THE URBAN EFFECT ON STUDENT WITHDRAWAL FROM INSTITUTIONAL EDUCATION

A Study of Drop-Outs of Grades 9-12
The Lansing Public School District
1971-72

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
FERDINAND FRITZ
1975

ABSTRACT

THE URBAN EFFECT ON STUDENT WITHDRAWAL FROM INSTITUTIONAL EDUCATION:
A Study of Drop-Outs of Grades 9-12, The Lansing Public School District, 1971-72

By

Ferdinand Fritz

This study focuses on the drop-out rate of high school students, grades 9-12 of the Lansing Public School District for the 1971-72 school year.

These students were categorized according to race, sex, grade level and school. Data for classifying these students were part of the individual student's Status Form.

Variables used in this study were economic status, family structure, residence and social space including variant family home living quarters. These ecological data were taken from the 1970 Census of Population and Housing.

Empirical testing and verification of the hypotheses involved the analysis of the data from these documents, supplemented with information from the City Planning Commission, the Model Cities Office and the State Board of Education.

Two critical levels of minority-non-minority population ratio in urban centers and fringe areas emerge as a result of

comparing data from the Student Status Form with data from the Census on Population. The first of these two critical levels is found in the community with a disproportionately low number of middle-class Blacks, assimilated into the dominant social group. These students find it easier to stay in the class room and school with an overwhelming majority of Anglo-American students and teachers. These minority students identify with the middle socio-economic class. Their parents are professional, semi-professional or better salaried workers. These students tend to have lower drop-out rates and higher academic aspirations than minorities in other residential sectors.

In the lower economic level neighborhoods with lower percentages of Afro-Americans the drop-out rates will usually rise consistently, with few exceptions. Better houses, well-kept surroundings, lower minority proportion of the population predicts lower drop-out rates.

Heavy minority concentration, particularly in the heavy Latin American neighborhoods will almost inevitably be associated with higher drop-out rates. But, if Black and Latin American families are dispersed through better neighborhoods, the drop-out rate will be lowered.

The most significant findings of this study of drop-outs are the patterns which emerge in the urban core neighborhoods with primarily Black residents. The study reveals that in the residential areas with extremely heavy Afro-American concentration--72

percent and even higher in a census tract--the drop-out rate in the Lansing School District is lower than the district rate. Even in one census tract which has 92 percent Black residents, the drop-out rate is proportionately low when compared with the total Lansing population ratio between Afro-Americans and Anglo-Americans. This phenomenon reveals the reorientation of the attitudes of many Black people toward public education. It may also be indicative of group strength and solidarity which emerges at a critical population level. Variation in size and internal structure of different cities may show fluctuations in the findings, particularly in the large metropolitan cities. But even in these larger cities, heavily concentrated pockets of Black Americans would likely support the findings of this study.

Another fundamentally important finding of this study concerns the unique structure and function of the Black family and its affect on the drop-out frequency and the school attendance behavior of students of those families. A particular example is the female head family which yields a disproportionately low drop-out rate in Lansing urban center. Educational aspiration is higher.

Black Americans show significant gains in public school attendance from kindergarten through grade 12; but decline significantly at college entrance level.

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A Thesis

Submitted to
Michigan State University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

College of Social Science

1975

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion and presentation of this report was made possible only through the indispensible assistance of many other persons whose contributions I hereby acknoqledge. I am indebted and I offer my gratitude to the following persons for their help in this study.

In the office of the Board of Education of the Lansing Public School District, I wish to thank Dr. I. Carl Candoli, Superintendent of Public Schools, City of Lansing for access to the data needed for this study. Also in the office of the Board of Education I owe thanks to Mr. Kenneth Mead, Child Accounting Consultant, and to the staff--Mrs. Beverly Chalker, Mrs. Ilene Titworth, and Mrs. Audry Keefer for their very helpful and needed assistance with the status form data used for this study. Mr. Russ Maples and Mr. Verne Dunham of Vocational Education in the Lansing School District gave valuable information and consultation on intra-system, horizontal mobility of students who move around within the public school system instead of dropping out of the public school system altogether.

The assistance of the Tri-County Regional Planning Commission for reprints of census tract data, census tract maps and for consultation is invaluable.

