

Technical Report 1065

Does Thinking About the Values of One's Peers Make These Values Seem More Important?

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14. ABSTRACT (<i>Maximum 200 words</i>): This experiment investigated the effect of peer-reference-group salience on the judged importance of specified values using a sample of 143 male and female African-American high school seniors. In half the cases, students first judged the importance of these values to themselves and then judged the importance of these values to their friends. In the rest of the cases, students first judged the importance of the values to their friends and then judged the importance of the values to themselves. Students who gave their own judgments in second position (and thus had a chance to think about these friends and their values before indicating their own judgments) gave own judgments that were closer to the judgments they attributed to their friends than did those who gave their own judgments first ($p < .001$). Students attributed to their friends a level of interest in joining the military that was similar to their own, but the peer-salience variable seemed not to have an effect. An unpredicted finding was that neighborhood socioeconomic status was negatively correlated ($r = -.43$, $p < .001$) with the absolute difference between own and attributed likelihood of joining the military, although it was uncorrelated ($ps > .05$) (a) with the subject's own likelihood of joining, (b) with the likelihood they attributed to their friends, and (c) with the arithmetic difference between these two values.					
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Technical Report 1065

Does Thinking About the Values of One's Peers Make These Values Seem More Important?

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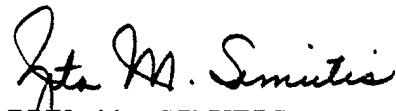
FOREWORD


The research reported here was prompted by a frequently-voiced concern that (as shown by a number of nationwide surveys) the number of young people interested in joining the military was declining and that this was particularly true in the case of young African-American males. This decline in interest presented the military with an obvious problem. If not enough young people are sufficiently interested in military service to volunteer for it, the Government will have to find other ways of making sure its defense personnel needs are met.

It is not clear, however, just why this decline should exist and thus what would have to happen before the trend could be reversed. The research reported here reflects the belief that the decline is the result of identifiable social psychological forces (some macro, some micro) and that it would be useful to identify some of these forces (e.g., peer influence) and the variables that underlie them. Armed with this information, the Army should be better equipped to approach and to seek to recruit potential candidates.

This report sets forth the results of an experiment that investigated peer salience as a factor in social influence processes and, in particular, its effect on young people's decisions to join the military. The report sets forth the results of Phase 1 of this research.

This effort was in support of Task 1902, Manpower and Personnel Leader Skills for the 21st Century. Its results were briefed to the Director, ARI, at the Principal Scientists Colloquium 22 June 1995.


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DOES THINKING ABOUT THE VALUES OF ONE'S PEERS MAKE THESE VALUES SEEM MORE IMPORTANT?

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research Requirement:

Against the background of a continuing and disproportionate decline in the number of young people who express interest in joining the military, this research (planned as Phase 1 of a 3-year effort) sought to increase our understanding of the influence on young people of the relationships they establish with their various reference groups (e.g., peers, parents, sweethearts, spouses). Due to unanticipated circumstances, however, the research was canceled after the first year, and the results—given the essentially exploratory nature of the 1-year effort—should be interpreted cautiously.

Procedure:

Male and female African-American high school seniors ($N=143$) were individually interviewed by a male or female African-American adult. Included in the interview were questions about the importance of selected values (e.g., going to college) and an open-end and later-coded question about the probability of joining the military. In each case, students responded to the question twice: once for themselves and once as they thought their friends would respond. In half the cases (randomly selected), students responded first for themselves and then for their friends; and in the rest of the cases, they responded first for their friends and then for themselves. Thus half the students gave their judgments after thinking about their friends and their friends' values, while the rest of the students gave their judgments before doing this. The interviewer also administered a 3-item scale asking about the socioeconomic status (SES) of the neighborhood in which the student lived.

Findings:

In responding to the questions about values, students who gave their own judgments in second position (and thus had a chance to think about these friends and their values before indicating their own value positions), gave judgments that were closer to the judgments they had attributed to their friends than did students who gave their own judgments first ($p=.002$). An unpredicted finding was that neighborhood SES was negatively correlated ($r=-.43$, $p<.001$) with the absolute difference between own and attributed likelihood of joining the military, although it was uncorrelated (a) with subjects' own expressed likelihood of joining, (b) with the likelihood they attributed to their friends, and (c) with the arithmetic difference between these two scores.

Utilization of Findings:

The data suggest that thinking about the values of an important reference group (here the young person's close friends) has the effect of making the values of that reference group seem more important—though, for how long, we cannot at this point say. Consider the following. First, suppose a replication of this experiment (this time using a close-end measure) exhibited the same self-other pattern that was observed with the open-end items here but this time (using a standard close-end measure) exhibiting the effect to a statistically reliable degree. A reasonable interpretation of such a finding would be that many students see joining the military as reflecting one of their peers' social values. Next, if the Recruiting Command administered a questionnaire that asked respondents to think about their friends' views of the Army and then, afterwards, to think about their own views, it is possible that respondents' views would be more favorable toward the Army than they otherwise would. As indicated above, however, the question needs to be researched further.

DOES THINKING ABOUT THE VALUES OF ONE'S PEERS MAKE THESE VALUES SEEM MORE IMPORTANT?

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DOES THINKING ABOUT THE VALUES OF ONE'S PEERS MAKE THESE VALUES SEEM MORE IMPORTANT?

INTRODUCTION

Background

Trend data from the Defense Manpower Data Center (DMDC) Youth Attitude Tracking Study (YATS) suggest that, in recent years, there has been a decline in what some researchers have termed a “propensity” to join the military—particularly among male African-American youth (Wilson, Nieva, Kolmstetter, & Greenlees, 1993; Lehnus, 1995). The primary measure of propensity in these studies (i.e., the thing that has declined—particularly for young African American males) is the percentage of respondents who say they will “definitely” or “probably” join the military in the next few years as compared with the percentage who say they will “definitely” or “probably” not. A similar decline is suggested by the Monitoring the Future (MTF) data reported by Bachman, Johnston, and O’Malley (1993) and reanalyzed by Segal, Bachman, and Freedman-Doan (1997). This decline in youth propensity (assuming that it exists and that it continues) presents the military with an obvious problem. If not enough young people are sufficiently interested in military service to volunteer for it, the Government will have to find other ways of making sure its defense personnel needs are met.

