

AN EXPLORATION OF THE EFFECT OF DESEGREGATION ON THE EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF NEGRO AND WHITE BOYS

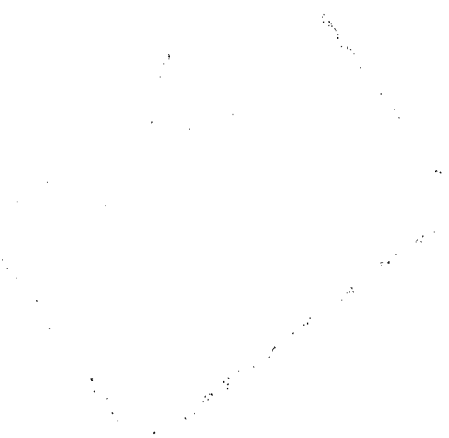
By

JAMES EDWARD FISHER

Bachelor of Arts  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, Oklahoma  
1958

Master of Science  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, Oklahoma  
1960

Submitted to the Faculty of the  
Graduate College of the  
Oklahoma State University  
in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements of  
the Degree of  
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION  
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AN EXPLORATION OF THE EFFECT OF DESEGREGATION ON THE EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF NEGRO AND WHITE BOYS

Thesis Approved:

Daniel Selachovich  
Thesis Adviser

Robert T. Alciatore

Clayton B. Millington

Leon L. Munson

Wm. D. Frasier

D. Durban  
Dean of the Graduate College

762216

## PREFACE

Desegregation research relating to the educational aspirations, plans, and goals of students involved seem to imply contradictory findings. Prior to 1960, the research indicated that the educational plans of youth in majority Negro schools were lower than the educational plans of youth in majority white schools. Since 1960, research indicates that the reverse might be true.

This study is an attempt to develop and test a rationale, using sociological and psychological studies as a base, in a field experiment of a court ordered school desegregation project. Hypotheses were inductively compared from the studies reviewed and tested in the hope of supplying more information and suggesting new questions to be explored regarding the latest findings in desegregation research.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

#### Introduction

In 1967, the Federal District Court in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, directed the Board of Education for the Oklahoma City Public Schools to re-establish specific secondary school attendance areas and adjust grade level assignments for four secondary school plants. The intent of the order was to create a more balanced racial distribution among the schools concerned and was to be implemented beginning with the 1968-1969 school year.<sup>1</sup> This Federal Court Order was one of many issued by various Federal District Courts pursuing a directive opinion issued by the United States Supreme Court in 1954. The United States Supreme Court ruled that separate schools for Negro students was a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution and schools were directed to desegregate "with all deliberate speed."<sup>2</sup>

Implementation of the decision was left to Federal District Courts.

Several cases tested the legality of school racial imbalance in the various Federal Judicial Districts. These included the Eastern District Court of Arkansas, and District Courts in Virginia and Texas.<sup>3</sup> Each Federal Court District applied the United States Supreme Court ruling in a manner peculiar to racial imbalance and social conditions in its district. The steps outlined for desegregation varied with the different Federal District Courts and were responsive to what the court considered conscientious attempts at desegregation, in light of the degree and scope of segregation that existed in the districts. An important factor considered by the Federal District Court to assess the desegregation plans submitted by school districts was the proportion of Negroes and whites in the schools to be desegregated. Some school districts, for various reasons, have voluntarily implemented desegregation plans before court orders were issued to them. These varied responses to pressure for desegregation are better understood as one reviews the social unrest as related to racial problems in recent years in this country.

There has been some concern regarding social change in our society in recent years. Some groups and individuals in the United States appear to be so alienated

from the values and institutions of the society that they question the ability of the system as it exists to provide for their needs. This alienation has led to acts of force and violence. These acts have called public attention to the problems and needs of those so alienated. Alienated groups have demanded that public officials take action to resolve serious social problems including the following: job discrimination, housing improvement, equality before the law, and equal educational opportunities. With the existence of so many serious problems, community leaders find it difficult to determine priorities for action. Even those demanding changes are not always in agreement. The Negro minority in our society finds itself divided into factions, each claiming to speak for the Negro. Possibly, the only thing these factions have in common is that they favor change. The phenomena of clamor for change has been accelerated in the past decade by demands for protection of civil rights for Negroes. The demands have focused on equality. Negro groups have demanded equal job opportunities, equality in housing, equal treatment before the law, and equality of educational opportunity.

The importance of equal educational opportunity is demonstrated by the following review of education's role in the social structure of our society. Despite the ver-

bal enunciations of equality of opportunity and classlessness, a general acceptance of the concept of class differentiation has evolved in our society; those who reject this fact do so mainly because it seems to be contrary to the democratic ideals which are taught to our children and the image we wish to project to the world. While this may be true, class stratification in all societies is inevitable and becomes undemocratic only if the means of mobility are such that any individual may be prohibited from seeking and striving to achieve that status which he desires and is capable of achieving.<sup>4</sup>

In the United States, the community is the principal focus of associative life--"the maximal group of persons who normally reside in face-to-face association."<sup>5</sup> Each community penalizes deviation and rewards conformity depending upon the accepted rules of conduct established by the community. Today in our society the feeling of community solidarity runs from local pride, college spirit, and esprit de corps in a business organization, to religious intolerance, racial prejudice, class struggle, and international conflict. The feeling of solidarity develops as each group within a community assists each other in satisfying basic drives. However, some groups in our society have become ranked groups called social classes.

The number of social classes vary in different communities and the variation depends upon which sociologist's class scale is used. Each group contains people who interact with one another of the same group freely but do or may not associate with that group defined as "above" or "below" them.<sup>6</sup>

Every individual is born into a socially ranked group. His participation is restricted largely to those of his own group. Internal and external class pressures restrict his activity and prevent him from learning new habits and increasing his economic and social advantages. Some social mobility is acceptable provided the necessary behavior is learned and the appropriate symbols displayed which are characteristic of the status group into which an individual is moving.<sup>7</sup>

A child learns his class behavior and his goals from his family and his clique. When speaking of the family and its relationship to the whole society, four functions emerge as fundamental to human social life--the sexual, the economic, the reproductive, and the educational.<sup>8</sup> By discounting the sexual and reproductive, society would become extinct; without provision for the economic, life itself would cease; without educational, culture would come to an end. The family can teach only the behavior

and motivation which it knows. Very often what is known is limited by environmental factors. The social clique can present the necessary models for imitation which is ranked "higher" or "better."<sup>9</sup> Social classes often establish barriers against interclass social association. It is hypothesized that if a child associates only with slum children and adults, he will learn only a slum culture. Each class has developed attitudes and mores relative to basic American culture. Each has evolved solutions to problems of group life, subsistence, unity, sex-control, child-rearing, direction of and protection from aggression, and recreation. Individuals respond to physical, economic, and cultural conditions consonant with his reality. Thus, the "behavior which we regard as 'delinquent', 'shiftless', or 'unmotivated' in slum groups is usually perfectly realistic, adaptive, and--in slum life--respectable response to reality."<sup>10</sup>

When placing a particular person or family within a certain class and its assigned prestige rank, the following factors are considered important: (1) the way a family lives, including his place of residence, the type of home he habitates, and how it is furnished; (2) economic status--income and personal possessions; (3) participation in community affairs, religious organizations, and

politics; (4) family background, including ancestry, kin, national origin; and, (5) reputation, which may have been gained either as a member of the community or from previous community association.<sup>11</sup> While most communities will accept these factors as relating to an individual's standing within society, Americans generally will also agree that there are avenues open to all whereby he may improve his social status. It is possible to marry into a higher social class and thus be in a position to be accepted by that class. Sometimes a person, having a pleasing personality and the ability to adapt to new behavior patterns easily, can gain acceptance in a "higher" social class because he is gifted in one form or another. Some people have the qualities of immense capacity and ability to work their way up. They can, through sheer perseverance, apply themselves to their work for long periods and do a good job. The reward may be acceptance in a "higher" class. Finally, through education, a person can train for a better occupation with greater earning power. Occupation is the greatest single factor in determining social class, and money is a necessary symbol of status. This is why education is considered vitally important to the average upper-lower and lower-middle class family when it comes to social mobility.<sup>12</sup> Of the preceding ways mentioned of

improving class status, the first four--marriage, personality, special talent, and sheer perseverance--are available to a limited number of persons. The Negro in America has been under a serious disadvantage to gain status for many reasons. Foremost among these are racial prejudice with all of its derivative effects, including economic discrimination. The foregoing is partially supported by the 1962 United States Department of Labor report that only 20 per cent of the Negro work force is engaged in clerical, professional, technical, and managerial fields, compared with 60 per cent of the white labor force. Also mentioned in the report was the fact that 75 per cent of all male Negro non-farm workers are engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. These categories generally are assigned to lower class categories on class scales.<sup>13</sup> Of the above mentioned avenues for mobility between classes, only education is available to everyone.

While education is available for everyone, there is evidence to support the theory that it is unequal, especially for Negroes in America. This is significant because the changes that are expected to occur in the labor force in the present decade emphasizes the importance of an educated and trained work force. They also point to the increasing difficulties of the high school



drop-out. There are an increasing number of jobs requiring workers to have more general education and specific vocational preparation. Those who shortcut their education will find themselves unable to compete for jobs. They will be unskilled at a time when unskilled jobs are disappearing. In 1961, 80 per cent of the Negro drop-outs who were unemployed were qualified for employment only as unskilled laborers or inservice occupations.<sup>14</sup> In educational attainment, Negroes as a group are making rapid strides but they are still below the levels reached by whites. In 1950, for example, about 27 per cent of the nonwhite population had attended high school or college, compared to 54 per cent of the white population. However, by 1960, about 40 per cent of the nonwhite population had acquired some high school or college education, compared to 62 per cent of the white population.<sup>15</sup> Not only is the opportunity for education in America important, but also the quality of education is important. Competition is keen both in school and after, when jobs are sought. This is not to mention the importance of education for preparing citizens who are politically aware and skilled in the democratic processes of a democratic society. Education is becoming more available to everyone, but the question is whether or not it is equal education. Are

segregated schools equal in the quality of education to those which are not segregated? Are schools which are largely Negro in composition equal to schools which are largely white in composition in regard to the qualifications of teachers, the expenditures for the schools, and the numbers in the classes?

The United States Supreme Court's decision in the *Sweat v. Painter* Case in 1950 made it clear that the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution require true equality in schools.<sup>16</sup> In the *Skipwith* Case, analysis of data submitted to the Supreme Court showed a city-wide pattern of discrimination in New York City against X Junior High Schools (which have 85 per cent more Negro and Puerto Rican students) compared to Y Junior High Schools (which have 85 per cent or more white students). A far smaller percentage of positions in the X Schools were filled by regularly licensed teachers. The *Sweat v. Painter* data revealed that Negro schools were inferior because of a relatively high percentage of handicapped and retarded children, and inexperienced substitute teachers. The Supreme Court concluded that as long as nonwhite schools have a substantially smaller proportion of regularly licensed teachers than white schools, discrimination and inferior education, apart from that inherent in resi-

dential segregation patterns, will continue. The Constitution, the Court continued, requires equality, not mere palliatives.<sup>17</sup> Negro and mixed schools also get a disproportionate number of inexperienced teachers, a condition which was called to the attention of the Chicago Board of Education in a study presented at the School Budget Hearing of December, 1956. Similar evidence was presented to courts in Detroit and Washington, D.C.. Even the efforts toward desegregation have not always helped the problem of poorly qualified teachers for predominantly black students. In many desegregated school districts, the assignment of first year teachers to Negro schools and the transfer of tenure teachers away from Negro schools as a reward is still a prevalent practice.<sup>18</sup> In 1967, a Federal Court in Washington, D.C., found the city's school board in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment in part on evidence that a per pupil differential of \$100 existed between predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools; virtually all the differential was shown to consist of teacher-salary differences.<sup>19</sup> Recently, an experienced official in the New York City system declared a beginning substitute teacher costs \$6,200 plus 7 per cent in fringe benefits for a total cost of \$6,634, while a teacher on maximum costs \$12,600 plus 30 per cent in

fringe benefits for a total cost of \$16,380. These facts would be unimportant if teachers at different levels of service, licensing, and educational preparation were distributed equally among the schools, but they are not.<sup>20</sup> Another area of inferiority of Negro schools compared with white schools is that of per pupil expenditures. Edward Levi, in an address for the dedication of the Earl Warren Legal Center at the University of California, observed that the expenditure per pupil in high schools in the Chicago area ranged from \$1,283 in a suburb to the north of the city, to \$723 per pupil in a suburb to the south of the city. In the same area, elementary school expenditures ranged from \$919 in the north suburb to \$421 per pupil in the south suburb.<sup>21</sup> Thomas R. Dye made a careful study of per pupil expenditures in sixty-seven of the nation's largest cities. He found that even after adjustments are made for the effects of lower incomes, property values, and level of education, it still remains true that the greater the nonwhite proportion of the population, the lower the level of per pupil expenditures.<sup>22</sup> Jerry Miner examined the correlates of per pupil educational expenditures in 1,100 school districts. His findings also show that the lower the per pupil expenditures, the higher the proportion of nonwhites in the district.<sup>23</sup>