In the office of the City Planning Commission Mr. Edwin P. Brown and Mr. George J. Mayer, city planners furnished data on census tract land area in the City of Lansing.

The Lansing City Demonstration Agency (Model Cities) supplied agency area maps and data on the LCDA's original program area and the expanded variation. These data were invaluable as an index to the poverty areas.

Further assistance was given by the Department of Education of the State of Michigan. Mrs. Pauline Lycos, secretary of Research, Evaluation and Assessment Services was most helpful and generous with supplies of informational material for this study.

I am grateful to Dr. Arthur M. Vener for consultation and use of data from his study on minority education.

A final expression of sincere thanks is given to the Professors of the Michigan State University, Department of Sociology for their counsel and assistance. To my major professor and advisor, Dr. Christopher Sower, I am most grateful for continuous guidance and consultation throughout the research. Dr. Lawrence W. Lezotte gave consultation and guidance on the mathematical model and design of the entire study. His assistance is most deeply appreciated. Dr. James B. McKee gave helpful and suggestive counsel on the thesis and readily consented to help and serve on the guidance committee. His help is also appreciated.

It is hoped that this study will contribute toward the eradication of intellectual depravity and toward the refinement and development of many fertile but neglected minds.

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PREFACE

Some significant studies have been published on the problems of escalating rates of high school drop-outs during the last decade. These include Conant (1961) who sees family structure and finance of public education as the two basic determinants of the quality and quantity of the education received by individual students. The problems of education originate with diverse family structures which differs with area of residence in the city slum or suburb. Leonard (1968) finds that the delight of learning is central and essential to the educational experience. His definition of education consists in genuine, measurable, revolutionary change in the educator and in the learner, as he interacts with his environment. Bogue (1969) stresses family structure and economic level and employment and their importance to the completion of high school. He generalizes very high drop-out rates of students with both parents missing; and very low drop-out rates with two real working parents. Clark (1972) rejects the defeatist attitude which many sociologists hold in regard to the achievement of academic excellence by urban ghetto and other minority students. Heath's (1967) pietistically oriented and humanistic approach is limited by its restriction to the study of white suburban schools only.

Nationally, the Coleman Committee (1966) refers to problems of educational inequalities and of low minority enrollment and attendance.

The national concern for public educational problems and improvement is also reflected in the federal aid to education programs under the umbrella of HEW (Health, Education and Welfare).

The annual reports of the local public school districts within Michigan counties, and the report on Michigan Educational Statistics and the School Racial and Ethnic Census issued by the Michigan Department of Education has stimulated much interest and inquiry on the drop-out problem on the local level. These reports show conc-clusively that the rising drop-out rate of high school students is not due to any single causal factor, but is rather the result of a variety of variables existing in the physical and social environment of the student. Local and personal concern over the problem is intensified by inspection of these reports against the background of the cultural milieu and socialization processes which shape the character and behavior of the student.

The assumption underlying this study is that several important demographic variables are significantly related to the drop-out problem: namely, family structure, family size and income, race, population density, population distribution and residence. Relationships are not treated as causal to the drop-out phenomenon.

The focus and scope of this study is the number of students of grades 9 through 12 who voluntarily withdrew from public education in the Lansing Public School District during the 1971-72 school year. The total student enrollment for these grades (K-12) for the year was 8,952. The number of drop-outs was 763.

The specific purpose of this paper is to examine the size, extent and direction of the drop-out incidence within the sub-regions of the Lansing Public School District in relation to the demographic variables used in the study. We shall then further compare these intra-regional findings with those of other sub-regions within the same district.

Another purpose of the study is to examine the frequency, direction and rate of the pre-graduation withdrawal of public high school students in the Lansing district in comparison with other local school districts in Ingham and other counties in Michigan.

The study concludes with a paradigm of the current trends in public education in relation to various ethnic groups. The conclusion will further show the correspondence between the school attendance and drop-out behavior pattern of 1973-74 in comparison with the 1971-72 school year. Finally, the study will show some similarities and dissimilarities between the local and national trends in school attendance and drop-out rates.