Unfortunately, it is not clear why this decline exists and thus what would have to happen before the trend could be reversed. The present research reflects our belief that the decline is a result of identifiable social psychological forces (some macro, some micro) and that it would be useful to try to identify some of these forces and the variables that underlie them. Armed with this information, the Army should be better equipped to approach and to seek to recruit potential candidates.

We started with two sets of theoretical assumptions: The first is (a) that young people seek to determine “who” they are (i.e., what values and attitudes they hold and where they as individuals fit into some larger scheme of things) and (b) that, with respect to these values and attitudes, a major source of influence on them is other people—peers, parents, sweethearts, spouses, etc. The second, following Tourangeau (1988), is that “an answer to an attitude

question is the product of a four-stage process" (p 299). According to Tourangeau (1988), respondents (a) interpret the question, (b) retrieve the relevant beliefs and feelings, (c) apply these beliefs and feelings in rendering the appropriate judgment, and (d) use this information to select a response. Moreover, "all four of the component processes can be affected by prior items" . . . [for example], "they can provide a framework for interpreting later questions, . . . they can prime some beliefs, making them more accessible to the retrieval processes, . . . [and] they can provide a norm or standard for making the judgment" (pp 300-302). What is implied here is that the results of the present research should be interpretable in terms of one (or possibly more than one) of these processes.

The experiment reported here investigated a variable, peer salience, which we believed was capable of making a difference in the nature and amount of influence young people are willing and/or able to accept. A number of studies (e.g., Briggs & Lassiter, 1994; Charters & Newcomb, 1958; McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson, & Turner, 1994; McGuire & McGuire, 1996) have investigated the effects of salience in social influence processes, and Kelman (1958) has theorized that one of the ways this influence is exerted is through a process ("identification") which he saw as taking place when a person has an attractive and salient relationship with some group or individual.

Objective

The primary question was whether the mere act of thinking about the values one attributes to one's peers increases the probability that one will subsequently adopt these values for oneself. The experiment reported here, using what was conceptually a test-retest/control-group design, sought to provide evidence on this question. Additional questions, discussed below, focused on other issues.

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects were 143 African American students (64 males, 79 females) who were in their senior year at a mostly-all-black high school in the District of Columbia. These students, all of whom were volunteers, constituted close to 100% of the African American seniors who attended class on the days that the interviewers visited their classroom and requested their participation in the study. Subjects' ages ranged from 16 to 20 ($M=17.8$), with 126 of the 143 (88%) being between 17 and 20. Initially there were 144 subjects; but, because of an interviewer error, data on certain critical questions were not obtained from one of the subjects.

Interviewers

Interviewers were five African American adults (two male, three female). Four (two males and two females) were staff members (counselors and/or teachers) at the school, while the fifth (a female) was a faculty member at the University of the District of Columbia (UDC).

Independent Variable: Peer Salience

A survey instrument was constructed in two forms, Form 1 and Form 2, the only difference between them being the sequence in which two sets of questions ($n=7$ in each case) were asked. In Form 1 (Appendix A-1), following a standard introduction, subjects were asked to respond to the questions for themselves and then afterwards were asked to respond to the questions the way they believed their close friends would respond to them. When subjects responded to the questions in this sequence (first self, then friends) they were said to be in the low-salience-of-friends condition. In Form 2 (Appendix A-2), again following the standard introduction, the subjects were first asked to respond to the questions the way they believed their close friends would respond and afterwards (when they had had a chance to think about these friends and their values) they were asked to respond to the questions for themselves. When subjects responded to the questions in this sequence (first friends, then self) they were said to be in the high-salience-of-friends condition.

Dependent Variables

Importance of Selected Social Values. Six items (Items 9-14 in Appendix A-1 and A-2) asked about the importance (for themselves and, separately, for their close friends) of specified social values. For each of these items the interviewer provided three response alternatives:

3. Extremely Important
2. Fairly Important
1. Not so important

Three of the items (importance of going to college, having a car of one's own, and having a job that most people look up to and respect) met pre-set criteria (see below) and were combined to form a 3-item scale.

Interest in joining the military. The seventh item (Item 15 in Appendix A-1 and A-2) asked subjects for their (and also their friends') thoughts about serving in the military, using an open-end format.¹ After all the interviews had been completed, the response to this question given by each subject was reviewed by interviewers; and the response given by each interviewee was coded (for the subjects themselves and, separately, for the subject's friends) into the following eight pre-set categories:

¹ We had expected to use the data obtained with this item to create a closed-end item that would be used in the next phase of the research. Due to circumstances beyond our control, however, this next phase was cancelled.

8. That is what I/they plan to do.
7. I am/they are definitely thinking about it.
6. Maybe
5. I don't/they probably don't have enough information.
- 4 I never/they probably never really thought about it.
3. I don't think so/I don't think they will
2. Probably not
1. Definitely not

Effect of Neighborhood Socioeconomic status (SES)

Based on ideas derived from Anderson's (1994) account of life in the streets, we sought evidence on whether neighborhood SES would make a difference for the kinds of effects investigated here. We constructed three items asking subjects to estimate the number of families in their neighborhood that (a) had some one working for the District of Columbia (D.C.) or federal government (item 25), (b) had some one with a professional job (item 26),² and (c) were on welfare (item 27). The three items were combined to form a neighborhood SES scale, with the third item being reverse-scored; and five response alternatives were provided for each question, as shown below.

5. Almost all
4. More than half
3. About half
2. Fewer than half
1. Almost none

² Examples of "professional jobs" were given as "the police, lawyer, teacher, minister."