A final area which seems to support the idea that Negro education is inferior is that of teacher-pupil ratio. Some educators feel the overcrowding of schools that serve the Negro population in the urban North and West is notorious. All educators point to the related unfortunate teacher-pupil ratio as critical. There is reason to believe that these deficiencies, rather than the ability of the teacher, explain the inferiority of the predominantly Negro schools as compared with the predominantly white schools of the North and West. Data presented at the United States Commission on Civil Rights Detroit hearings seemed to show extreme overcrowding of the elementary schools in the predominantly Negro Center District, as compared with other districts in that city. 23 per cent of the total elementary school population attends school in the Center District. 15 per cent of these children sit in classes of 40-44 students per class. This is compared with 1, 4, 8, and 5 per cent of the students of the other districts in the same size classes. 62½ per cent of all the children in the cities' elementary schools who sit in classes of from 45 to 49 are children from the Center District.<sup>24</sup>

The United States Civil Rights Commission's Illinois State Advisory Committee confirmed the fact that the pre-

dominantly Negro schools suffer by reason of size of the school population and size of the classes. Of 22 schools, each enrolling over 2,000 pupils, 18 are all or predominantly Negro, and almost all of the 22 have double-shift classes.<sup>25</sup> Similar complaints of school board inaction to relieve overcrowding have been received by the Commission from Newark, New Jersey.

Though there is a body of evidence, as cited above, to support the contention that Negro schools are inferior to white schools, the question arises, what happens to the student in these schools? The Coleman Report contains evidence that educational disadvantage among minority groups is not limited specifically to reading and mathematics; where the disadvantage is found in one subject, it is found in others. Further, the disadvantage remains with the individual or group until they finish school. The Negroes in the South and Southwest have even been shown to lose their relative position in skills compared to whites.<sup>26</sup> In other words, not only is it true that the beginning students in the educational process are on the average systematically unequal in measured achievement according to ethnic grouping, but the existing public school system does little if anything to narrow the gap so that the output remains as unequal as the input and along the same lines.<sup>27</sup>

The claim that racial imbalance in schools leads to inferiority in some of its products has some support in other studies. Lesser and his associates conducted a study in New York City of academic achievement under varying conditions of racial balance and imbalance. According to Lesser, "the children from more integrated schools and neighborhoods showed significantly superior performance when compared to the children from racially imbalanced schools and neighborhoods."<sup>28</sup> Fortenberry studied Negro achievement in Oklahoma City under conditions of segregation and desegregation. Fortenberry's overall conclusion was that "in general, Negroes achieve better in mixed than in non-mixed classes."<sup>29</sup> Self-esteem was found to be adversely affected by racial imbalance in two studies. In one study, Blake stated that, "the struggle to maintain self-esteem is much more difficult for Negro students in segregated than in integrated schools."<sup>30</sup> In another study, Stinson studied the effect of desegregation upon basic intergroup attitudes in a large southern city. His findings in part relate that self-acceptance increased for the desegregated group and decreased on the segregated group.<sup>31</sup>

The Negro minority in the United States has been made aware of their plight and sees its shortcomings through

various social media. Television reports, addresses of militant minority leaders, radio and press reports, along with investigating commissions, private and public, have shown the American Negro the promise of American life and have helped him become aware of his position. This awareness has spurred new demands from Negroes in America. These demands have been echoed through marches, demonstrations, and riots.

In some areas of the nation, particularly in urban areas, the educational demands of Negroes are often given first priority by public officials. Like minority groups before them, the Negro minority has expressed its faith in the ability of education to help prepare its young for the problems of the future. Whether true or not, many among the Negro minority feel that education holds the key to the future. Numerous sociological studies imply that inferior education, in both quality and quantity, is a serious individual, as well as societal handicap.<sup>32-33</sup> It has been stated that success in our society is measured in economic terms and income appears to provide a major avenue of mobility between social classes. Education, the amount and quality, is in large measure related to social class membership. If the education offered to some groups in our society is inferior to that offered the majority,



then the resulting deprivation might be tantamount to fixing the socio-economic position of the deprived group.<sup>34</sup>

In the recent past, the fact of discrimination and its concurrent deprivation has been recognized, at least by legal authorities, as existing in many parts of our country.<sup>35</sup> Some reports specify that critical skills, both verbal and reading, are weak in young Negroes in the ghetto schools. They fall farther and farther behind whites in these skills with each year of school completed.<sup>36</sup> In the metropolitan North and West, more than three times as many Negro as white students drop out of school by age sixteen. In high schools studied in 1965, the actual nonenrollment rate for Negroes was 20 per cent while the nonenrollment rate for whites was 6 per cent.<sup>37</sup> Most of the Negro enrollment were in slum schools. Reports further reveal that many of the Negroes who graduate from high school are not equipped to enter the normal job market, for they lack the degree of skill development required by many jobs. Kerner and Coleman found the following factors point to the fact of deprivation of Negroes in ghetto schools. The calibre of teachers in ghetto schools is questioned because of less experience and poorer attitudes toward students, compared with teachers of schools in the suburbs. The racial isolation

in ghetto schools also deprives the isolated of very important exposure to other children with strong educational backgrounds. In virtually every large American city, the schools attended by Negroes are overcrowded and are the oldest and poorest equipped buildings. In terms of expenditures, it was found that suburban communities spend more per child per year to educate their children than is spent on inner-city children.<sup>38</sup>

Part of the reason for the stubborn persistence of inequality is that schools are locally controlled. Local boards set school attendance boundaries which determine the nature and character of the school population. The result of such local control is de facto segregation. Very often the pattern of school attendance districts has resulted in segregation according to socio-economic status as well as along racial and ethnic lines. Residential de facto segregation is prevalent in many urban areas. Concerted efforts to carefully draw school district boundaries in some cities insured that Negro children would attend Negro schools.<sup>39</sup> The problem of dealing with inequality in the schools of America is in large measure left to local educational policy makers. To influence the policy makers, protestants to alleged inequalities prompted legal action by the United States Court System.

The present study attempts to look in depth at one aspect of the problem. The setting is the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Public Schools which found itself faced with a Federal District Court order in 1965. Desegregation was ordered following litigation against the system because of cited inequalities. Two secondary schools in the Oklahoma City system reflected a degree of segregation considered to be detrimental to the students in attendance. A plan to improve the racial balance of the schools was submitted to the Federal District Court and was approved. The plan specified that attendance boundaries would be altered and reorganization effected to substantially improve the racial balance. In so doing, two junior high schools with disproportionate nonwhite populations were to have attendance boundaries altered so that part of the students would attend schools which were, prior to desegregation, disproportionately white. The attempt was made to reassign Negro and white students to new schools to the extent that each school contained a ratio of approximately 70-30, whites to Negroes. The reorganization required that two formerly junior-senior high schools become only junior high schools and two formerly junior-senior high schools become only senior high schools. Beginning with September, 1968, these schools were organized in the

manner described above. The 70-30 ratio was not achieved. Although transfer policies have been strict to insure desegregation, some patrons have devised means in some attendance districts to remove their children from the desegregation areas. How many have done so to escape desegregation is not known, but this demonstrates one of the problems of the physical desegregation plan and reflects an attitude which exists on the part of some.

The decisions rendered to improve racial balance seem to be based upon an assumption that schools which are racially desegregated with a better racial balance will improve the education for Negroes and overcome a deprivation of rights to equal education. Actions taken thus far to implement desegregation imply the same thing. While decisions have been made to desegregate schools to improve racial balance, several questions still arise concerning the objectives of such decisions. One such question is, once physical desegregation is effected, what happens to the attitudes and goals of the youth involved? This question seems researchable and one aspect of it is stated below as a problem to investigate.

### Statement of the Problem

The central concern of this study was to measure the effect of an incident of school racial desegregation on the educational plans of Negro and white boys.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Dowell v. School Board of Oklahoma, 244 F. Supp. 971, 1965.

<sup>2</sup>Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka Public Schools, 347 U.S. 483, 74 Sup. Ct. 686, 98 L.Ed. 873, 1954.

<sup>3</sup>Arkansas, 163 F. Supp. 13., Virginia, ExParte Virginia, 100 U.S., 339, 337, Smith v. Texas, 311 U.S., 128, 132.

<sup>4</sup>Stephen Abrahamson, "Our Status System and Scholastic Rewards," Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 25, No. 8, April, 1952, p. 441.

<sup>5</sup>George Peter Murdock, Social Structure, The MacMillan Company, New York: 1949, p. 79.

<sup>6</sup>Allison Davis, Social Class Influences on Education, Harvard University Press, Cambridge: 1949, pp. 4-5.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>11</sup>James M. Sawrey and Charles W. Telford, Educational Psychology, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston: 1958, p. 39.

<sup>12</sup>Abrahamson, pp. 441-442.

<sup>13</sup>U.S. Department of Labor Publication, America is for Everybody, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1962, p. 7.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>16</sup>Sweatt v. Painter, 399 U.S. 629, 70 Sup. Ct., 94 L.Ed. 1114 (1950).

<sup>17</sup>In the Matter of Skipwith, 180 N.Y.S. 2d 852-871 (Dom. Rel. Ct., N.Y.C. 1958).

<sup>18</sup>"DeFacto Segregation in the Chicago Public Schools," The Crises, February 1958, pp. 89-90.

<sup>19</sup>Hobson v. Hansen, Congressional Record, June 21, 1966, pp. H7655-H7697.

<sup>20</sup>Jacob Landers, Testimony at Public Hearing on "Education in New York City for Low Income Youngsters," November 16, 1967, pp. 21-22.

<sup>21</sup>Edward H. Levi, "The University, the Professions and the Law," An Address for the Dedication of the Earl Warren Legal Center, University of California at Berkeley, January 2, 1968.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas R. Dye, "Governmental Structure, Urban Environment, and Educational Policy," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 11 (August, 1967), pp. 353-380.

<sup>23</sup>Jerry Miner, Social and Economic Factors in Spending for Public Education, Syracuse: Univ. Press, 1963.

<sup>24</sup>United States Commission on Civil Rights, Detroit Hearings, 1960, p. 145.

<sup>25</sup>The Crises, February 1958, p. 89.

<sup>26</sup>James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, pp. 220-273.

<sup>27</sup>Charles U. Daly - Ed., The Quality of Inequality: Urban and Suburban Public Schools, The University of Chicago Center for Policy Study, Chicago, 1968, p. 101.

<sup>28</sup>Gerald S. Lesser, et al., "Some Effects of Segregation and Desegregation in the Schools," Integrated Education, June-July, 1964, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup>James H. Fortenberry, The Achievement of Negro Pupils in Mixed and Non-mixed Schools, Unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1969, University Micro-film No. 59-5492.

<sup>30</sup>Elias Blake, Jr., A Comparison of Intraracial and Interracial Levels of Aspiration, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Education, University of Illinois, 1960, University Micro-film No. 60-1616, p. 69.

<sup>31</sup>Harold N. Stinson, The Effect of Desegregation on Adjustment and Values of Negro and White Students, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1963, p. 79, University Micro-film No. 64-5089.

<sup>32</sup>Hylan Lewis, Culture, Class and Poverty, CROSS-TELL, Washington, D.C., 1967.