The comprehensive tables provide for further study.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Section A. A Statement of the Problem

Although the rising drop-out rate among high school students is a nation-wide problem, endemic to urban core and rural residential areas, there is extensive evidence that the highest percentages of drop-outs are residents of the inner cities. Clark (1965) found higher than average drop-out rates among students of the urban ghetto areas. This view is supported by Coleman (1966) and affirmed by Kerner (1967), Moynihan (1967), and Billingsly (1968). These all concur in the strong association of high drop-out rates with the constellation of minority ethnic groups in the residential metropolitan core.

Compared with other SMSA's (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) the Lansing Metro Area is relatively small. For example, Lansing has 132,000 persons as compared to Detroit's 1.5 million. The Lansing SMSA has 378,000 compared with 4 million in the Detroit SMSA. Yet, the drop-out rates for both areas are significantly higher than the average for the State. This may be due to the ghetto similarities between the two areas. They are similar in racial and cultural homogeneity, geographical isolation, economic deprivation and residential segregation. According to these criteria both urban centers are in the ghetto

category. We note further that by comparison with other local school districts in the non-ghetto environs within Ingham County, Lansing has a disproportionately high drop-out rate of 8.5 percent which is 7 percent higher than the lowest 1.5 percent rate for the Okemos High School District. The rate for the Lansing district is also 2.5 percent higher than the nearest 6 percent of the Dansville School District. It is 2.3 percent higher than the 6.2 percent for Ingham County. And, finally, the 8.5 percent for Lansing is 2.1 percent higher than the 6.4 percent drop-out rate for State. The drop-out rate for the City of Detroit is 14.3 percent.

According to Jerome Bruner (1970), education is in a state of crises. The community and the educational system is confronted with the major problem of how to stem the high rising drop-out rate, while making public education more attractive to increasing numbers of people. Some questions emerging from this crises in public education relative to the Lansing community are raised at this point.

1. Is there empirical evidence for the existence of urban core demographic conditions in non-urban communities with low drop-out rates?

2. What is the relationship of race to the social phenomena which characterize communities with high drop-out incidence?

Section B. Methodology

This research consists of an analysis of the records of the Lansing District public school students, grades 9 through 12, who withdrew from public education during the 1971-72 school year. These school

records, hereafter called "status forms," are academic histories of students. One status form is prepared and kept on each student enrolled in the public schools. These records furnish the information essential to a critical and analytical examination of the growing problem of public high school drop-outs. They are a key source of data required for exploration of the drop-out problem, and will provide valuable resource information for future research and reference. It is this probative and implicative value which furnishes the rationale of this choice of records.

The total number of status forms used in this study is 8,952. This number represents the total population of high school students enrolled in grades 9 through 12 for the 1971-72 school year.

Since the focus of this study is the drop-out pattern and incidence in the public high schools of Lansing, the research activity will explore and measure frequencies and relationships between drop-outs and related variables mainly in this area. The total number of drop-outs under study is 763.

The research method is non-experimental hypothesis testing, which is used consistently throughout the study. It should be stated here, however, that the testing is not intended to show causal relationships between variables; but rather to show positive or negative linear relationship and the degree of association between correlated pairs. It is the specific intent to show how and to what degree the drop-out rate is affected by the prevalence or absence of certain concrete social situations and relationships within a given area. Assuming

the presence of residual environmental and intra-psychic factors which significantly influence social behavior, we avoid conclusions of causality between variables. The specific variables used in testing the stated hypothesis--family structure, economic level of families who fall either in the above poverty or below poverty income level, population density which is defined according to spatial distribution of residential structures, room occupancy and drop-outs--do not have cause and effect relationships in this study. Correlation between them, however, will obtain maximal relational significance mostly within the geographical frame of reference of the Lansing, East Lansing SMSA.

Computation of correlations between variables is done by using Pearsonian product-moment correlation coefficient r for measurement of the degree of association. The unit of measurement is the geographical sub-division of land or space designated a "census tract." Forty-six (46) census tracts make up the total number of sub-divisions of the Lansing community with its resident population, including those who attend the public schools. These 46 census tracts are either wholly or partially located within the Lansing municipal boundaries. One additional census tract was created as a catch-all tract. Into this one tract were consigned all students with indefinite addresses. All other positively identifiable addresses of students were located within one of the other 46 census tracts.