Procedure

One of the interviewers made a pre-arranged visit to each of a number of classes, with the classes having been selected to maximize the number of seniors who would be available for interviewing. In each class the students were told that was doing a study of the opinions of high school seniors about various things—for example, what kinds of things they considered important and unimportant. They were invited to take part and were told that they would not be asked to give their names or social security numbers. They were further told that the interviews would take about 5-10 minutes and that, as each student was called, he/she could quietly leave the room and then return after the interview was completed. As each student returned to the classroom, the teacher indicated (with a nod of the head) that the next student could leave.

As students came out of their classroom, one at a time, they were directed to an interviewer, who was seated at a desk in the hall at one of the desks that had been set up for the interview sessions³. The interviewer introduced himself/herself and then spoke to the student as follows:

I am interviewing for a study being carried out by UDC. This study is about you and your plans (if any) for what you will be doing after high school, the kinds of things you consider important, and your ideas about the military. I will be asking for your ideas about these things, and I'll also be asking you to guess what your friends would say about them. You do not have to give your name or social security number, and you don't have to write anything. Also, taking part in this survey is entirely voluntary. Will you help me out by answering my questions?
(EACH PERSON AGREED) That's great.

The interviewer then proceeded with the interview, using either Form 1 or Form 2 from a stack in which the forms had been previously randomized. When the interview was complete, the interviewer thanked the student for his/her help and directed him/her back to the classroom.

³ Interviewers reported that noise in the hallway had been minimal and had not been a problem.

Design

Separately for each of the five interviewers and separately for male and female subjects, students were randomly assigned to the two (Form 1 and Form 2) experimental conditions. We had no reason to expect the interviewer variable to show either main or interaction effects; and we tested for any such effects with a 3-factor analysis of variance (ANOVA). None of these effects was statistically reliable ($p > .05$), and we collapsed the data over the five levels of this variable, producing a 2-factor (subject gender x survey form) design, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Number of Subjects in Each Cell (after Collapsing Over Levels of the Interviewer Variable)

	FORM 1 (Self—Friends)	FORM 2 (Friends—Self)	TOTAL
MALE SUBJECTS	32	32	64
FEMALE SUBJECTS	46	33	79
TOTAL	78	65	143

RESULTS

Peer Salience and Judged Importance of Values

Selecting value-related items that met our two criteria. In developing the survey materials we sought items that met two criteria. One--derived partly from the literature on "false consensus" (for a review, see Marks and Miller (1987)--was that subjects assume their close friends generally feel the same way they feel about these values and activities. (See also Berscheid, 1966; Byrne, 1969; Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950; Homans, 1950; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Krueger & Clement, 1994; Newcomb, 1961; Savell, 1970; Sherif, 1936) and that, if they believed there was a discrepancy, they would be motivated to reduce it (cf Abelson, Aronson, McGuire, Newcomb, Rosenberg, & Tannenbaum (1968). This first criterion would be met if subjects' own judgment of a value's importance correlated positively with the importance they believed their friends would attribute to it. The coefficients for the six value-importance items (based on data from Form 1, Form 2, and Forms 1 and 2 combined) are shown in Table 2. As can be seen, the patterns are the same for the individual and for the combined forms; and, for the combined forms, all the correlations but one are statistically reliable. The exception is the importance accorded graduating from high school, but the nonsignificance of this correlation seems readily explainable by the nearly total absence of variance on this item (Almost all subjects said graduating from high school is extremely important). Moreover, only one item ("having the latest-style clothes") shows a coefficient that is negative, and this negative correlation seems explainable as a result of the lesser social desirability value of this item. (see discussion below of the second criterion). The "join-the-military" item, while not one of the value-importance items, showed the self-friends correlation pattern that was observed with those items ($r=.29$, $p=001$).

The second criterion we sought to meet in selecting items was that the values subjects attributed to themselves would be higher in social desirability than the values they attributed to their friends—as suggested by Roger Brown's (1965) theory of social values. According to Brown (1965), when it comes to social values, people like to think of themselves as being *at*

least as good as other people. And as pointed out by Perloff (1993), research on what has been referred to as "third-person effects" (or "third-person perception") usually finds subjects saying that they are less likely to be influenced by propaganda than other people are--a point entirely consistent with Brown's (1965) observations regarding social values. Mean ratings for Forms 1 and 2 combined are shown in Table 3, and the corresponding ratings for Forms 1 and 2 are shown in Appendixes B-1 and B-2.⁴ As can be seen (Table 3), all the ratings of value importance

Table 2
Correlation of Value's Rated Importance to Self and Friends

	Form 1 (<u>n</u> =78)	Form 2 (<u>n</u> =65)	Forms 1 and 2 Combined (<u>N</u> =143)
1. High School	.15	---	.12
2. College	.46 ***	.33 **	.40 ***
3. Car	.28 *	.57 ***	.38 ***
4. Clothes	-.31 **	-.42 ***	-.35 ***
5. Respect	.38 ***	.45 ***	.40 ***
6. Money	.16	.34 **	.29 ***
7. Serve in military	.21	.38 **	.29 ***

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

⁴ We asked six first-year African-American college students to rank the six values in the order they thought African-American high school seniors would rank them. The mean ranks for this sample were, with one minor reversal, identical to the ranks derived from the present subjects' ratings of these values.

Table 3
 Rated Importance of Values to Self and to Friends (N=143)

	Rated Importance To		t
	Self	Friends	
1. High School	2.99	2.73	5.73***
2. College	2.63	2.10	9.50***
3. Car of one's own	2.37	2.69	-5.09***
4. Latest-style clothes	2.15	2.27	-1.16 NS
5. Job that most people look up to and respect	2.66	2.32	5.72***
6. Job pays lots of money	2.66	2.73	-1.14 NS
7. Serve in military	4.68	4.38	1.24 NS

Note. * p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

show self-friends differences in the expected (i.e., more socially desirable) direction; and most of these differences are statistically reliable. Thus, compared to the way they saw their friends, subjects accorded reliably greater importance to going to college (2) and having a job that most people look up to and respect (5). Conversely, they saw themselves as according reliably less importance to having a car of one's own (3). With regard to the probability-of-joining-the-

military item, we don't have data on the item's social desirability value; and, as a result, it is difficult to make a directional prediction about it.