<sup>33</sup>Robert E. Herriott and Nancy H. St. John, Social Class and the Urban School, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1966.

<sup>34</sup>Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 1953, 18, pp. 223-242.

<sup>35</sup>Joan I. Roberts, School Children in the Urban Slum, The Free Press, New York, Collier-MacMillan Limited, London, 1967.

<sup>36</sup>Kenneth Bancroft Clark, Dark Ghetto, New York, Harper and Row, 1965.

<sup>37</sup>James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

<sup>38</sup>Otto Kerner, Chairman, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Washington, D.C.; U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

<sup>39</sup>Daniel Selakovich, The Schools and American Society, Watham, Massachusetts; Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1967, pp. 125-126.



## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The review of literature was made to find appropriate means of identifying educational plans, to relate educational plans to educational aspirations and goals, to help define the hypotheses used to guide the investigation, to develop explanations for past findings concerning the educational plans of Negro and white boys, and to justify the present study through identifying areas of weakness in the study of educational plans of Negro and white boys. In general, the review of literature on desegregation and educational plans embraced four main areas of study. The first area was the effect of success and failure upon aspirations and goals. The second area was on the effects of social interaction and group influence upon individual aspirations, goals, and plans. The third area was the effect of social class on aspirations, goals, and plans. The fourth area was comparisons of Negro and white students on educational aspirations, goals, and plans.

## The Effect of Success and Failure on Goals and Aspirations

Before the 1930's, there had been few attempts to study goals as phenomena in themselves, even though goals and goal directed behavior are important constructs in motivational theory. In the 1930's and 1940's, however, much research was conducted concerning the effects on the behavior of the individual of attainment and nonattainment of goals. Since the early 1930's, the so-called "level of aspiration" has become a popular topic of research activity for those interested in the experimental investigation of various aspects of goal-setting behavior.

Dembo is credited with the introduction of the term "level of aspiration" into the literature in Germany. He studied the dynamics of anger and suggested that the presence of a particular "level of aspiration" determined whether or not the subjects felt satisfied or dissatisfied with themselves after performance on a task.<sup>1</sup> In another study, Hoppe based his conclusions upon the subjects' spontaneous remarks concerning their reactions to various situations. He related the manner in which the subjects worked at tasks and their statements relative to success and failure. The feelings of success or failure as it appeared to exist following performance determined the subject's level of aspiration.<sup>2</sup>

The standard quantitative technique in the field of experimental study on the level of aspiration was reported by Frank. In this technique the subject was informed of his performance score from the preceding trial and was asked to indicate how well he intended to do on the next trial. An explicit level of aspiration was operationally defined as "the level of future performance on a familiar task which an individual . . . explicitly undertakes to reach."<sup>3</sup> When the subject reached the stated goal, success was attained; and not reaching the stated goal constituted failure. Discrepancy scores were figured for the differences between the level of the last performance and the level of the stated goal and again for the difference between goal level set for the new performance and that level reached on the new performance. The former figure was called the goal discrepancy and the latter figure the attainment discrepancy. Both the direction and size of the attainment discrepancy were seen as two of the major factors affecting statements of predicted success or failure.

Research on level of aspiration in the 1940's and 1950's following these earlier studies have fallen into two major categories, diagnostic and success prediction. The diagnostic category includes attempts to describe

stutterers, deaf children, delinquents, and peptic ulcer patients. Other attempts were made to study behavior patterns of neurotics, schizophrenics, extroverts-introverts, maladjusted children, and general cultural comparisons. The success prediction category of level of aspiration studies include a study by Heller, who predicted success in a training program in a factory,<sup>4</sup> and by Klien, who predicted success in flight training by using the level of aspiration.<sup>5</sup> Many of the studies done on level of aspiration tend to be laboratory rather than applied research, and this represents a limitation in the application of its results to extra-laboratory experiments because extraneous social influences are not accounted for.

It was important for the present study to determine whether level of aspiration (consisting of knowledge of results plus the setting of a goal) possesses a motivational property, as reflected in total performance, beyond that of knowledge of results alone. The constructs of motivational theory may help us better understand student performance in a school environment. Certainly an attempt to explain student reactions to various environmental stimuli and to assess goal statements would be unrealistic without a consideration of knowledge concerning individual performance and stated levels of aspiration. Further

studies are cited then to more closely relate level of aspiration with total performance.

Lewin reported that most subjects, after the first performance score, set their level of aspiration higher than the previous performance score (defined as a positive goal discrepancy) and this tends to remain positive in subsequent tests.<sup>6</sup> The following studies have centered on a particular aspect that success and failure directly affect the level of aspiration. Child and Whitney reported a positive relationship between success and the level of aspiration. Failure had the opposite effect.<sup>7</sup> Steisel and Cohen studied different degrees of failure and found that both mild and severe successive failure had a deflating effect on level of aspiration.<sup>8</sup> Hilgard, Sait, and Margaret concluded that successful subjects are more cautious in goal setting than unsuccessful subjects, but the successful continued to exceed the unsuccessful in performance.<sup>9</sup> Pennington studied the effects of passing or failing grades in the classroom and concluded that academic success did not produce marked upswings in level of aspiration. However, it was found that failure in the examinations used deflated subsequent levels of aspiration on like examinations.<sup>10</sup>

While some studies do not support Lewin's findings, the majority of those reviewed did indicate that the level of performance will be raised and lowered as performance attains or does not attain the level of aspiration. Irwin stated that level of aspiration involves both cognitive and affective factors. He used the term level of aspiration, except in cases where goals are clearly implied. Irwin differentiated between realistic and unrealistic aspirations in terms of expectations and goals. Realistic aspirations were viewed as those based upon an appraisal of the extent to which the individual is capable of meeting the demands of the situation with which he is confronted. Unrealistic aspirations were viewed as those aspirations which were based upon the hopes, fears, and wishes originating within the individual.<sup>11</sup>

The Effects of Social Interaction and Group  
Influence on Individual Performance,  
Aspirations, Goals, and Plans

Rosenthal and Cofer reported on the effect of "significant other people" on the level of aspiration. Discussions among the group members in experiments related that both individual and group levels of aspiration were similarly affected by success and failure.<sup>12</sup> Reference group influence on levels of aspiration was studied by Festinger.

the investigation concerned undergraduates working on synonym lists and information tests. The subjects were told their own performance on tasks; then, they were given the average performance on one of three groups, high school students, college freshmen, and graduate students, before making the next estimate of his performance on the next trial. In general, the subjects raised their estimate when they were told they were scoring below their reference group and lowered it when told they were scoring above the reference group.<sup>13</sup> Hertzman and Festinger also found that subjects revised the estimates on tasks when told their own group estimates.<sup>14</sup> Anderson and Brandt, while testing a class of fifth grade school children, found that regardless of achievement level, the goals of children tend to converge on what represents an average for the group.<sup>15</sup> These studies indicated an influence of reference groups on the performance of individuals toward the norm of the group.

According to Dwight Chapman, research on the level of aspiration has considered only those determinants which result from individual experiences of success and failure, as in the general law that success tends to raise the level, failure to lower it. But there are presumably important features in the frame of reference surrounding

the setting of the aspiration level which come from the social environment. The importance of the concept of a frame of reference lies in large part in the fact that it is a paradigm for the individual's interiorization of the norms, values, and standards of his culture. One way in which social environment might determine the level of aspiration of a given individual would be through his knowledge of achievement of groups whose status or ability he could assess relative to his own. In actual life, men usually approach tasks with some awareness of the achievements of others. Whether their knowledge is accurate or inaccurate, the task is understood as something easy or difficult by social standards; and that frame of reference in such a case is richer than that produced merely by individual experience or conjecture.<sup>16</sup>

Sherif's studies, conducted as early as 1935, showed that children's attitudes are developed in part as a result of interaction with each other.<sup>17</sup> The attitudes resulting from such influence affects the goals of children as mentioned in the studies above. It logically follows then that changing environment would affect the attitudes and goals of children if those of the new environment are different from the ones from which the children changed.

James Coleman studied students in six midwestern high



schools. His concern was the dearth of research on the adolescent subculture and its relation to academic achievement and educational aspirations. Sociologists recognize that the values which shape the aspirations of youth are influenced by interaction within the group. Coleman found that students of high status in adolescent social systems are found to be more likely to change to both a positive orientation toward attending college and a negative orientation toward academic status than are those of low status. It was also found that the converse is true; those with positive college plans are more likely to gain status among their peers in school than are those with negative college plans, and those with a negative orientation toward scholastic achievement are more likely to gain status with their peers than are those with a positive orientation.<sup>18</sup>

Attention has been focused on peer influence as a determinant of attitudes and aspirations. Following Sherif's statements on the influence of interaction, and Chapman on social determinants,<sup>19</sup> Herriott undertook the task of investigating the mechanisms through which the popular correlates of educational aspiration operate. His study was logically and theoretically orientated rather than empirical. Herriott was interested in the "intervening variables" which might influence educational aspiration.

He knew that earlier investigations had established that boys have higher educational aspiration than girls, that children of well-educated parents have higher aspirations than children of poorly educated parents, and that children in high income families have higher educational aspiration than children of low income families. He felt that these variables, rather than being determinants of educational plans, were merely predictors which gain their predictive power through their association with other variables.

Herriott thought that there existed variables which intervene between the social, economic, and intellectual characteristics of an adolescent and his educational plans.

For example, boys have higher educational aspiration than girls, not simply because they are boys, but because specific social forces conducive to planning for college are operating more upon them than they are upon girls; and children of high income families have higher educational aspiration than do children of low income families, not simply because their parents have more money, but because specific social forces conducive to planning for college are operating more upon them than they are upon children in low income families. He thought the same line of reasoning could be applied to most of the other predictors of educational plans suggested in the educational research

literature. Herriott used various works in sociology to construct a general theoretical model which specified two important factors. The first factor was an individual's self-assessment and the second was expectation. An empirical investigation was then designed to test several theoretical propositions. A multivariate statistical model was used when a linear condition was found to exist between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Herriott concluded that what should be particularly noted was the finding that the strongest independent relationship with the level of aspiration observed in this data was with the expectation perceived from a "friend of the same age." That variable, according to Herriott, has been greatly neglected in most formulations for national or regional action dealing with the education of youths.<sup>20</sup> Haller tested the general hypothesis that interaction with peers influences levels of occupational aspiration and educational aspiration of American adolescent boys. He considered these aspirations to be two kinds of attitudes and that they should be influenced partly by other youth because a great deal of interaction of American youth is with others of the same age. While the data presented in his study indicated that this was partly true, the results did not support his hypothesis. The hypothesis was tested under

varying conditions of parental social class, status, peer member's general intelligence, and parental desire for high-level social achievement for the child. A positive intraclass correlation of close friend's levels of occupational and educational aspiration was found in most tests.<sup>21</sup>

More needs to be known about the influence of peers and the school environment on the motivation of youth in these environments. According to Wilson,

The United States Supreme Court considers that even though the "tangible" provisions of schools are the same, schools segregated along racial lines are inherently unequal. The "sense of inferiority affects the motivation of the child to learn." The de facto segregation brought about by concentration of social classes in cities results in schools with unequal moral climates which likewise affect the motivation of the child, not necessarily by inculcating a sense of inferiority, but rather by providing a different ethos in which to perceive values.<sup>22</sup>

The students in the present study were members of schools with different academic climates which, it was assumed, affected their educational plans. When the students of these schools change schools and academic climates as a result of a desegregation plan, their plans, it was hypothesized, would change as a result in part of the influence of the peer performance in the new school.