The City of Lansing proper has 37 consecutive census tracts and nine scattered tracts which supply the full number of students which

make up the Lansing School District. To properly identify these students, each of them was located within the census tract and block, according to street number and name. These data were coded and recorded on the face of each student's status form. The process required the use of three maps--an annually published ordinary city map; a map of the (Ingham, Eaton and Clinton) tri-county area, otherwise called the 1970 Census Metropolitan Map of the Lansing Area, printed by the Tri-County Planning Commission; and a third map of the Lansing Model Cities Area which is known also as the CDA (City Demonstration Agency) which shows the original boundaries and the expanded variation of the Model Cities Area.

Recalling that computations of relationships in this study were done in part by using Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient r, we now add Spearman's rank-order correlations and percentages, and here give a brief summary of the operation to show how these were used. First, the frequencies of related variables were computed for percentage ranking within each census tract. For example, if the relationship between drop-outs and below poverty level income was to be measured, the first step was to record the exact number of drop-outs for each census tract and then divide this number by the total number of enrolled students in the census tract. The resulting percentage became the score for the given tract. A hypothetical instance would be the following: a census tract has 245 enrolled students, and records 45 drop-outs for the given year. The number 45 was divided by 245 and the resulting 18.4 percent became the score for that census tract.

The same procedure was followed in each correlation of all two variable relationship measurement. This was done for all computations except an instance where the X^2 use of raw data seemed better. The tabular presentation of data on the basis of percent frequency rather than by number of actual occurences has a decided advantage. It seems that computation of percentages of frequencies of the discrete variables is much more precise and reliable.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF LITERATURE, DISTRICT AND POPULATION

Section A. Survey of Literature

The American public is becoming startlingly aware of the magnitude of the high school drop-out problem. The publication of reports from sociological studies, educational research and periodical announcements in local news media registers on the public mind with telling affect. In the Lansing community, information on this problem is received through the annual reports of the local school district and a monthly publication of the proceedings, decisions and business of the board of education. This is supplemented with daily news reports, and summarized in the annual reports of the Michigan Department of Education. Information from these sources, covering the 1971-72 school year, is presented in this study.

One good index of generated interest in the drop-out problem is the proliferation of theories advocated to explain and further explore it. These theories, while neither postulating nor proving causal relationships satisfactorily, do offer strong empirical evidence to support their stated hypotheses. Katz (1967) cites some of the more impressive current theories. He refers to Whiteman and Deutsch (1967) who view the ghetto child's alienation from formal learning as causal to the drop-out process, and as resolvable through the kind of

integration advocated in the Coleman Report (1966). Auseble (1963) stresses two aspects of child rearing that are characteristic of low income families. Cloward (1967) proposes student tutoring programs as a solution to the problem. Fernald (1969) espouses a pre-natal influence theory in which he asserts pre-conditioning of the typical Negro to resistance to change, including educational improvement and academic excellence. McClelland (1967) views matricentric Negro families and the typical child rearing practices of lower socio-economic families as responsible for the low need achievement element in the Negro child's personality.

Although conflict and divergence characterize these theories in several aspects, there is yet strong concensus in the assertion that the greatest loss of students is suffered by the inner city ghetto school. The inner city schools are the lowest in academic achievement rate.

Therefore, whether they are the psycho-social scientists who trace alienation, social distance, emotional instability or deficiency or low need achievement to the child rearing practices of minority families; or the cultural pre-conditioning theorists; or the institutionalists who blame the educational system, all agree on the academic inadequacy of the minority child.

Section B. A Survey: Ingham County Intermediate School District

Highly relevant to the drop-out dilemma in the Lansing School District is the emergent pattern of drop-outs in the 12 local

school districts in Ingham County. Four of the districts experienced a rate decrease, while the remaining eight districts showed a concurrent rise in rate. Among the four school districts with a decrease in drop-out rates Lansing showed a 1.4 percent change--from 9.9 percent for the 1970-71 school year to 8.5 percent for the 1971-72 year. The largest decrease was shown for the Okemos School District: from 5.6 percent to 1.6 percent--a percentage change of 4 percent. Other districts showing decrease changes are the East Lansing--.3 percent, and the Webberville districts--2.5 percent.