Construction of the value-importance scale. As noted above, in developing the survey materials we sought items that met two criteria. As shown here, all the items but one (having the latest-style clothing) met at least one of these criteria; but there were only three--going to college (2), having a car of one's own (3), and having a job that most people look up to and respect (5)--that met both (Table 3). Scores for these three items were combined to form a scale, with scoring for the second item reversed. These three items are shown in Table 4, along with the self-friends correlations and the means of the absolute self-friends differences in value importance ratings..

Comparing self-friends difference scores. With regard to the 3-item value-importance scale, the (Self-Friends) difference scores were analyzed via a 2x2 (Subject Gender x Survey Form) between-subjects ANOVA. Our two tests for homogeneity of variance (Cochran's C and Bartlett-Box F) were both nonsignificant (ps of .30 and .52). With regard to the primary hypothesis of this experiment, the mean absolute self-friends difference for Form 2 (1.12) is, as predicted, smaller than the corresponding difference for Form 1 (1.67); and the difference between these two differences is statistically reliable, $F(1, 139) = 9.87, p = .002$. Neither the main effect of gender nor the Form x Gender interaction is statistically reliable ($F_s < 1$). Cell means are shown in Table 5, and the ANOVA summary is shown in Table 6.

Table 4
 Self-Other Correlations and Value-Importance Ratings for the 3-Item Scale (N=143)

<u>Value</u>	Self-Other Correlation	Rated Importance To		t
		Self	Friends	
1. Going to college	.40***	2.63	2.10	9.50***
2. Having a car of your/their own	.38***	2.37	2.10	-5.09***
3. Having a job that most people look up to and respect	.40***	2.66	2.32	5.72***
TOTAL SCALE:	.51***	7.98	6.77	11.28***
*** p < .001				

Table 5
 Absolute Value of Self-Friends Difference on 3-Item Scale

	Form 1 (Self—Friends)	Form 2 (Friends—Self)	Form-1/Form-2 Difference
MALE SUBJECTS (n=64)	1.66	1.16	.50
FEMALE SUBJECTS (n=79)	1.67	1.09	.58
TOTAL	1.67	1.12	.55 ^a

^ap = .002

Table 6
 Summary of ANOVA for Self-Friends on the 3-Item Scale

SOURCE	df	MS	F	p
Form	1	10.24	9.87	.002
Subject Gender	1	.02	<1	NS
Form x Gender	1	.06	<1	NS
Error	139	1.04		
TOTAL	142	1.09		

Peer Salience and Interest in Joining the Military

As with most of the value-importance items, the interest that subjects expressed in joining the military correlated reliably with the interest they attributed to their friends (For Forms 1 and 2 combined [N=143], $r=.29$, $p<.001$.)⁵ We have no measure, however, of the importance that subjects attributed to joining the military.

Coded responses to this item were subjected to a Gender x Form ANOVA, and the corresponding statistics (absolute values of self-friends difference) are shown in Table 7. As can be seen, the data pattern observed with the value-importance scale--i.e., smaller self-friends difference with Form 2 than with Form 1 (see Table 5)--is seen here also, but here the difference is statistically unreliable.

Table 7
Absolute Value of Self-Friends Difference on Interest in Joining the Military

	Form 1 (Self—Friends)	Form 2 (Friends—Self)	Form-1/Form-2 Difference
MALE SUBJECTS (n=64)	2.13	1.45	.68
FEMALE SUBJECTS (n=79)	2.15	2.21	-.06
TOTAL	2.14	1.83	.31 (NS)

⁵ For Form 1 only (N=78), $r=.21$ (NS). For Form 2 only (n=65), $r=.38$, $p<.001$.

Effect of Neighborhood SES

Scores on the three SES items were summed to form a scale (the welfare item was reverse-scored). Response distribution for the scale is shown in Table 8. As can be seen, obtained scores ranged from 15 (highest possible score) to 3 (lowest possible score), with mean of 8.33 and SD of 2.98. Intercorrelations among items were $r=.34$ (welfare, job with government), $r=.47$ (welfare, professional job), and $r=.58$ (job with government, professional job); and Cronbach alpha was .70.⁶ We then examined the association between subjects' SES scores and each of four scores that pertained, in one way or another, to the way subjects perceived their peers. One score reflected the subject's judgment as to the probability that he/she would join the military; a second score reflected the probability that one or more of the friends would join the military; a third score represented the scale value of the mean arithmetic difference between own and friends' (attributed) scores; and a fourth represented the scale value of the absolute mean difference between own and friends' (attributed) scores. The relevant statistics are shown in Table 9. As can be seen, only one of these coefficients, SES and absolute self-friend difference, is statistically reliable ($p<.001$).⁷

⁶ Some indication of the construct validity of the SES scale is provided by the fact that it correlated positively with subjects' ratings of the importance of going to college ($r=.21$ and $p=.01$).

⁷ The importance of going to college was the only one of the value-importance items that correlated reliably with SES.

Table 8
Distribution of Scores on 3-Item Neighborhood SES Scale

TOTAL SES SCALE SCORE	<u>n</u>
15	3
14	3
13	8
12	7
11	9
10	20
9	23
8	16
7	11
6	12
5	14
4	9
3	8

N = 143

Table 9
Correlation of Neighborhood SES with 4 Measures of Thoughts about Serving in the Military.