## The Effect of Social Class on Aspiration, Goals, and Plans

Much attention has been given the influence of social stratification on both the opportunities and the aspirations of youth. Leonard Reissman made an extensive study in Evanston, Illinois, related to levels of aspiration and social class. His findings suggest that the relationship between class and aspirations is not a simple one. Successful achievement in the past does not necessarily mean higher aspirational levels in the future. He reported that reference groups used by individuals appear to affect the relationship between class and aspirations. While the study considered only occupational aspirations, the conclusions point to group reference and competing orientations as influential factors for consideration in studies of class and aspirations.<sup>23</sup> Roberts and Clark revealed what they felt were tremendous differences in education found in American schools. Their reports about the disadvantages of urban education were relevant to this study as examples of the attitudes and expectations that were created in slum and ghetto schools. This form of education exemplifies the prevailing attitudes of teachers, parents, and students who are associated with these schools. These authors suggest that there is a positive relationship between teachers'

and parents' expectations toward academic performance and students' academic aspirations. They further suggest that, in general, the teachers and parents of low socio-economic ghetto children expect lower academic performance from students in their schools than teachers and parents in higher socio-economic suburban schools.<sup>24</sup> Bennett studied eight hundred urban high school students in Kansas City, Missouri. Concern was centered on the generalization made in earlier studies dealing with the positive relationship between class and aspirations. That generalization has been that striving for success, which reflects aspiration, is strongest among those in the middle and upper classes. Bennett felt that seeming contradictions in research warranted further exploration. He concluded that educational aspirations and plans showed little variation among social classes. Occupational plans did differ significantly with social class. Aspirations were considered goals the subjects would like to attain, while plans were those objectives set considering the real opportunity which seemed evident.<sup>25</sup>

Apparently, the social environment of the school plays a large part in influencing the aspirations of youth. Studies in this area are concerned with the nature of school environments, how they differ, and what differences have

been reported to be influential. Alan Wilson studied the aspirations of high school boys as they were related to the residential segregation of social classes. He reported that school districting tends to segregate youths of different social strata. Consequently, school populations have modally different values and aspirations. The educational aspirations of boys who attended schools characterized by different climates of aspiration were compared. He hypothesized that the values of the bulk of the students in a high school provide a significant normative reference influencing the values of the individuals within the school. Wilson considered the influences upon educational aspiration to be varied and dependent upon a number of variables. The variables which seemed to be most significant in influencing educational aspiration were education, especially of parents, school population heterogeneity, and academic achievement. Wilson found that differing school populations do provide significant normative environments which influence values and aspirations. Working-class youth who attended middle-class schools had higher aspirations toward the norms of that school. Middle-class students attending working-class schools had lower aspirations toward the norms of that school. Wilson did not state whether the modification of attitudes by the normative

climate of the school society persists or a reversion toward familial norms in later life takes place. The static comparisons could not yield that information. The student's high school achievement and his decision for or against college entrance have irreversible consequences in channeling him into the stream of economic and social life, and in biasing the probability of future intimate contact with countervailing reference groups.<sup>26</sup>

Parental influence on the educational aspirations of youth has been a part of numerous studies. Richard Rehberg studied the determinants of adolescent educational aspiration. He treated parental encouragement, occupation, education, and family size. Rehberg asserted that the proportion of adolescents expressing an expectation to enroll in a four-year college or university varies according to the several factors. The higher the occupation, based upon income, of the father, the greater the proportion expecting to go to college. The higher the educational level of the parent, the greater the proportion expecting to go to college. The higher the parental educational pressure, stress, or encouragement, the greater the proportion going to college. Finally, the greater the family size, the smaller the proportion expecting to go to college. His assertion was based upon some two hundred studies. In his study,



Rehberg considered a large sample, 2,852 students who answered questionnaires in Pennsylvania. He concluded that each of the four predictor variables remains independently associated with the dependent variable when the appropriate other three are statistically controlled. The study suggested that the father's education is a partial determinant of his occupation and hence of the social status of the family, that paternal education and occupation influence adolescent educational expectancies both through parental encouragement and independently of it, and that the larger the family the greater the reduction, both in the frequency with which the parents encourage their children to continue their education beyond high school, and in the effectiveness of general level of parental educational encouragement.<sup>27</sup>

#### Comparing Negro and White Students on Educational Aspirations, Goals, and Plans

In a study comparing Negro and white eighth grade students, Gay found that a student's self-concept was much more of a motivational factor in academic achievement than was intelligence. Intelligence was measured by the Otis Quick Scoring Mental Ability Test and the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Academic achievement was expressed as a grade point average and self-concept was measured by the

Bill's Index of Adjustment and Values and the Tennessee Self Concept Scale.<sup>28</sup> Intelligence was also a factor for consideration in a study comparing the occupational and educational aspirations of Negro and white students in Kansas City, Missouri. Gist reported that there were no significant differences between Negro and white aspirations related to intelligence.<sup>29</sup> While what is called intelligence, as measured by various tests, does correlate highly with college plans there seems to be no difference between Negro and white students of like intelligence and their educational aspirations. Boyd, however, found when intelligence was controlled, Negro elementary students had higher aspirations than white elementary students. He hypothesized that this was a result of an inferior feeling on the part of the Negroes, who were of the lower socioeconomic class, and that the Negro reacted with an uncommon desire to get ahead.<sup>30</sup>

Self-concept seemingly has a strong positive correlation with academic achievement and educational aspiration. Caplin states that in the segregated and desegregated elementary schools in New Jersey the level of aspiration, self-concept, and academic achievement of both Negro and white children were positively related. That is, those children having more positive self-concepts and/or higher

levels of aspiration had higher academic achievement.<sup>31</sup>

Several recent studies of the mobility orientation of youth have compared the educational and occupational choices of Negroes and whites in order to determine whether aspirations reflect class or racial subcultures. The results of the investigations are not completely clear. Some confusion exists because in some cases the level of aspiration of Negro and white pupils varies according to whether plans or preferences are considered. In other cases, the level of aspiration is found to be more related to social class than race, but there are some indications that the aspirations of Negroes are less related to social class than are aspirations of whites. More research on variables which studies suggest have an influence on students' plans and preferences are definitely needed. One variable that has been insufficiently studied is school segregation. If the aspirations of children reflect in any part their racial subcultures, those children who have been most exposed to their racial subculture should be most affected. St. John hypothesized that Negro secondary school youth who had attended segregated elementary schools would have lower aspirations than those who had attended integrated elementary schools. She assumed that those in contact with the dominant subculture in elementary school

would have higher aspirations when in high school than those separated from the dominant subculture and in greater interaction with their racial subculture. The data taken in northern schools did not support her hypothesis.<sup>32</sup> Gist, noted above, implied that de facto segregated schools contain Negro students with much higher aspirations than Negroes in integrated schools and even higher than whites in both types of schools.<sup>33</sup> St. John, too, concluded that Negro students in segregated schools had higher, not lower, aspirations than Negroes in desegregated schools.<sup>34</sup> A study noted earlier by Boyd also concluded that Negro students have higher aspirations than whites. With such findings, it seemed necessary to look at other factors associated with the racial subculture of Negroes. Differences between social classes and racial subcultures do produce different influences upon the aspirations of youth.<sup>35</sup>

### Summary

There is, as cited above, evidence to support the contention that the educational plans of Negro boys in segregated schools have higher educational plans than Negro boys in desegregated schools. The educational plans of Negro boys in segregated schools have been reported to be higher than white boys in either segregated or desegregated schools

even when the white boys' economic and academic position is much more favorable toward making more schooling possible than the position of the Negro boys in segregated schools. The rationale presented for this phenomenon is that the Negro boys in segregated schools have unrealistically high educational plans resulting from an unwillingness to accept the inferior position to which society has assigned them. Further, the unrealistic plans on the part of these Negro boys in segregated schools are explained to be a reaction to a more positive opportunity structure for more education that has evolved in the last fifteen to twenty years. Studies also explain the unusually high plans as being representative of Negro boys' educational plans being tied to occupational goals.

While the explanations given for unrealistic educational plans, in the studies reported, seem to be reasonable considerations, they are inconsistent with the rationale presented in the introduction which emphasizes the need for desegregation to improve motivation through interaction with students of different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds; that is, the dominant white middle-class culture in most American public schools. David Armor in the Racial Isolation in the Public Schools Report conducted a special study of the educational aspirations of Negro stu-

dents. He found that Negro boys aspired higher in desegregated than in segregated schools.<sup>36</sup> The staff of the Racial Isolation in Public Schools Report concluded that Negro students in majority white schools "are more likely to have definite college plans than similarly situated students in majority Negro schools."<sup>37</sup> New evidence in support of both contentions about the educational plans of Negro boys in both desegregated and segregated schools and comparisons of the educational plans of Negro and white boys in the different environments is also needed to help policy makers decide which situations actually exist.

Many of the studies reviewed dealt with the educational plans of boys in desegregated schools and segregated schools as separate populations. More information is needed on the educational plans of Negro and white boys who are changing school environments. The effect of the predominance of one race in a school on the educational plans of both the predominant race and the minority race needs further exploration. Coleman stated that, "One of the real handicaps to an effective assessment of equality of education for children of minority groups is that few communities have given systematic testing and fewer have evaluated the academic performances and attitudes of these children toward education."<sup>38</sup>

## An Explanation of Educational Plans

Some studies reviewed treated aspirations and plans as different terms. Aspirations represented goals based upon what one "hoped" to attain. Plans was the term used to denote goals one actually "expected" to attain. When using these terms related to education, this researcher considered the terms to be related in such a way as to make them comparable. The rationale developed in this chapter considered plans and aspirations to be the same for the purpose of determining high or low educational goals. This seems justified when one considers that plans will not generally exceed aspirations. As an example, one might have high educational aspirations and plan to attain a high level of education. However, it is doubtful that one would plan to attain a high level of education if he had low educational aspirations. The educational plans used in the rationale did not include the sophistication of the term to the extent that those expressing plans had sought catalogues or cost information from higher educational institutions. The educational plans of the respondents in this investigation were mere responses to a question of "what do you plan to do?"

### Assumed Rationale

Students' aspirations, goals, and plans are influenced by friends of the same age, in that their aspirations, goals, and plans tend to be like those of their friends. This peer influence was assumed to operate upon individual students to cause a change, over time, in educational plans if the environment of the student was changed to include a majority of peers with different educational plans than was held before the change in environment. It was further assumed that the Negro boys in the predominantly Negro schools would experience a peer influence toward educational plans that would combine with other factors to produce a level of educational plans that was measurably different from the educational plans expressed by white boys in predominantly white schools. When desegregation was effected and Negro boys from predominantly Negro schools were moved to predominantly white schools, their level of educational plans, it was assumed, would decrease. The decrease would result partly from a trend toward a different school norm for a given level, and also because greater competition and less success would cause a reappraisal of plans with new insight as to the real difficulty of a goal and possible goal oriented tasks which had been unrealistically assessed. The Negro boys who remained in the predomi-



nantly Negro schools would, it was assumed, express no change in their level of educational plans because their normative reference for educational plans would stay the same and peer influence would remain the same. It was assumed that the white boys who had low educational plans and who moved from predominantly white to predominantly Negro schools would express a change in educational plans upward. This change would result from less competition, higher achievement, more confidence, an improved self-concept, and the influence of an unrealistically high peer normative reference for educational plans.

### Hypotheses

#### Hypothesis One:

Negro boys in schools with high proportions of Negro students will, in September 1968, express higher educational plans than both white boys in predominantly white schools and Negro boys in predominantly white schools.

#### Hypothesis Two:

Negro boys who transfer from schools with high proportions of Negro students to predominantly white schools will, in March 1969, express a negative change in educational plans by a greater per cent than Negro boys who remain in schools with high proportions of Negro students.

### Hypothesis Three:

White boys who transfer from predominantly white schools to schools with high proportions of Negro students will, in March 1969, express a positive change in educational plans by a greater per cent than white boys who remain in predominantly white schools.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>T. Dembo, "Der Anger als Dynamisches Problem," Psychol. Forsch., 1931, 15, pp. 1-144.

<sup>2</sup>F. Hoppe, "Erfolg and Misserfolg," Psychol. Forsch., 1930, 44, pp. 1-62.

<sup>3</sup>J. D. Frank, "Individual Differences in Certain Aspects of the Level of Aspiration," Amer. J. Psychol., 1935, 47, pp. 119-128 (a).

<sup>4</sup>F. A. Heller, "Measuring Motivation in Industry," Occup. Psychol., 1952, 26, pp. 86-95.

<sup>5</sup>G. S. Klein, "Self-Appraisal of Test Performance as a Vocational Selection Device," Educ. Psychol. Measmt., 1948, 8, pp. 69-84.