The drop-out gradient observed in the broader countywide spectrum provides strong statistical support for the hypothesis which asserts that greatest percentages of drop-outs come from inner city schools. These computed rates show a county average of 6.8 percent for the 1970-71 school year and 6.2 percent for 1971-72, which is 2.3 percent below the 8.5 percent for the predominantly inner city Lansing district. Further, when this high percentage rate, reflected in Table 1, is considered in the light of the fact that of the 14,699 Afro-Americans living in the tri-county (Eaton, Clinton and Ingham) SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) fully 12,234 (83.2 percent) reside within the city of Lansing. And, more significantly, 54.4 percent (6,661) of these 12,234 persons live within four census tracts (5, 15, 16 and 18--an area of 926 acres or 1.5 quare miles, and an average of 4,441 persons per square mile.) The Lansing 8.5 percent high for the county with its heavy minority concentration justifies the conclusion that the drop-out problem has maximal

Table 1. A comparison of public high school drop-outs for two years for the Ingham County Public School District, grades 9-12.*

1970-71 School Year				1971-72 School Year			
Local School Districts	Student Enrollment	Drop-Outs	Rate %	Local School Districts	Student Enrollment	Drop-Outs	Rate %
East Lansing	1,462	47	3.21%	East Lansing	1,417	42	2.96%
Lansing	8,933	881	9.86%	Lansing	8,952	763	8.52%
Dansville	299	13	4.35%	Dansville	314	19	6.05%
Haslett	526	13	2.47%	Haslett	617	22	3.57%
Holt	1,135	47	4.14%	Holt	1,267	75	5.92%
Leslie	463	16	3.46%	Leslie	454	23	5.07%
Mason	1,076	37	3.44%	Mason	1,056	37	3.50%
Okemos	930	52	5.59%	Okemos	962	15	1.56%
Stockbridge	564	25	4.43%	Stockbridge	595	31	5.21%
Waverly	1,610	47	2.92%	Waverly	1,666	49	2.94%
Webberville	229	15	6.55%	Webberville	248	10	4.03%
Williamston	520	19	3.65%	Williamston	509	24	4.72%
Total	17,747	1,112	6.83%	Total	18,057	1,110	6.15%

*Public High School Drop-Outs In Michigan: Bulletin No. 4007, 1971-72.

effect on minority students, particularly in the inner city school districts. This holds true, even though there is perceptable change toward decrease in the school district drop-out rate for the year under study. The inter-district disparities are reflected in Table 2. Compare Tables 1 and 2. Also see Table 36 on census data.

Table 2. Percentage changes in drop-out rates for three Lansing Public High Schools over four years, 1968-1972.**

High Schools	School Years				Total Change
	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71	1971-72	
Eastern*	16.1%	16.9%	14.2%	12.3%	-3.8%
Change		0.8%	-0.3%	-1.9%	
Everett	9.4%	10.0%	9.2%	8.9%	-0.5%
Change		0.6%	-0.8%	-0.3%	
Sexton	11.9%	12.8%	13.5%	10.5%	-1.4%
Change		0.9%	0.7%	-3.0%	

*Although Eastern has the greatest percent change, it is still consistently highest.

**Child Accounting, Secondary Schools, Lansing, Michigan, 1972.

Notice that Everett High School, situated on the periphery of the city and farthest distanced from the urban core than other senior high schools in the Lansing School District is consistently lowest in drop-out rates over the entire four-year period. This high

school also has highest percentages of Anglo-American students (87 percent); and lowest percentages of minorities (13 percent).

