a disproportionately Mexican-American work group, was statistically significant but much weaker (beta = $.19$). Even when structural variables were the only variables in the regression equation, other structural variables had betas below $.15$.

For the last study to be reviewed in this section, Ash, Levine, and Edgell (1979) attempted to match 200 Black, 200 White, and 200 Hispanic applicants to clerical positions with the state of Arizona. Applicants indicated which tasks/work activities they preferred.

Hispanic applicants disproportionately prefer jobs in which they are told what to do next, are less desirous of jobs in which they may be

responsible for planning their own schedules, and are less desirous of jobs in which they may have full responsibility for a clerical system. Also, they disproportionately prefer jobs in which they may assist people who have difficulty understanding forms or expressing themselves. (p. 39)

The limited findings for variables associated with tasks and other work-environment variables leave much room for research. McCormick and Ilgen's (1985) breakdown of structural variables into more concrete classes provides some guidance for such research. To save valuable survey time for the gathering of individual-difference data and to ensure the correctness and completeness of the structural data, researchers should gather structural data only once from supervisors, the personnel department, or other sources whenever respondents are required to identify themselves on their surveys.

SUMMARY

Despite the criticisms of recent writers, many of the problems that plagued earlier studies remain. Since many of those concerns were addressed earlier, there is no need to repeat them. Almost all of the research reported herein has dealt with Mexican Americans. Lisansky's (1981) review of interpersonal relationships among U.S. Hispanics would seem to argue against generalizing from Mexican Americans to Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and other persons of Hispanic heritage. Another, perhaps understandable, problem facing researchers is the paradox that exists in studying Hispanics. While many organizations are desirous of information on protected-groups members in the work place, they are also cautious of allowing their employees to be surveyed for fear of potential equal employment litigation or the costs associated with data gathering. Many times when such data has been gathered and analyzed, it has remained proprietary. Other problems pertain to finding a way to reach Hispanics who would be considered isolationists or characterized as anomie. No research is known that even estimates the number or proportion of Hispanics not included in the work force because of problems associated with acculturation. Measurement of variables is yet another issue that must be addressed. Many of the nonsignificant relationships or differences may have been caused more by the unreliability of the measures than by a lack of relationship or difference. This is not to say that single-item scales should not be used; it is merely to encourage the use of multi-item scales when feasible.

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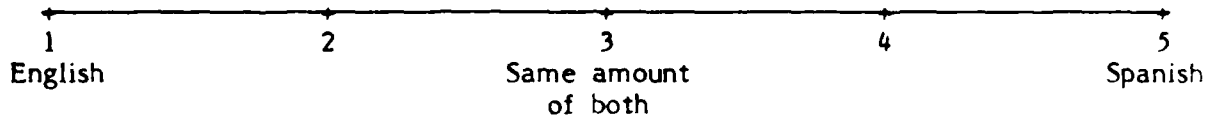
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APPENDIX A
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

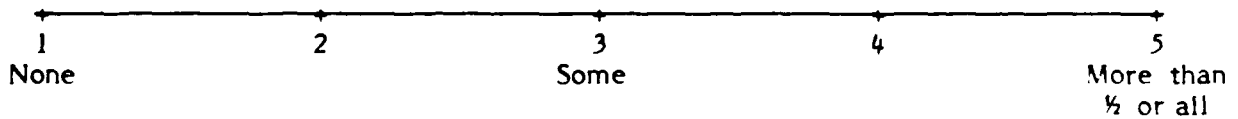
Use the following rating scale to indicate how much you use Spanish and English when you talk to others:



- _____ Language used with parents
- _____ Language used with friends in the neighborhood
- _____ Language used with friends in school

Use the following rating scale to indicate how often you:

- _____ Listen to Spanish language radio
- _____ Read literature written in Spanish



The person's ethnic identification is found by adding the responses to the five items.

APPENDIX B
SATISFACTION WITH NONWORK VARIABLES

SATISFACTION WITH NONWORK VARIABLES¹

How satisfied are you with:

- the amount of control you have over your life?
- the employment opportunities in the community?
- your family life?
- your spouse?
- leisure time activities?
- your standard of living?
- the community you live in?

¹Although the investigators did not specify the exact wording of the spillover-satisfaction items, the above seven components were used to derive the satisfaction with nonwork composite.

APPENDIX C
MODERNITY

MODERNITY

Activity-Time

Planning for the future only makes a person unhappy since one's plans almost never come out right.

The best way to be happy is not to expect too much out of life, and to be content with what comes your way.

When a man is born, the success he is going to have is already--as one says--in the cards. Therefore, he might as well accept it and not fight it.

It is important to plan our lives and not just accept what comes. Nowadays, with conditions as they are, the wise person lives for the present; and as far as the future is concerned, he accepts whatever comes.

Only God knows, and only He will determine what will become of our lives.

Integration with Kin

Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.

When the day comes for a young man to take a job, he should stay near his parents, even if it means losing a good job opportunity.

When young people get married, their main loyalty still belongs to their parents.

When you need help of any kind, you can depend only on members of the family to help you out.

Trust

Most people are reasonable and do not try to deceive you.¹

It is not good to let your friends know everything about your life, because they might take advantage of you.

You can only trust people whom you know well.

Most people will repay your kindness with ingratitude.

Occupational Primacy

The most important thing for a parent to do is to help his children to better themselves in this world more than he (or she) did.²

A young person should choose an occupation that pays well, even if he doesn't like the work.

The job should be more important, even if it means giving up time for fun.

The best way to judge a man's worthiness is by his success in his occupation.³

¹Not included in the Composite Modernity scale.

²See footnote 1.

³See footnote 1.

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