<sup>6</sup>K. Lewin, T. Dembo, L. Festinger, and P. S. Sears, "Level of Aspiration." In J. Mc. V. Hunt (Ed), Personality and the Behavior Disorders, New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944, Vol. I., pp. 333-378.

<sup>7</sup>I. L. Child, and J. W. Whitney, "Determinants of Level of Aspiration and Evidence from Everyday life," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., 1949, 44, pp. 303-314.

<sup>8</sup>I. M. Steisel, and B. D. Cohen, "The Effects of Two Degrees of Failure on Level of Aspiration and Performance," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., 1951, 46, pp. 79-82.

<sup>9</sup>E. R. Hilgard, E. M. Sait, and G. A. Margaret, "Level of Aspiration as Affected by Relative Standing in an Experimental Social Group," J. Exp. Psychol., 1940, 27, pp. 411-421.

<sup>10</sup>L. A. Pennington, "Shifts in Aspirational Level after Success and Failure in the College Classroom," J. Gen. Psychol., 1940, 23, pp. 305-313.

<sup>11</sup>F. W. Irwin, "The Realism of Expectations," Psychol. Rev., 1944, 51, pp. 120-126.

<sup>12</sup>D. Rosenthal, and C. N. Cofer, "The Effect on Group Performance of an Indifferent and Neglectful Attitude Shown by One Group Member," J. Exp. Psychol., 1948, 38, pp. 568-577.

<sup>13</sup>L. Festinger, "Wish Expectation and Group Standards as Factors Influencing Level of Aspiration," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., 37, 1942, pp. 184-200.

<sup>14</sup>M. Hertzman, and L. Festinger, "Shifts in Explicit Goals in a Level of Aspiration Experiment," J. Exp. Psychol., 1940, 27, pp. 439-452.

<sup>15</sup>H. H. Anderson, and H. F. Brandt, "Study of Motivation Involving Self Announced Goals of 5th Grade Children and the Concept of Level of Aspiration," J. Soc. Psychol., 1939, 10, pp. 209-232.

<sup>16</sup>Dwight W. Chapman, and J. Volkmann, "A Social Determinant of the Level of Aspiration," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1939, 34, pp. 225-238.

<sup>17</sup>Sherif, Muzafer, "A Study of Some Social Factors in Perception," Archives of Psychology, 187, 1935.

<sup>18</sup>James Coleman, and Edward McDill, "High School Social Status, College Plans, and Interest in Academic Achievement: A Panel Analysis," American Sociological Review, 29, 1964, pp. 905-918.

<sup>19</sup>Chapman, p. 237.

<sup>20</sup>Robert E. Herriott, "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspiration," Harvard Educational Review, 1963, 33, pp. 157-177.

<sup>21</sup>A. O. Haller, and C. E. Butterworth, "Peer Influences on Levels of Occupational and Educational Aspiration," Social Forces, 38, 1968, pp. 289-295.

<sup>22</sup>Alan B. Wilson, "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys," American Sociological Review, 1959, 24, p. 845.

<sup>23</sup>Leonard Reissman, "Levels of Aspiration and Social Class," American Sociological Review, 1953, 18, pp. 223-242.

<sup>24</sup>Joan I. Roberts, School Children in the Urban Slum, The Free Press, New York, Collier-MacMillan Limited, London, 1967, and also Clark, Kenneth Bancroft, Dark Chetto, New York, Harper and Row, 1965.

<sup>25</sup>William S. Bennett, Jr., and Noel P. Gist, "Class and Family Influences on Student Aspirations," Social Forces, 43, Oct. 1964, pp. 167-173.

<sup>26</sup>Alan B. Wilson, pp. 836-845.

<sup>27</sup>Richard A. Rehberg, and David L. Westby, "Parental Encouragement, Occupation, Education and Family Size: Artifactual or Independent Determinants of Adolescent Educational Expectations?" Social Forces, 45, 1966, pp. 362-374.

<sup>28</sup>Cleveland J. Gay, "Academic Achievement and Intelligence Among Negro Eighth Grade Students as a Function of the Self Concept," Unpublished Dissertation, North Texas State University, 1966.

<sup>29</sup>William S. Bennett, and Noel P. Gist, "Aspirations of Negro and White Students," Social Forces, 42, 1963, pp. 40-48.

<sup>30</sup>George F. Boyd, "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a Non-Segregated Elementary School," Journal of Social Psychology, 1952, 36, pp. 191-196.

<sup>31</sup>Morris D. Caplin, "The Relationship Between Self Concept and Academic Achievement and Between Level of Aspiration and Academic Achievement," Unpublished Dissertation, Columbia University, 1966.

<sup>32</sup>Nancy Hoyt St. John, "The Effect of Segregation on the Aspiration of Negro Youth," Harvard Educational Review, 36, 1966, pp. 284-294.

<sup>33</sup>Bennett, p. 47.

<sup>34</sup>St. John, p. 291.

<sup>35</sup>Boyd, p. 195.

<sup>36</sup>U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, 2 Vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) See Appendix C2, "The Racial Composition of Schools and College Aspiration of Negro Students," II, pp. 143-164.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., I, p. 81.

<sup>38</sup>James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, pp. 463-464.

## CHAPTER III

### A DESCRIPTION OF THE INVESTIGATION

#### Introduction

The researcher for this investigation assumed that one school year is sufficient time for the changed environments to have a measurable effect upon educational plans. He further assumed that the influences investigated are measurable by the means devised.

This chapter includes a description of the following:

- (1) The physical environment of the investigation;
- (2) Sampling techniques;
- (3) Administration of the questionnaire;
- (4) Coding and processing of raw data;
- (5) The objective of the investigation;
- (6) Statistical treatment of data;
- (7) Limitations of the investigation; and
- (8) A summary of the investigation.

#### Physical Environment of the Investigation

The research investigation was conducted in the Okla-

homa City, Oklahoma, Public Schools. The data were taken during the desegregation of four secondary schools. The desegregation program was effected in September of 1968. The data were collected at two time periods during the first year of desegregation. The first time period for data collection was the third and fourth weeks of September, 1968. The second time period for data collection was the first two weeks of March, 1969. The same respondents were used in both September and March. Samples selected as described in the next section were used to represent the boys in the total population of the four project schools. Prior to desegregation, each of the schools was a combination junior-senior high school serving grades seven through twelve. Schools I and IV were schools which initially reflected percentages of Negro enrollment which were higher than the Negro proportion of the school district population. Schools II and III were schools which initially contained predominantly white populations.

With the act of desegregation, schools I and II became junior high schools and schools III and IV became senior high schools. Desegregation was accomplished by merging a pair of attendance areas to form two new attendance areas from the original four. Two schools then served as paired schools for each of the newly merged



attendance areas. Schools I and III were paired schools and schools II and IV were paired. Within each merged area, students in grades seven through nine attended one of the paired schools, establishing a junior high school. Similarly, students in grades ten through twelve attended the other member of paired schools, creating a senior high school.

### Sampling Techniques

Three project schools were scheduled in such a way as to make it possible to identify academic areas in which all students were enrolled and for which all sections were heterogeneously grouped. Students in these schools were assigned randomly by a computer to these academic areas through the services of the school district's data processing center. The academic areas in which these students were assigned were English and social sciences. Samples for schools II and III were drawn from the social science classes as an administrative suggestion. Samples from school IV were drawn from the English classes also for administrative reasons. The sample drawn was taken from all the grade levels in the particular schools insuring that over 10 per cent of the population was sampled. The sample included one English and one social science class

from each grade level in the schools.

The attendance roster of school I provided a complete listing of all students enrolled. Selection of the sample from school I was then made by taking a selection of numerical intervals, every ninth student on the roster, from within this attendance roster. Two time periods were used to collect data from the schools sampled. The first period was September, 1968, and the second time period was March, 1969. Kerlinger refers to the time pattern used in this study as time sampling.<sup>1</sup>

#### Administration of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire used (Appendix A) was developed by Wilson in a California study. It was designed to allow the researcher to determine the level of educational plans of the respondents. In general, high educational plans included any response which indicates college attendance as a goal. Low educational plans included all responses for which no college attendance was implied. The actual administration of the questionnaire was not the most desirable; however, it was believed by the principals of the respective schools of the desegregation project that the approach used would allow data to be collected with minimal disruption of the school routine. The researcher wanted to

cooperate fully with the faculties of the project schools in keeping disruptions caused by the research study to a minimum because there were many disruptions of normal school routine with the desegregation project itself.

Constraints of the project environment caused some differences to occur in the administration of the questionnaire instrument among the four project schools. School I had, perhaps, the most ideal conditions for data collection. Students were assembled in a central location, one grade level at a time, and the instrument was administered by the researcher with the assistance of graduate assistants and some regular personnel of the school.

The sampling of school II was by classes and it seemed most appropriate to go to the classes which comprised the sample and not disturb the routine of the entire school. The researcher, with the assistance of graduate assistants, visited the selected classes to administer the instrument throughout the school day. This procedure took somewhat longer than the method used in school I. The advantage of having trained personnel administer the instrument was retained.

Schools III and IV were very similar in the patterns of data collection. In the process of desegregation, both schools became senior high schools. In both schools, the

instruments were administered by teachers in their own classrooms. This method was selected because the principals felt it would reduce the disruption of the class routine. The teachers were given instruction sheets asking them to refrain from using the word "test." Each teacher was consulted as to the purpose of the questionnaire and a nonthreatening atmosphere was attempted to help insure honest responses.

#### Coding and Processing of Raw Data

Students were identified in both time periods by their birth dates, a student identification number, the school they attended, their grade level, the subject classes in which they were enrolled and the teachers of these classes. The identification procedure led to limitations of the study which will be described.

#### Description of the Objective of the Investigation

The objective of this investigation was to identify and measure the level of educational plans of Negro and white boys in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, who were participants in a planned school racial desegregation project, and to measure the change in educational plans of the participants. The instrument used was a questionnaire designed by

Wilson to determine the level of educational plans of respondents (Appendix A). The project was ordered by a Federal District Court and consisted of desegregating four selected racially disproportionate junior-senior high schools in the city system by changing attendance boundaries and reorganizing the four schools to become two junior high schools and two senior high schools. The level of educational plans, once identified, were to be compared by race and school residential status (predominantly Negro, predominantly white, transfer, residual) to test specific assumed relationships between race, residential status, and the level of educational plans. When the desegregation project had been in effect for one school year, the levels of educational plans of the same students were to be measured again and compared by race and residential status as stated above. The two sets of data on these individuals in the changed environments were then to be compared for changes in levels of educational plans and the direction of change, if any, would be computed to assess the validity of the assumptions and the correctness of the hypotheses.

#### Statistical Treatment of Data

The hypotheses were tested by the  $X^2$  method through which a probability level was computed. Since all hypoth-

eses were directional, the one-tailed table for probability was used, taking into consideration the degrees of freedom the treatment produced. This method yielded statistical information about the probability of a given relationship happening by chance by comparing an observed with an expected frequency of occurrence in the sample. Siegel states, "The  $X^2$  test for two independent samples may be used to determine the significance of differences between two independent groups. The measurement involved may be as weak as nominal scaling. The hypothesis under test usually states that the two groups differ with respect to the relative frequency with which group members fall in the various categories with the proportion of cases from the other group."<sup>2</sup> In one case, the researcher tested whether two groups, Negro and whites, differ in the frequency with which they expressed high or low levels of educational plans. The same treatment was used for all hypotheses by using two by three and three by three  $X^2$  tables. The  $X^2$  tests whether the association that exists between two sets of scores from a sample indicates that an association exists in the population by testing the association for "Significance."<sup>3</sup>

The first hypothesis, regarding a comparison of the educational plans of Negro and white boys at the outset of

the desegregation project, was tested by tallying the frequency of expressed levels of educational plans of Negro boys in high proportion Negro schools, and both Negro and white boys in predominantly white schools. This was followed by tallying the frequency of expressed levels of educational plans of Negro boys in the predominantly Negro school. The frequencies of expressed levels of educational plans of each group were computed to percentages for comparison.  $X^2$  was then used to determine the level of probability of the distributions obtained. The sample size for boys in high proportion Negro schools was 88, while the sample size for boys in the predominantly white schools was 102 for a total n for hypothesis one of 190.