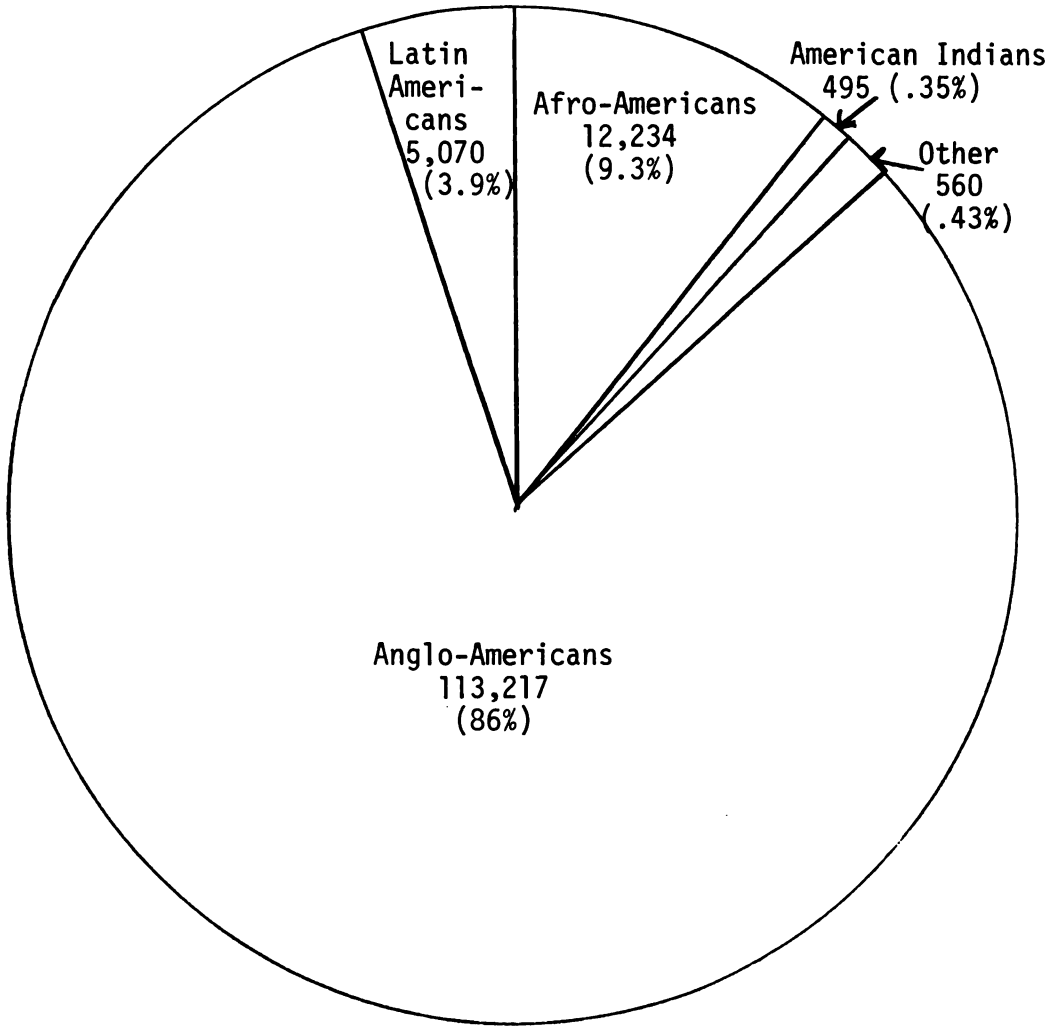
Of socio-geographical significance is the situation of Eastern High School, within the central city but peripheral to the urban core. More Latin Americans (10 percent) attend Eastern High School than any other high school in the local school district. For the 1968-69 school year Eastern High School had 6.7% more Latin American students than Everett High School; and a 3.4 percent higher enrollment of Latin American students than Everett High School for the 1971-72 school year. Eastern High School also has the second highest drop-out rate in the Lansing School District (12.3 percent) for 1971-72. Harry Hill High School has the highest drop-out rate (15.9 percent) in the district. Sexton High School, with largest percentage of Afro-Americans (21 percent) is third with (10.5 percent) a still relatively high drop-out rate. Of the four city public high schools Everett has the lowest drop-out rate (8.9 percent) for the October 1, 1971 through September 29, 1972.

In these respects the Lansing Public School District holds true to the national pattern of greatest percentages of high school drop-outs in the metropolitan core cities.

Section C. Population Distribution Survey

A graphic profile of the ethnic composition of the total population of Lansing is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 2 shows the racial make up of Michigan schools.



N = 131,546

Figure 1. Population distribution by race for the City of Lansing.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Bureau of the Census.