Correlation of SES and:

1. Respondent's own self-reported probability of joining $r = .01$
2. Attributed probability that friends will join. $r = .04$
3. Arithmetic difference between own and attributed probability. . . $r = .01$
4. Absolute difference between own and attributed probability. . . . $r = -.35^{***}$

*** $p < .001$

DISCUSSION

Summary

The primary objective of this experiment was to test the proposition that merely thinking about the values of an attractive other makes these values seem more important. The objective grew out of an interest in identifying factors potentially implicated in the continuing decline in the number of African American young people who, when asked the question in an interview or in a self-administered questionnaire, say they will "definitely" or "probably" join the military. In this experiment, male and female African-American high school seniors were individually interviewed by a male or female African American adult. Students told the interviewer how important each of several values was to them and, separately, how important they thought each of these values was to their close friends. Half the students first gave their own judgments about

the values' importance and then told the interviewer how they thought their close friends would respond. The rest of the students first said how they thought their close friends would respond and then gave their own judgments. It was hypothesized that when subjects gave their own importance judgments after attributing importance judgments to their friends (and thus presumably thinking about these friends), their judgments would be closer to those of their friends than when they gave their own judgments first. This hypothesis was supported, and it is consistent with the findings in recent research (e.g., Garry, Manning, Loftus, & Sherman, 1966) concerning the power of imagining as a factor in social influence processes. Later in the interview, students went through a similar procedure, but this time they were asked about the likelihood that they (and, separately, their friends) would join the military after graduating from high school. The response pattern was the same. Students who gave their own probabilities after estimating probabilities for their friends gave own probabilities that were closer to those of their friends than did students who gave their own probabilities first. For this item, however, the difference was not statistical reliable.

The absolute magnitude of student-peer differences with respect to their interest in joining the military was negatively related to the SES of the neighborhood in which the student lived, while being unrelated to his/her own interest, the interest attributed to his/her friends, or the arithmetic difference between them. In other words, contrary to the pattern observed with students at higher SES levels, students living in the most disadvantaged neighborhoods tended to give estimates for themselves that, in absolute terms, were maximally different from the estimates they had given for themselves--giving the impression that they were in some sense pushing themselves away from their peers (regardless of whether these peers were seen as having high or low interest in the military). There was no evidence, however, that SES interacted with peer salience on the 3-item value-importance scale.

Questions for Further Research

There are a number of questions to be asked concerning the results of this experiment.

One question is why the item asking for thoughts-about-joining-the-military produced ambiguous results (the same pattern of differences as the one observed with the value-importance scale but, in this case, not statistically reliable). An obvious possibility is that the item's open-end format produced an artificially high response variance and that the problem would be solved by using an objective response metric. Another possibility here is that the pattern observed with the value-importance items is dependent on the degree to which the measure elicits concerns about values and that joining the military doesn't sufficiently elicit this kind of concern. Recall that, while interest in joining the military met the first criterion for use as a measure in this research, we collected no data to test the second (value-importance) criterion. Other questions include the following:

- * Do difference in value-importance ratings translate into corresponding differences in actual behavior and, if so, how long will these effects last? In other words, is heightened peer salience instrumental only in the choosing of a value, or is it required in order for the value to be sustained and expressed behaviorally?

- * Are the value-importance effects observed here equally strong, equally durable, and equally likely to be expressed in overt behavior in all reference groups (including parents, sweetheart, spouse, significant adult leader), or at this age are the effects stronger with some reference groups than with others?

- * Are demographic subpopulations (e.g., different ethnic groups) equally susceptible to reference-group-salience effects, including the effect's strength, durability, and likelihood of being expressed in overt behavior?

- * Are these effects are equally observable, strong, or likely to find expression in subjects' overt behavior for all reference groups (e.g., parents, sweetheart, spouse, significant adult leader), or are some reference groups generally stronger at this age than are others?.

- * Do all demographic subpopulations (e.g., different ethnic groups or different SES groups) show the same responsiveness to reference-group salience effects, including the effect's strength, durability, and likelihood of being expressed in relevant overt behavior?.

* Does subject gender (which here was statistically unrelated to any of the effects examined) makes a difference with respect to the factors noted above?

* Why did two of the six value-importance items ("having the latest-style clothes" and "having a job that pays a lot of money") fail to meet both criteria for inclusion in the 3-item scale? The two items correlated reliably with each other ($r=.20$, $n=143$, $p<.02$), but their correlation with the items that did meet the two criteria and thus were included in the 3-item scale were statistically unreliable.

* What are we to make of the correlation between neighborhood SES and the absolute value of the self-friends difference with respect to their expressed and attributed interest in joining the military?

In this experiment we did not collect data bearing directly on Tourangeau's (1988) model, but several observations can be made. First, there was no evidence that subjects had difficulty with stage 1 (interpreting the question), but the fact that two of the candidate items failed to meet criteria for inclusion suggests that these items were (apparently with confidence) interpreted differently by the individuals who responded to them. Second, in view of the essentially private nature of subjects' responses--at least, with respect to what would appear to be the most relevant audience, the friends to whom subjects were attributing values--it does not seem likely that subjects' stage-4 actions (their actual responses) would be uniquely affected by the salience manipulation. What is needed here is to conduct think-aloud interviews (Lessler, 1996) with youth from the population of interest. Doing this would probably lead to the identifying of other value-importance items that are of equal or greater. eater usefulness than the terms used in the present experiment.

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APPENDIX A-1

Form 1 of the Survey Instrument

**SURVEY OF OPINIONS
OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

Form 1

**Conducted by the University of the District of Columbia (UDC)
Spring 1995**

FORM 1. INTRODUCTION

I am interviewing for a study being carried out by the University of the District of Columbia (UDC). This study is about you and your plans (if any) for what you will be doing after high school, the kinds of things you consider important or unimportant, and your ideas about the military. I will be asking for your ideas about these things, and I'll also be asking you to guess what your friends would say about them.

You do not have to give your name or social security number, and you don't have to write anything. Also, taking part in this survey is entirely voluntary.

Will you help me out by answering my questions? (PAUSE FOR RESPONSE)
That's great.