The second and third hypotheses regarding a comparison of the changes in the levels of educational plans of white boys and Negro boys in high proportion Negro and predominantly white schools were tallied as high, medium, or low in educational plans in September, 1968, and again in March, 1969. The change in educational plans was tallied as positive change, negative change, or no change. The white boys who moved from predominantly white to predominantly Negro schools were treated in the same way. The change was tallied and compared for Negro residual students and white residual students. The sample size for residual

students used to test hypothesis two was 87, while the sample size for transfer students used to test hypothesis three was 89.

### Limitations of the Investigation

The research investigation was limited in the beginning by factors of the desegregation project, among which were the following: the control climate of the school, the attitude of the teachers, the disruption of classes for special programs, and an attitude of uncertainty on the part of relocated students. Some of these variables escape both identification and control. Kerlinger mentions this as a shortcoming of much research in education and the social sciences.<sup>4</sup> The researcher recognizes that a multitude of variables, including the attitude of parents toward education, home conditions, and education of the parents, might also influence the educational plans of the students surveyed. However, this investigation was limited to the most pronounced influences which research indicated operated within the school environment on the educational plans of students. This investigation was further limited by the resources of time and personnel accessible to the researcher. In schools II and III, the advantage of having trained personnel administer the instrument was



weakened by allowing incompleteness of responses to a degree more than was desirable. In these schools, the classroom teachers administered the instrument at times without the aid of the researcher. Another limitation would be that the assumptions of the study greatly limits the generalizability of the findings. While the design itself, without the ability to control the variables mentioned above is a limitation, external validity was increased with a field experiment.

#### Summary

This study covered a time span of one school year in which boys<sup>1</sup>, who were selected from four desegregation project schools, educational plans were measured for change and compared on the basis of race, school residence, and residual or transfer status.  $X^2$  contingency tables were used to test the hypotheses. Percentage distributions were also used to gain evidence to support or reject the hypotheses.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research, New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966, p. 513.

<sup>2</sup>Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 199.

<sup>4</sup>Kerlinger, p. 371.

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS OF THE INVESTIGATION

This chapter will describe the hypotheses under investigation, including the assumptions underlying each hypothesis, an interpretation of the data applied to each hypothesis, an explanation of the rationale indicated by the findings, and an explanation of the conditions under which each hypothesis was accepted or rejected. Tables were used in this chapter to aid the reader in making visual comparisons of the groups compared in each hypothesis, and to help clarify the comparison predicted by the hypothesis with the percentage attained in the sample.

#### A Comparison of Negro Boys in Schools with High Proportions of Negro Students with White and Negro Boys in Predominantly White Schools

The first hypothesis of this study stated that more Negro boys in schools with high proportions of Negro students would have higher educational plans than the Negro

and white boys in predominantly white schools. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that there were certain characteristics present in schools with large proportions of Negro students which would influence the educational plans of the Negro boys in these schools toward high educational plans. The studies of St. John and Boyd both suggest that Negro students in predominantly Negro schools have higher aspirations than Negroes and whites in predominantly white schools.<sup>1</sup> There was only one school in this study with a predominant Negro population. The second school involved in the desegregation project and sampled for this study had a proportion of Negro students much larger than the average proportion of Negroes in the schools of the system as a whole, but was not predominantly Negro. Table I depicts the racial composition of the schools at the outset of the desegregation project.

TABLE I  
PER CENT OF NEGROES IN DESEGREGATION  
PROJECT SCHOOLS, MAY 1968

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School 1	36.2% Negro
School 2	1.2% Negro
School 3	0.0% Negro
School 4	93.4% Negro

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St. John suggests that a majority of Negroes in a school might affect the aspirations of students in that school.<sup>2</sup> If a majority 51 per cent affects aspirations, it seemed logical that some per cent smaller but representing a large proportion might also affect aspirations in the same way that a majority Negro school would. Because of the unusually large proportion of Negroes in school 1 (36 per cent), the researcher assumed that this school would reflect the characteristics for high educational plans found in school 4 with a 93 per cent Negro population. The data was analyzed by a method that would test the validity of the assumptions underlying the hypothesis. Table II depicts the data used to test hypothesis one.

TABLE II  
 COMPARISON OF LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF  
 NEGRO AND WHITE BOYS, SEPTEMBER 1968

	Level of Educational Plans	
	High	Low
Negro Boys in Schools with High Proportion of Negro Students	63%	37%
Negro Boys in Predominantly White Schools	69%	31%
White Boys in Predominantly White Schools	76%	23%
White Boys in Schools with High Proportions of Negro Students	73%	31%

The results as reported in Table II show that the educational plans of Negro boys are not higher than the educational plans of the groups with which they were compared. The Negro boys in schools with high proportions of Negro students had 63 per cent with high plans compared to 69 per cent of Negro students in predominantly white schools with high educational plans. Since the data did not support hypothesis one, it was rejected.

The assumption associated with hypothesis one, that the school which was 36 per cent Negro would reflect the

same characteristics regarding educational plans as the school which was 93 per cent Negro, was tested by separately analyzing data from the two schools. The educational plans of students in these two schools were then compared with the educational plans of the students in the two schools which were predominantly white. Table III is a report of the results.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF THE LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF STUDENTS IN THE PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO SCHOOL (93%), STUDENTS IN A SCHOOL WITH HIGH PROPORTION NEGRO POPULATION, AND STUDENTS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE SCHOOLS.

Type of School	Per Cent Negro	Level of Students' Educational Plans	
		High	Low
Predominantly Negro	(93%)	97%	3%
High Proportion Negro	(36%)	50%	50%
Predominantly White	(1.2%)	84%	16%
Predominantly White	(0.0%)	63%	37%

The results as reported in Table III show 97 per cent of the students in the predominantly Negro school had high

educational plans compared with only 50 per cent of the students in the high proportion Negro school with high educational plans. The researcher concluded that contrary to the assumption, the school with high proportions of Negroes does not possess characteristics regarding high educational plans that are common with the predominantly Negro school. This conclusion shows that one of the assumptions underlying hypothesis one is invalid and helps explain why the hypothesis was rejected. However, when the educational plans of the students in the predominantly Negro school were compared with the educational plans of students in other schools, a very interesting result was noted. 97 per cent of the students in the predominantly Negro school had high educational plans. The group with high educational plans nearest this per cent was found in a predominantly white school. The students in this school had 84 per cent of their population with high educational plans. The next highest per cent (63%) with high educational plans was also found in a predominantly white school. The researcher concluded that the students in the predominantly Negro school of this study have higher educational plans than all the groups with which they were compared.

In 1962, the Ausubels summarized research as indicating that the depressed social and personal conditions of



Negro youths led to low academic and vocational aspirations.<sup>3</sup> This pronouncement would seem to make the results of the present study a surprise. However, five years later, Coleman wrote, "There is a peculiar and ill-understood phenomenon that appears to characterize many Negroes, adults, and youth: a high, unrealistic, idealized aspiration, relatively unconnected to those actions that ordinarily lead to the achievement of a goal."<sup>4</sup> There is a body of research that supports the latest contention that Negro aspirations exceed those of whites.

In 1941, Gould's study, which compared the levels of aspirations of students from higher socio-economic levels with those of students from a relatively lower socio-economic level, found that the lower socio-economic group had the higher level of aspiration.<sup>5</sup> Gould suggests that these findings may be the results of feelings of insecurity which possibly accompany a low socio-economic status. A strong desire to improve one's condition may be the result of insecure feelings. As a group, the Negro has a lower socio-economic status than the white American. It is, therefore, not strange that the Negro child possibly has similar feelings and needs as Gould's lower socio-economic level group.

Another possible explanation of the higher Negro level

of aspiration may be made in terms of adjustment to defeats and disappointment. In 1952, Boyd suggested that the Negro student may of necessity have better defense mechanisms against defeats and disappointment than his white school mate. As a result, the former may be more prone to set his goals very high because he realizes that he is prepared to adjust should he fail.<sup>6</sup> Some research conducted in the time period from 1960 to 1968 also indicated that Negro youth in predominantly Negro schools had high, not low aspirations.

In 1960, Wilson studied the social aspects of aspirations in the public schools of Berkeley, California.<sup>7</sup> Wilson stated that more Negroes, in a region where they are a majority, have high aspirations, than in another region where they are a minority.<sup>8</sup> Wilson viewed the segregation of Negroes in Berkeley schools from the standpoint of a constructive group function: the presence of high aspirations among lower class Negroes demonstrated "that a segregated social minority can generate and maintain higher hopes than when integrated. It can develop its indigenous leadership, and is not demoralized by continuous tokens of their imposed inferiority."<sup>9</sup> In 1962, Geisel studied Negro and white aspirations in Nashville, Tennessee.<sup>10</sup> He compared 1,245 white with 777 Negro students in seventh,

eighth, and twelfth grades. Geisel found that Negro vocational and educational goals were significantly higher than white students. In another study of Negro aspirations in 1963, Gottlieb studied Negro-white differences in aspirations and fulfillment in seven high schools. He found that Negroes had higher college-going aspirations.<sup>11</sup>

The evidence presented in this study weakly supports the contention that Negro students in predominantly Negro schools have high educational aspirations. Coleman, as reported above, suggested that these high aspirations were unrealistic. However, Fichter suggested that the high educational aspirations on the part of lower-income Negroes may not be unrealistic.<sup>12</sup> Fichter conducted three studies of a national sample of Negro college graduates. He stated that, "Lower-income Negroes demonstrate an amazing tenacity in striving for schooling . . ."<sup>13</sup> Fichter further reported that Negro students in college had associated very little with college-oriented people before coming to college, but seemed to have an especially strong determination to get through college. When Fichter compared white graduates with Negro graduates, he found that the Negroes plan earlier, decide sooner, and are more strongly committed to their career choice than whites.

Fichter explained an observed self-confidence among

the graduates of southern Negro colleges. He explained it this way:

This Negro college graduate personally knows large numbers of Negroes who 'didn't make it,' perhaps he has close relatives who were 'left behind' in the struggle for higher education. There is a shorter intergenerational distance between the father who did finish grade school and who is a laborer, and the son who finishes college to be a professional. More so than the white student, therefore, he has a feeling of accomplishment and of confidence in his own proved ability. The fact is that he has overcome odds, he has fought through successfully, and his self-image may not be quite so unrealistic as it first appears to be.<sup>14</sup>

Evidence supports the contention that Negroes have higher aspirations, whether realistic or unrealistic, than earlier evidence indicated. The results testing hypothesis one do not support the same contention. However, the data relating to only a single predominantly Negro school suggests to this researcher that this school does have more Negro boys with high educational plans than low.

In summary, the findings from a test of hypothesis one show that a large majority of students in the one predominantly Negro school did have high educational plans. Negro students in the school which had a high proportion of Negro students did not reflect as large a majority of students with high educational plans as the Negroes in the predominantly Negro school. The latter group had much fewer of their number with high educational plans than the former group.

A Comparison of Negro Boys, Who Transfer from Schools with High Proportions of Negroes to Predominantly White Schools, with Non-Transfer Negro Boys

Hypothesis two predicted that more Negro boys who transfer from schools with high proportions of Negro students to predominantly white schools would express a changed goal toward lower educational plans than would Negro boys who remained in schools with high proportions of Negro students. A basic assumption underlying this hypothesis was that a negative relationship exists between academic competition, in the schools sampled, and the level of educational plans of students inhabiting those schools. Academic competition in this instance refers to the competitive interaction of students within a given school for grades and for gaining learnings in the form of concepts and skills. The differing degrees of success in the competition for gaining these skills and concepts are reflected in achievement tests and other various methods of measurement and evaluation. It was assumed for the hypothesis that, in general, this relationship would be expressed in the schools as high educational plans in schools with a relatively low degree of academic competition and low educational plans in schools with a relatively high degree of educational plans. More specifically, the influence of academic competition on the educational plans

of the students of this study is explained as follows: If the degree of academic competition in the two types of schools, high proportion Negro and predominantly white, differ; the students in schools with high proportions of Negro students, it was assumed, would experience a lesser degree of academic competition than schools with a predominantly white student population. The researcher further assumed that the Negro boys who originally inhabited the schools with high proportions of Negro students would have higher educational plans than the students who originally inhabited the predominantly white schools. The researcher also assumed that when a large number of the Negro boys from the former schools transferred to the latter, and stayed in the changed environment of greater academic competition for a school year; they would achieve less, reassess their chances of achieving a goal of a high level of education, and consequently lower their educational plans. The Negro boys who remained in the schools with high proportions of Negro students, the researcher assumed, would, though experiencing a relatively small degree of higher academic competition from whites transferring from predominantly white schools, not alter their educational plans as much because the degree of competition experienced during the first year of desegregation would remain relatively unchanged.