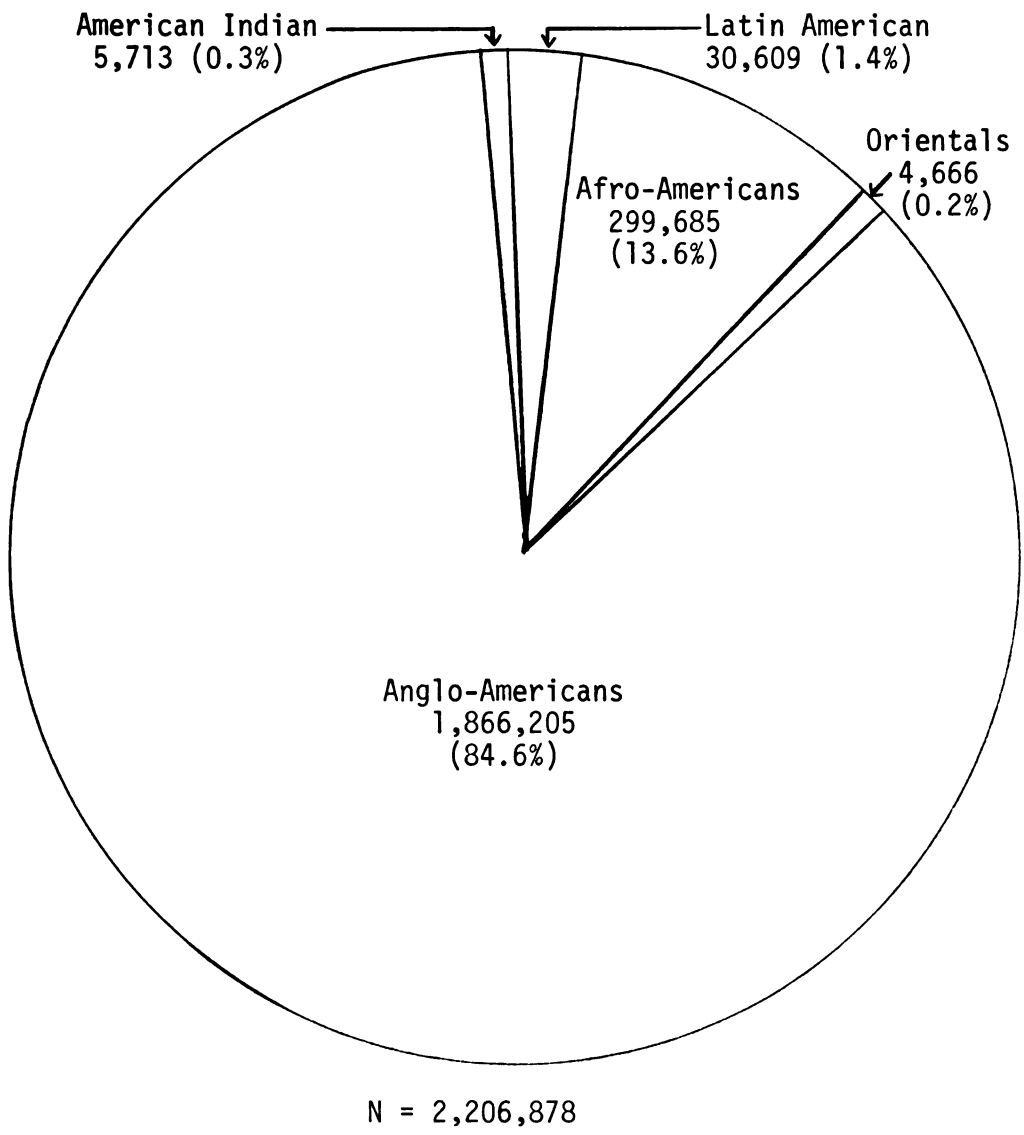


Figure 2. Total population of public school students in the state of Michigan, 1971-1972, by race.

Source: School Racial-Ethnic Census for 1971-72, Michigan Department of Education.