GENERAL INFORMATION

[CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE CATEGORIES BELOW, ASKING THE RESPONDENT ONLY AS NEEDED (E.G., ITEMS 4 AND 5)]

1. INTERVIEWER

1. (Male) 2. (Male) 3. (Female) 4. (Female) 5. (Female)

2. STUDENT GENDER 1. Male 2. Female

3. RACE/ETHNICITY

1. African American/Black 3. Latino/Hispanic 5. Other _____
2. Asian 4. White

4. WHAT IS YOUR GRADE LEVEL?

1. Senior 2. Junior 3. Other _____

5. HOW OLD ARE YOU? (NEAREST BIRTHDAY, IF ASKED)

16 17 18 19 20 Other: _____

6. WHAT IS YOUR BEST SUBJECT IN SCHOOL?

1. Art 6. Music
2. English 7. Physical education
3. Foreign language 8. Sciences
4. Industrial arts 9. Social studies
5. Math 10. Other (write-in):-----

PLANS AFTER HIGH SCHOOL

I'd like for you to think for a few minutes about what you might be doing after high school. It's okay if you haven't made up your mind about this yet; I just want to see what your thoughts are. [INTERVIEWER CIRCLE THE NUMBER IN FRONT THE RESPONSE CHOSEN.]

7. So after high school, what do you think you'll do?

1. Get A job [WOULD YOU BE LOOKING FOR A PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB?] _____

2. Vocational or technical school

3. Join the military [ANY PARTICULAR ONE?]

4. Attend a Junior college

5. Attend 4-year college

6. Leave home [AND WHY IS THAT?] _____

7. Other [WHAT?] _____

8. SUPPOSE, FOR SOME REASON, THINGS DIDN'T WORK OUT.

WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD DO? [IF STUDENT GIVES MORE

THAN ONE ANSWER, INDICATE THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE GIVEN]

1. Get A job [WOULD YOU BE LOOKING FOR A

PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB?] _____

2. Vocational or technical school

3. Join the military [ANY PARTICULAR ONE?]

4. Attend a Junior college

5. Attend 4-year college

6. Leave home [AND WHY IS THAT?] _____

7. Other [WHAT?] _____

Attitudes: SELF--First

NOW I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU HOW IMPORTANT OR UNIMPORTANT CERTAIN THINGS ARE TO YOU AND TO OTHER YOUNG ADULTS YOUR AGE--GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL, HAVING A CAR OF ONE'S OWN--THINGS LIKE THAT. LET'S START WITH YOU. OKAY? [IF THE STUDENT DOESN'T UNDERSTAND, EXPLAIN FURTHER] OKAY

9. FIRST, HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU PERSONALLY TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL? WOULD YOU SAY IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, FAIRLY IMPORTANT, OR NOT SO IMPORTANT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

10. WHAT ABOUT GOING TO COLLEGE? HOW IMPORTANT IS THAT TO YOU PERSONALLY?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

11. WHAT ABOUT HAVING A CAR OF YOUR OWN?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

12. HAVING THE LATEST-STYLE CLOTHES?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

13. A JOB THAT MOST PEOPLE LOOK UP TO AND RESPECT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

14. A JOB THAT PAYS A LOT OF MONEY?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

NOW LET ME ASK YOU ABOUT A PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB--THE MILITARY. WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS ABOUT SERVING IN THE MILITARY? [UNLESS THE RESPONSE CLEARLY TELLS THE REASON, PROBE TO FIND OUT WHY THEY RESPONDED AS THEY DID. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE, AND THEN CIRCLE THE NUMBER(S) IN FRONT OF THE ANSWER BELOW THAT IS USED, IF ANY]

But don't read these reasons aloud.

- 15. 8. That is what I plan to do.
- 7. I'm definitely thinking about it
- 6. Maybe
- 5. Don't have enough information
- 4. Never really thought about it
- 3. Don't think so
- 2 probably not
- 1. Definitely not

Attitudes: FRIENDS--Second

NOW FOR THE NEXT FEW MINUTES I'D LIKE YOU THINK ABOUT THE YOUNG ADULTS YOUR AGE THAT YOU KNOW THE BEST--THE ONES YOU PARTICULARLY LIKE AND HANG AROUND WITH. WHAT I'D LIKE YOU TO DO IS THINK ABOUT THESE FRIENDS AND THEN TELL ME HOW YOU THINK THEY WOULD ANSWER THE QUESTIONS I JUST ASKED YOU. THIS TIME I'M ASKING HOW IMPORTANT THEY THINK IT IS TO GRADUATE TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL, TO HAVE A CAR OF THEIR OWN, AND SO FORTH. OKAY? [IF THE STUDENT DOESN'T UNDERSTAND, EXPLAIN FURTHER] OKAY. LET'S START WITH "GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL."

16. HOW IMPORTANT DO YOU THINK IT IS TO THESE CLOSE FRIENDS TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL? WOULD THEY SAY IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, FAIRLY IMPORTANT, OR NOT SO IMPORTANT?

17. GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL.

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

18. WHAT ABOUT GOING TO COLLEGE? HOW IMPORTANT IS THAT TO THESE FRIENDS?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

19. WHAT ABOUT HAVING A CAR OF THEIR OWN?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

20. HAVING THE LATEST-STYLE CLOTHES?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

21. A JOB THAT MOST PEOPLE LOOK UP TO AND RESPECT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

22. A JOB THAT PAYS A LOT OF MONEY?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

NOW LET ME ASK YOU HOW THESE FRIENDS FEEL ABOUT A PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB--THE MILITARY. WHAT ARE THEIR THOUGHTS ABOUT SERVING IN THE MILITARY? [UNLESS THE RESPONSE CLEARLY TELLS THE REASON, PROBE TO FIND OUT WHY THEY RESPONDED AS THEY DID. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE AND THEN CIRCLE THE NUMBER(S) IN FRONT OF THE ANSWER BELOW THAT IS USED, IF ANY]

But don't read these answers aloud.