The assumptions underlying hypothesis two have some foundation in the findings and conclusions of earlier research and writings. The Equality of Educational Opportunity report focused principally on the inequalities of educational opportunity experienced by five racial and ethnic minorities; Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, American Indians, and Oriental Americans.<sup>15</sup> In the central and largest portion of the survey, nearly 600,000 children at grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12, in 4000 schools in all 50 states and the District of Columbia, were tested and questioned; 60,000 teachers in these schools were questioned and self-tested; and principals of these schools were also questioned about their schools. The attention of the study was focused on what product comes out of the education given in schools studied. Tests were given which the researchers considered measured those areas of achievement most necessary for further progress in school, in higher education, and in successful competition in the labor market. These tests measured the verbal and reading skills, and analytical and mathematical skills of the students. The findings of the report showed that among the children at the beginnings of grades 1, 3, 6, 9, and 12, the achievement of the average American Indian, Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Negro was much lower than the

average white or Oriental American at all grade levels. The Negro was the lowest in achievement of all the groups tested.

Other studies indicate that the gap in achievement between Negroes and whites stems in part from segregated education and inferiority of Negro schools. Katz suggested that Negro students have feelings of intellectual inferiority which arise from an awareness of actual differences in racial achievement and that they experience a low expectation of success which affects their performance when attending integrated schools.<sup>16</sup> There is other evidence to document the low quality of segregated education.

Plaut summarized the situation by saying:

Negroes, furthermore, have long been aware that most of their schools in the South, and often in the de facto segregated schools in the North, are rundown, poorly staffed, and short-handed. Second and third-rate schooling for Negroes leaves them without the ability to compete with white students and robs them of the initiative to compete. Even the 1955 Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives admitted recently that "Negro education in Georgia is a disgrace. What the Negro child gets in the sixth grade, the white child gets in the third."<sup>17</sup>

Findley tested achievement in Atlanta schools and found that from 40 per cent to 60 per cent of white pupils met the standards set by the top 50 per cent of a national sample on achievement tests; but only 2 per cent to 10 per cent of Negro pupils met this standard on the tests.<sup>18</sup> In



1962, Wyatt found that Negro students averaged  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 years behind grade level when transferred to biracial schools in upper grades. He also reported that 97 per cent of 783 white teachers, compared to only 49 per cent of 901 Negro teachers, in Tennessee, passed the National Teachers Examination.<sup>19</sup>

A report written by Mearns, for the United States Commission on Civil Rights, stated, "The question is raised as to whether Negroes really obtain a better education in desegregated schools where they must compete with better prepared, highly motivated white students."<sup>20</sup> Deutsch found that in the urban North from 50 per cent to 80 per cent of all classroom time in New York City elementary schools with predominantly Negro, lower-class children was devoted to disciplining and various essentially non-academic tasks. Only 30 per cent of classroom time was spent on such activities in predominantly white schools with similar economic status.<sup>21</sup> The documentation presented seemed to warrant the assumptions regarding academic competition to the researcher.

Table IV depicts the results of applying the data to hypothesis two.

TABLE IV  
 CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF NEGRO BOYS BY  
 SCHOOL RESIDENCE STATUS (RECORDED CHANGE  
 FROM SEPTEMBER 1968 TO MARCH 1969)

Residence Status	Changes in Educational Plans		
	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change
Negro Boys Who Transfer to Predominantly White Schools	12.5%	12.5%	75.0%
Negro Boys Who Remain in Schools With High Proportions of Negro Students	11.1%	19.4%	69.4%

The results reported in Table IV show that more Negro boys who remained in schools with high proportions of Negro students expressed negative change in educational plans during the time period of the study than Negro boys who transferred to predominantly white schools. This finding is contrary to the prediction of hypothesis two which stated that the Negro boys who transfer would by a greater number express negative change in their educational plans. By far, the greatest number of both groups experienced no change in their educational plans during the school year encompassed in this study. Hypothesis two was rejected on the basis of the contrary findings.

Perhaps the reason for the greatest number of both groups treated in hypothesis one expressing no change in educational plans is that the time period between the two measurements of educational plans was not of sufficient length for the assumed influence of differing degrees of academic competition to have the predicted effect on the educational plans of the youth involved. The Negro boys who transferred to predominantly white schools may have, as Pettigrew suggested, formulated a new self-awareness as a result of an emphasis on the problems of the Negro American since 1962. This new self-awareness, according to Pettigrew, shot the Negroes' aspirations sky-high.<sup>22</sup> The new hope combined with what Fichter reports is amazing tenacity in striving for schooling might indicate that the educational plans of Negro boys that have been formulated in the past few years are held with tenacity by the Negro American, regardless of the level of these plans and the changing degree of competition in the schools he might face.<sup>23</sup>

The categories of change reported in Table IV reflect that for both groups of Negro boys, those who transferred and those who did not, the expression of change was, in all cases except one, from 11 per cent to 12 per cent. The one exception was in the case of negative change for

non-transfer Negro boys in the high proportion Negro schools. This category reflected a negative change by 19 per cent. The researcher suggests that a number of Negro boys who did not transfer were not expecting a change in the level of academic competition in the new environment altered by white boys who transferred to their school. These Negro boys, as a result of a greater degree of academic competition, it is suggested, reassessed their educational goals and altered their educational plans downward. This negative change was greater than the negative change expressed by Negro boys who did transfer to a new environment in which they expected academic competition to increase.

#### A Comparison of White Boys, Who Transfer From Predominantly White Schools to Schools with High Proportions of Negro Students, with Non-Transfer White Boys

Hypothesis three predicted that more white boys who transfer from predominantly white schools to schools with high proportions of Negro students would express a positive change in their levels of educational plans than would white boys who remained in predominantly white schools. This hypothesis was based upon the same assumptions regarding the relationship between academic competition and educational plans as hypothesis two. That relationship is a

negative one. The particular application of the assumption to hypothesis three was expressed by the researcher's assuming that the predominantly white schools, in the sample of this study, have a greater degree of academic competition than the schools with high proportions of Negro students. Table V is a report of the data applied to hypothesis three.

TABLE V  
CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF WHITE BOYS BY  
SCHOOL RESIDENCE STATUS (RECORDED CHANGE  
FROM SEPTEMBER 1968 TO MARCH 1969)

Residential Status	Changes in Educational Plans		
	Positive Change	Negative Change	No Change
White Boys Who Transferred From Predominantly White to Schools with High Proportions of Negro Students	20.0%	6.2%	73.8%
White Boys Who Remained in Predominantly White Schools	11.8%	7.8%	80.4%

The data reported in Table V shows that more white boys in this sample expressed no change in their educa-

tional plans. The table also shows that the greatest number of boys who did express a change in educational plans, in the time interval measured, were white boys who transferred to schools in which there were high proportions of Negro students. This result is supportive of the prediction made in hypothesis three and adds some empirical credence to the prediction and its underlying assumptions. This degree of positive change (20 per cent) expressed by white boys who transferred from predominantly white schools to schools with high proportions of Negro students suggests that they might have experienced less academic competition in their new environment than white boys who did not transfer, and that they might have reacted to this experience by reassessing their educational goals with a resulting increase in their expressed educational plans. This expressed change toward positive educational plans was by a higher percentage (20) than the expressions of negative change by white boys who transferred to schools with high proportions of Negro students (6.2 per cent). The positive change by white boys who transferred was also greater than the positive change (11.8 per cent) and negative change (7.8 per cent) expressed by white boys who remained in predominantly white schools.

The result, indicated by the data reported in Table V that the greatest number of white boys, both transfer and non-transfer, suggests that a large number of white boys evidently are accustomed to competing in an environment with both students who are highly motivated, and high achievers, and those who have low motivation and achieve less. The educational plans of this large number of white boys are probably set under conditions of both a high degree and a low degree of competition. A change in competitive environment for this group of white boys has an effect too small to cause them to change their level of educational plans.

The prediction of hypothesis three was not supported by the data applied to it; the level of significance was too low to support the hypothesis. It should be noted, however that the largest number of boys expressing a change in educational plans was, as predicted, white boys expressing positive change after transferring to schools with high proportions of Negro students. Perhaps, a greater time interval between measurements of educational plans would yield results which would be significant at the .05 level.

In summary, it was found that all three hypotheses were rejected for not reaching the .05 level of significance. However, interesting developments that should be noted are:

1. The Negro boys in the high proportion (36%) Negro school of this study did not express the same proportion of high and low educational plans as the Negro boys in the predominantly (97%) Negro school.
2. More Negro boys in the predominantly Negro schools of this study had high educational plans than both Negro and white boys in predominantly white schools.
3. More Negro boys who remained in the high proportion Negro schools of this study expressed a negative change in educational plans than Negro boys who transferred to white schools.
4. More white boys who transferred to schools with high proportions of Negro students expressed a positive change in educational plans than white boys who remained in predominantly white schools.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Nancy Hoyt St. John, "The Effect of Segregation on the Aspirations of Negro Youth," Harvard Educational Review, Summer, 1966, p. 286, and George Felix Boyd, "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a Non-Segregated Elementary School," Journal of Social Psychology, 1952, 36, pp. 191-196.

<sup>2</sup>St. John, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup>David P. and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," in Harry A. Passow (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas, (N.Y.: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup>James S. Coleman, Race Relations and Social Change (Baltimore, Md.: Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University, July, 1967), p. 31.

<sup>5</sup>Rosiland Gould, "Some Sociological Determinants of Goal Strivings," Journal of Social Psychology, 1941, 13, pp. 461-473.

<sup>6</sup>Boyd, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup>Alan Bond Wilson, The Effect of Residential Segregation Upon Educational Achievement and Aspirations, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Education, University of California, Berkeley, 1960.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 68

<sup>10</sup>Paul N. Geisel, IQ Performance, Educational Occupational Aspirations of Youth in a Southern City: A Racial Comparison, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Sociology, Vanderbilt University, 1962. University Microfilm No. 63-1838.

<sup>11</sup>David Gottlieb, "Goal Aspirations and Goal Fulfillments: Differences Between Deprived and Affluent American Adolescents," Unpublished paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, March 19, 1964.

<sup>12</sup>Joseph H. Fichter, Young Negro Talent--Survey of the Experiences and Expectations of Negro Americans Who Graduated from College in 1961. (Chicago National Opinion Research Center, November 1964.)

<sup>13</sup>Joseph H. Fichter, Graduates of Predominantly Negro Colleges, Class of 1964 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).

<sup>14</sup>Fichter, Young Negro Talent, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup>James S. Coleman and others, Equality of Educational Opportunity (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

<sup>16</sup>Irwin Katz, "Review of Evidence Relative to the Effects of Desegregation," American Psychologist, 19, 1964, pp. 381-399.

<sup>17</sup>R. L. Plaut, Blueprint for Talent Searching, New York: National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, 1957.

<sup>18</sup>W. G. Findley, Learning and Teaching in Atlanta Public Schools, Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1956.

<sup>19</sup>E. Wyatt, Part 3, Tennessee. In United States Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights, U.S.A. - Public Schools, Southern States, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1962, pp. 105-130.

<sup>20</sup>E. A. Mearns, Jr., Part 4, Virginia. In the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Civil Rights U.S.A. - Public Schools, Southern States, Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1962, pp. 155-217.

<sup>21</sup>M. Deutsch, "Minority Group and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement, Society of Applied Anthropology, Monograph, 1960, No. 2.

<sup>22</sup>Thomas F. Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American, (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1964), p. 184.

<sup>23</sup>Fichter, Graduates of Predominantly Negro Colleges, p. 52.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

#### Summary

The purpose of this investigation was to determine the effect of a desegregation program on the educational plans of participating white and Negro boys. Three hypotheses were generated from a rationale inductively composed from a review of the literature on educational plans. Each hypothesis, following a particular rationale, was predictive of the level of educational plans of groups of white or Negro boys who either transferred to implement the desegregation plan or remained in their original schools.

Hypothesis one predicted that Negro boys in predominantly Negro schools would, in September of 1968, express high educational plans by a greater per cent than both white boys and Negro boys in predominantly white schools.

Hypothesis two predicted that Negro boys who transferred from schools with high proportions of Negro students to predominantly white schools would express a negative change in their educational plans by a greater per cent than Negro boys who remained in high proportion Negro schools. Hypothesis three predicted that white boys who transferred from predominantly white to high proportion Negro schools would express a positive change in educational plans by a greater per cent than white boys who remained in predominantly white schools.

To determine the effect of desegregation on educational plans, the white and Negro boys in four project schools were sampled and questioned first at the outset of the desegregation program and again toward the end of the first school year. Two of the schools sampled had high proportions of Negroes in the school populations and the other two schools had predominantly white populations.

The sample represented at least 10 per cent of the Negro and white boys in each of the four types of schools in the desegregation project. The boys were asked to mark a questionnaire designed to determine their level of educational plans. The question was organized so that when marked by the boys in the spaces provided, the researcher could evaluate whether the response reflected high or low

educational plans. In general, high educational plans included any response which indicated that college attendance was a goal. Low educational plans included all responses for which no college attendance was implied. Personal data was gathered on each respondent which identified the boys by race, school attended at the time of the data gathering, and the transfer or non-transfer status of the student.

Two criteria were used to accept or reject the three hypotheses. The first criterion was that the level of educational plans of the groups surveyed must fall into a predicted category (high or low). The second criterion was that the relationship tested must be significant via a  $X^2$  computation to the .05 level.

Hypothesis one was rejected. The data relating to hypothesis one did not support the prediction that Negro boys in the predominantly Negro school of this study would, in September, 1968, express higher educational plans than both Negro and white boys in predominantly white schools. This finding is contrary to the conclusions of the studies of Boyd, St. John, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.<sup>1</sup> These studies suggest that Negroes in segregated schools have higher aspirations than Negroes in desegregated schools. The finding of hypothesis one is similar to

earlier studies summarized by the Ausubels in 1963 as stating that Negroes in segregated schools aspire less than Negroes and whites in desegregated schools.<sup>2</sup>

Hypothesis two was rejected. The data relating to hypothesis two shows that contrary to the prediction, Negro boys in this study who transferred from high proportion Negro to predominantly white schools expressed less negative change in educational plans, in the time period September, 1968, to March, 1969, than Negro boys who remained in high proportion Negro schools. This finding indicates that the assumption underlying hypothesis two was invalid. The assumption was that academic competition in the predominantly white school would be sufficiently greater than in the high proportion Negro school and would influence a negative change in a large number of the Negro boys who transferred into the predominantly white school.

Hypothesis three was rejected. The data relating to hypothesis three did in part support the prediction that white boys in the study who transferred from predominantly white schools to high proportion Negro schools would express more positive change in educational plans, in the time period September, 1968, to March, 1969, than white boys who did not transfer. The finding indicates that the assumption underlying the hypothesis might have a degree

of validity. The assumption in general contended that academic competition in the high proportion Negro schools would be sufficiently less than the academic competition in the predominantly white schools, and would influence a large number of white boys to change their educational plans positively. The assumption was based upon conclusions of Coleman, Findley, and Festinger, among others.<sup>3</sup> Though the prediction of hypothesis three was partially supported, it was rejected because the data did not attain the level of significance required.

### Conclusions

The findings of this study showed that the educational aspirations of Negro students in schools with high proportions of Negro students are not higher than Negro and white boys in schools with predominantly white populations. There was an indication that the Negro boys in the predominantly Negro school perhaps did have unusually high educational plans relative to those with which they were compared. This takes into consideration the factors favoring a college education that each group possesses. In this sense, the findings are in agreement with the studies cited above and seem to add to the generalizability of the conclusion that Negroes in predominantly Negro segregated



schools aspire higher than Negroes in desegregated schools. This investigation was performed in a geographic area and under conditions different from those of the studies cited.

Desegregation in this instance appears to have had little effect upon the educational plans of either the Negro or white boys who participated in the project. By far, the greatest number of students expressed no change in their educational plans from September, 1968, to March, 1969.

However, since the white boys who transferred from a predominantly white school to a school with a high proportion of Negro students did express a degree of positive change proportionately greater than white boys who did not transfer, one might, with an awareness of the limitations of this investigation, conclude that this trend is strong enough to indicate a worthy avenue for future investigation. Similarly, the Negro boys who did not transfer, but remained in schools with high proportions of Negro students, expressed negative change proportionately greater than the Negro boys who transferred to predominantly white schools. Perhaps, this, too, indicates a trend that deserves further exploration.

## Recommendations for Further Studies

The data relating to hypothesis two and three were not statistically significant, but the trends identified above as possible avenues of exploration might be validly pursued by increasing the sample sizes and allowing a period of time for measurement longer than one school year.

Those who further investigate the change in educational plans of students involved in desegregation or educational plans in general possibly would profit by constructing an instrument which would yield interval data or would identify a larger number of levels of educational plans so that smaller degrees of change could be measured. The use of control schools in to which and out of which no students would move as a part of planned desegregation and which have racial proportions similar to schools being surveyed might yield a better understanding of the degrees of change that take place in the educational plans of the youth being measured.

It is recommended that socio-economic data could be gathered on the individuals within the schools to help identify and differentiate the confounding socio-economic and racial influence on the educational plans of students. This researcher hopes the findings of this study will be useful in stimulating research on the areas identified

above, as well as those that may be hidden to him. Further, the researcher hopes that this study is useful to those who have made and will make decisions regarding the desegregation project investigated.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>George F. Boyd, "The Levels of Aspiration of White and Negro Children in a Non-Segregated Elementary School," Journal of Social Psychology, 1952, 36, pp. 191-196, and Nancy Hoyt St. John, "The Effect of Segregation on the Aspiration of Negro Youth," Harvard Educational Review, 36, 1966, pp. 284-294, also, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, 2 Vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967) See Appendix C2, "The Racial Composition of Schools and College Aspiration of Negro Students," II, pp. 143-164.

<sup>2</sup>David P. and Pearl Ausubel, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," in Harry A. Passow (ed.), Education in Depressed Areas, (N.Y.: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), p. 118.

<sup>3</sup>James Coleman, "Academic Achievement and the Structure of Competition," Harvard Educational Review, 1959, 29, pp. 330-351, also Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966, and, W. G. Findley, Learning and Teaching in Atlanta Public Schools, Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1956, see also, L. Festinger, "Wish Expectation and Group Standards as Factors Influencing Level of Aspiration," J. Abnorm. Soc. Psychol., 37, 1942, pp. 184-200.

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APPENDIX A  
INSTRUMENTATION

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Grade: (circle one) 7 8 9 10 11 12

Write the name of the school which you attended last May:\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date of birth: month\_\_\_\_day\_\_\_\_year\_\_\_\_ Sex: Male\_\_\_\_Female\_\_\_\_

(Check one of the responses which is listed after the following statement.)

After I graduate from high school, and, if necessary, serve in the military forces,

- 1.\_\_\_\_I plan to get a job right away.
- 2.\_\_\_\_I plan to go to a technical or trade school.
- 3.\_\_\_\_I plan to go to a junior college.
- 4.\_\_\_\_I plan to go first to a junior college, and then to a four-year college or university.
- 5.\_\_\_\_I plan to go directly to a four-year college or university.
- 6.\_\_\_\_I have other plans. (What are they?)\_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX B  
STATISTICAL TABLES

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF INITIAL LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF  
BOYS IN HIGH PROPORTION NEGRO AND PREDOMINANTLY  
WHITE SCHOOLS (SEPTEMBER, 1968)

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Table Code

HPNS=High proportion Negro school    H=High educational plans  
PWS =Predominantly white schools    L=Low educational plans

---

	H	L	Row Totals
HPNS	62	26	88
PWS	75	27	102
Column Totals	137	53	190 Table Total "N"

$\chi^2 = .78$

Degrees of Freedom 1

$\chi^2_w/1df = .50$

---



TABLE VII  
DISTRIBUTION OF CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL  
PLANS FOR TRANSFER STUDENTS

---

<u>Table Code</u>	
NHPN=Negro boys in high proportion Negro schools	+=Positive change
HPN =High proportion Negro schools	-=Negative change
WPW =White boys in predominantly white schools	0=No change
PW =Predominantly white schools	

---

FREQUENCY TABLE	CT=Column Total			RT=Row Total
	+	-	0	RT
NHPN to PW	3	3	18	24
WPW to HPN	13	4	48	65
CT	16	7	66	89

CHI-SQUARE	1.4491 = .24 probability
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	2
CHI-SQUARE/D.F.	0.7246
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.1266
-2 LOG(MLR)	1.4110 (MLR = MAXIMUM LIKELIHOOD RATIO)

TABLE PERCENTAGES (TENTHS OF A PERCENT)

	+	-	0	
NHPN to PW	34	34	202	270
WPW to HPN	146	45	539	730
	180	79	742	1000

ROW PERCENTAGES (TENTHS OF A PERCENT)

	+	-	0	
NHPN to PW	125	125	750	1000
WPW to HPN	200	62	738	1000
	180	79	742	1000

TABLE VII (Continued)

## COLUMN PERCENTAGES (TENTHS OF A PERCENT)

	+	-	0	
NHPN to PW	188	429	273	270
WPW to HPN	813	571	727	730
	1000	1000	1000	1000

---

TABLE VIII

 DISTRIBUTION OF CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL  
 PLANS FOR RESIDUAL STUDENTS

## Table Code

RNB=Negro boys who remain in high  
 proportion Negro schools  
 RWB=White boys who remain in pre-  
 dominantly white schools

+ = Positive change  
 - = Negative change  
 0 = No change

FREQUENCY TABLE	CT=Column Total			RT=Row Total
	+	-	0	RT
RNB	4	7	25	36
RWB	6	4	41	51
CT	10	11	66	87

CHI-SQUARE	2.5877	=	.12	probability
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	2			
CHI-SQUARE/D.F.	1.2938			
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.1700			
-2 LOG(MLR)	2.5497		(MLR = MAXIMUM LIKELI- HOOD RATIO)	

## TABLE PERCENTAGES (TENTHS OF A PERCENT)

	+	-	0	
RNB	46	80	287	414
RWB	69	46	471	586
	115	126	759	1000

## ROW PERCENTAGES (TENTHS OF A PERCENT)

	+	-	0	
RNB	111	194	694	1000
RWB	118	78	804	1000
	115	126	759	1000

TABLE VIII (Continued)

COLUMN PERCENTAGES (TENTHS OF A PERCENT)

	+	-	0	
RNB	400	636	379	414
RWB	600	364	621	586
	1000	1000	1000	1000

---

VITA

3

James Edward Fisher

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: AN EXPLORATION OF THE EFFECT OF DESEGREGATION ON  
THE EDUCATIONAL PLANS OF NEGRO AND WHITE BOYS

Major Field: Secondary Education

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Ft. Gibson, Oklahoma, December  
4, 1932, the son of Mabel L. and William W.  
Fisher.

Education: Received the Bachelor of Arts degree from  
Oklahoma State University in 1958 with a major  
in History; received the Master of Science degree  
in 1960 with a major in Secondary Education;  
attended a Summer National Defense Education Act  
Institute in World History in 1964; attended a  
Summer National Science Foundation Institute in  
Economics in 1965; completed requirements for  
Doctor of Education at Oklahoma State University  
in May, 1970.

Professional Experience: Social studies teacher at  
Gardner High School, Gardner, Kansas, 1959-1963;  
social studies teacher at Shawnee Heights High  
School, Topeka, Kansas, 1964-1966; social studies  
teacher at Campus High School, Wichita, Kansas,  
1966-67; graduate teaching assistant, College of  
Education, Oklahoma State University, 1968;  
instructor, Oklahoma State University, 1969.

Professional Organizations: Phi Delta Kappa, National  
Council of the Social Studies.