23. 8. That is what They plan to do.
- 7. They are definitely thinking about it
 - 6. Maybe
 - 5. Don't have enough information
 - 4. Never really thought about it
 - 3. Don't think so
 - 2. probably not
 - 1. Definitely not

NOW FOR A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, AND THEN WE'LL BE THROUGH. I DON'T EXPECT YOU TO KNOW THE EXACT ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS--JUST MAKE A GUESS.

24. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THE FAMILIES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD HAVE SOME ONE WORKING FOR THE GOVERNMENT? [INTERVIEWER READ ALL 5 ALTERNATIVES ALOUD. IF STUDENT ASKS, SAY THAT THIS INCLUDES FEDERAL, STATE, AND DISTRICT GOVERNMENT.]

5. Almost all
4. More than half
3. About half
2. Fewer than half
1. Almost none

25. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THEM HAVE PROFESSIONAL JOBS--FOR EXAMPLE, THE POLICE, LAWYER, TEACHER, MINISTER? [INTERVIEWER READ ALL 5 ALTERNATIVES ALOUD]

5. Almost all
4. More than half
3. About half
2. Fewer than half
1. Almost none

26. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THE FAMILIES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD ARE ON WELFARE? [INTERVIEWER READ ALL 5 ALTERNATIVES ALOUD]

- 5. Almost all**
- 4. More than half**
- 3. About half**
- 2. Fewer than half**
- 1. Almost none**

WELL, THAT'S THE LAST OF MY QUESTIONS. IS THERE ANYTHING YOU WOULD LIKE TO ASK ME? [WRITE DOWN ANY QUERIES OR COMMENTS]

THANKS AGAIN!

INTERVIEWER GO ON TO NEXT PAGE

**COMMENTS BY INTERVIEWER
IMMEDIATELY AFTER COMPLETING THE INTERVIEW**

**On a 10-point scale, how would you rate each of the following?
[CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER]**

27. Student's interest in the interview

LOW

HIGH

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

28. Student's ease in answering the questions

INSECURE

CONFIDENT

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

APPENDIX A-2

Form 2 of the Survey Instrument

**SURVEY OF OPINIONS
OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

Form 2

Conducted by the University of the District of Columbia (UDC)

Spring 1995

FORM 1. INTRODUCTION

I am interviewing for a study being carried out by the University of the District of Columbia (UDC). This study is about you and your plans (if any) for what you will be doing after high school, the kinds of things you consider important or unimportant, and your ideas about the military. I will be asking for your ideas about these things, and I'll also be asking you to guess what your friends would say about them. You do not have to give your name or social security number, and you don't have to write anything. Also, taking part in this survey is entirely voluntary

Will you help me out by answering my questions? (PAUSE FOR RESPONSE)

That's great.

GENERAL INFORMATION

[CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE CATEGORIES BELOW, ASKING THE RESPONDENT ONLY AS NEEDED [E.G., ITEMS 4 AND 5]]

1. INTERVIEWER

1. (Male) 2. (Male) 3. (Female) 4. (Female) 5. (Female)

2. STUDENT GENDER

1. Male 2. Female

3. RACE/ETHNICITY

1. African American/Black 3. Latino/Hispanic 5. Other _____
2. Asian 4. White

4. WHAT IS YOUR GRADE LEVEL?

1. Senior 2. Junior 3. Other _____

5. HOW OLD ARE YOU? (NEAREST BIRTHDAY, IF ASKED)

- 16 17 18 19 20 Other _____

6. WHAT IS YOUR BEST SUBJECT IN SCHOOL?

1. Art 6. Music
2. English 7. Physical education
3. Foreign language 8. Sciences
4. Industrial arts 9. Social studies
5. Math 10. Other (write-in):-----

PLANS AFTER HIGH SCHOOL

I'd like for you to think for a few minutes about what you might be doing after high school. It's okay if you haven't made up your mind about this yet; I just want to see what your thoughts are. [INTERVIEWER CIRCLE THE NUMBER IN FRONT THE RESPONSE CHOSEN.]

7. So after high school, what do you think you'll do?

1. Get A job [WOULD YOU BE LOOKING FOR A PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB?] _____

2. Vocational or technical school

3. Join the military [ANY PARTICULAR ONE?] _____

4. Attend a Junior college

5. Attend 4-year college

6. Leave home [AND WHY IS THAT?] _____

7. Other [WHAT?] _____

8. SUPPOSE, FOR SOME REASON, THINGS DIDN'T WORK OUT.

8. SUPPOSE, FOR SOME REASON, THINGS DIDN'T WORK OUT.

**WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU WOULD DO? [IF STUDENT GIVES MORE
THAN ONE ANSWER, INDICATE THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE GIVEN]**

**1. Get A job [WOULD YOU BE LOOKING FOR A
PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB?] _____
_____**

2. Vocational or technical school

**3. Join the military [ANY PARTICULAR ONE?]
_____**

4. Attend a Junior college

5. Attend 4-year college

6. Leave home [AND WHY IS THAT?] _____

**7. Other [WHAT?] _____
_____**

Attitudes: FRIENDS--First

NOW I'D LIKE ASK YOU HOW IMPORTANT OR UNIMPORTANT CERTAIN THINGS ARE TO YOU AND TO OTHER YOUNG ADULTS YOUR AGE--THINGS LIKE GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL, HAVING A CAR OF ONE'S OWN--THINGS LIKE THAT. LET'S START WITH THE YOUNG ADULTS YOUR AGE THAT YOU KNOW THE BEST--THE ONES YOU PARTICULARLY LIKE AND HANG AROUND WITH. WHAT I'D LIKE YOU TO DO IS THINK ABOUT THESE FRIENDS AND TELL ME HOW YOU THINK THEY WOULD ANSWER THE QUESTIONS--IN OTHER WORDS, HOW IMPORTANT OR UNIMPORTANT THEY THINK IT IS TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL, TO HAVE A CAR OF THEIR OWN, ETC. OKAY? [IF THE STUDENT DOESN'T UNDERSTAND, EXPLAIN FURTHER] OKAY.

9. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO THESE CLOSE FRIENDS TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL? WOULD THEY SAY IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, FAIRLY IMPORTANT, OR NOT SO IMPORTANT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

10. WHAT ABOUT GOING TO COLLEGE? HOW IMPORTANT IS THAT TO THESE FRIENDS?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

11. WHAT ABOUT HAVING A CAR OF THEIR OWN?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

12. HAVING THE LATEST-STYLE CLOTHES?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

13. A JOB THAT MOST PEOPLE LOOK UP TO AND RESPECT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

14. A JOB THAT PAYS A LOT OF MONEY?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

NOW LET ME ASK YOU ABOUT A PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB--THE MILITARY. WHAT ARE THESE FRIENDS' VIEWS ABOUT SERVING IN THE MILITARY? [UNLESS THE RESPONSE CLEARLY TELLS THE REASON, PROBE TO FIND OUT WHY THEY RESPONDED AS THEY DID. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE, AND THEN CIRCLE THE NUMBER(S) IN FRONT OF THE ANSWER BELOW THAT IS USED, IF ANY]

But don't read these answers aloud.

15. 8. That is what they plan to do.
7. They are definitely thinking about it
6. Maybe
5. Don't have enough information
4. Never really thought about it
3. Don't think so
2. probably not
1. Definitely not

Attitudes: SELF--Second

LET'S TALK ABOUT HOW IMPORTANT OR UNIMPORTANT THESE THINGS ARE FOR YOU PERSONALLY--GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL, HAVING A CAR OF YOUR OWN, THINGS LIKE THAT. LET'S START WITH "GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL."

16. HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOU PERSONALLY TO GRADUATE FROM HIGH SCHOOL? WOULD YOU SAY IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT, FAIRLY IMPORTANT, OR NOT SO IMPORTANT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

17. WHAT ABOUT GOING TO COLLEGE? HOW IMPORTANT IS THAT TO YOU PERSONALLY?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

19. WHAT ABOUT HAVING A CAR OF YOUR OWN?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

20. HAVING THE LATEST-STYLE CLOTHES?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

21. A JOB THAT MOST PEOPLE LOOK UP TO AND RESPECT?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

22. A JOB THAT PAYS A LOT OF MONEY?

3. Extremely important

2. Fairly important

1. Not so important

NOW LET ME ASK YOU HOW YOU PERSONALLY FEEL ABOUT A PARTICULAR KIND OF JOB--THE MILITARY. WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS ABOUT SERVING IN THE MILITARY. [UNLESS THE RESPONSE CLEARLY TELLS THE REASON, PROBE TO FIND OUT WHY THEY RESPONDED AS THEY DID. WRITE DOWN THE ANSWER AS COMPLETELY AS POSSIBLE, AND THEN CIRCLE THE NUMBER(S) IN FRONT OF THE ANSWER BELOW THAT IS USED, IF ANY]

But don't read these answers aloud.

23. 1. That is what I plan to do.
 2. I'm definitely thinking about it
 3. Maybe
 4. Never really thought about it
 5. Don't think so
 6. probably not
 7. Definitely not

NOW FOR A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD, AND THEN WE'LL BE THROUGH. I DON'T EXPECT YOU TO KNOW THE EXACT ANSWERS TO THESE QUESTIONS--JUST MAKE A GUESS.

24. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THE FAMILIES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD HAVE SOME ONE WORKING FOR THE D.C. OR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT? [INTERVIEWER READ ALL 5 ALTERNATIVES ALOUD]

5. Almost all
4. More than half
3. About half
2. Fewer than half
1. Almost none

25. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THEM HAVE PROFESSIONAL JOBS--FOR EXAMPLE, THE POLICE, LAWYER, TEACHER, MINISTER? [INTERVIEWER READ ALL 5 ALTERNATIVES ALOUD]

5. Almost all
4. More than half
3. About half
2. Fewer than half
1. Almost none

26. ABOUT HOW MANY OF THE FAMILIES IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD ARE ON WELFARE? [INTERVIEWER READ ALL 5 ALTERNATIVES ALOUD]

5. Almost all

4. More than half

3. About half

2. Fewer than half

1. Almost none

WELL, THAT'S THE LAST OF MY QUESTIONS. IS THERE ANYTHING YOU WOULD LIKE TO ASK ME? [WRITE DOWN ANY QUERIES OR COMMENTS]

THANKS AGAIN!

INTERVIEWER GO ON TO NEXT PAGE

**COMMENTS BY INTERVIEWER
IMMEDIATELY AFTER COMPLETING THE INTERVIEW**

On a 10-point scale, how would you rate each of the following?

[CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER]

27. Student's interest in the interview

LOW

HIGH

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

28. Student's ease in answering the questions

INSECURE

CONFIDENT

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

APPENDIX B-1

Form-1 ratings of Value Importance ($n=78$)

Value	Importance To		t
	Self	Friends	
1. High School	2.99	2.72	4.32***
2. College	2.59	2.03	7.83***
3. Car of one's own	2.21	2.69	-4.86***
4. Latest-style clothes	2.28	2.28	---
5. Job that most people look up to and respect	2.71	2.27	5.40***
6. Job that pays lots of money	2.62	2.69	-.95 NS
7. Serve in military	4.56	4.22	1.01 NS

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

APPENDIX B-2

Form-2 ratings of Value Importance ($n=64$)

Value	Rated Importance To		t
	Self	Friends	
1. High School	3.00	2.75	3.74***
2. College	2.67	2.17	5.61***
3. Car of one's own	2.55	2.69	-2.01*
4. Latest-style clothes	2.02	2.23	-1.46 NS
5. Job that most people look up to and respect	2.59	2.38	2.42**
6. Job that pays lots of money	2.72	2.78	.85 NS
7. Serve in military	4.58	4.83	.71 NS

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$