CHAPTER III

THE DROP-OUT: PATTERN AND PROFILE

We now approach the analysis of associations between operationalized macrodemographic variables endemic in varying degrees to society as a whole and particularly to the society of students who drop out of public school before graduation. Figure 3 clearly shows the relative strengths and weaknesses in regional association of these variables. And, assuming that a majority of drop-outs are reportedly members of the inner city poor minority groups, our analysis will focus mainly on the school district which serves them. We hope, in the words of Dr. James B. McKee (1971) that:

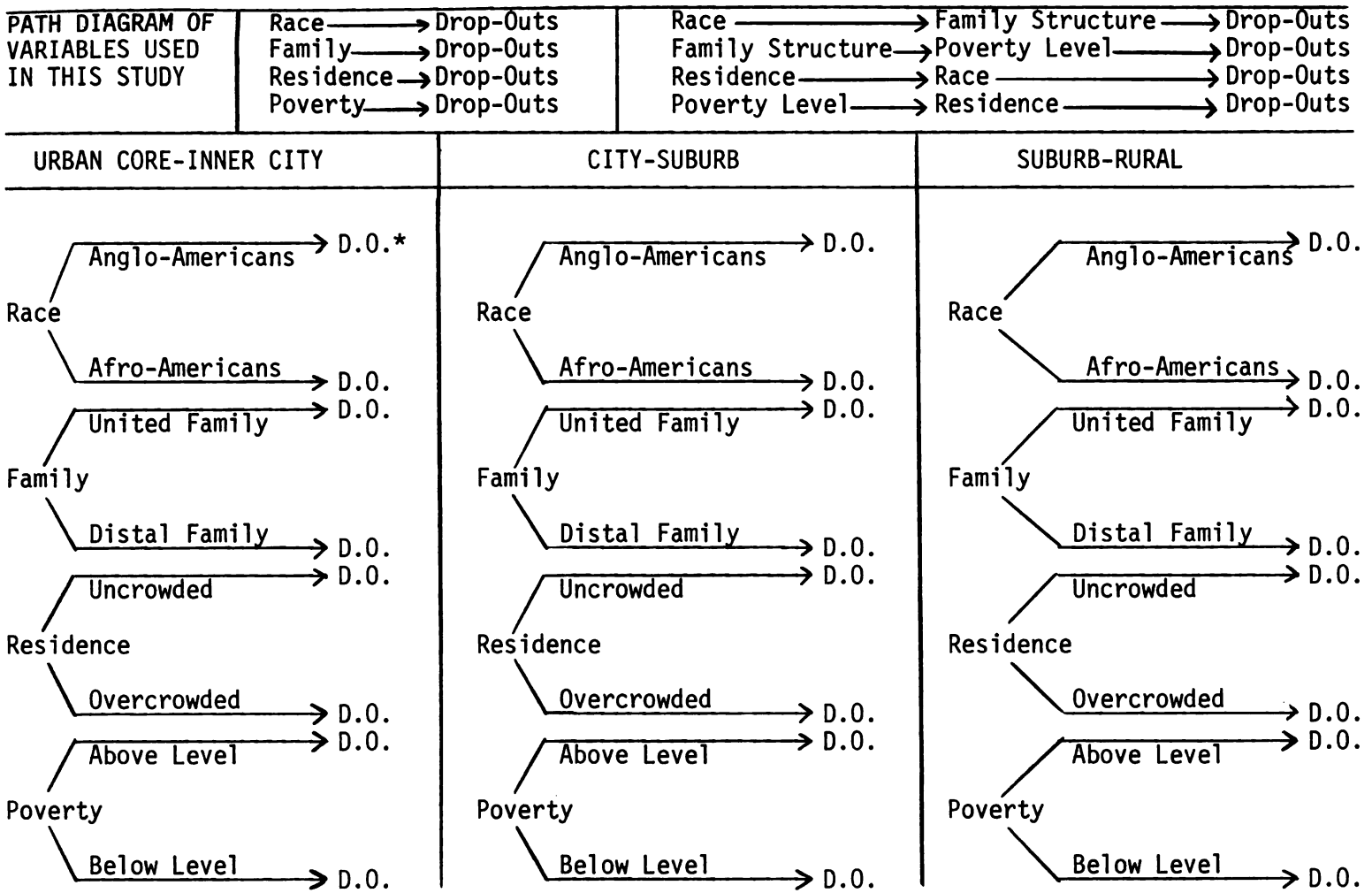
> The long-established issue of race takes on a whole new theoretical perspective, not only because of riots, violence, and community racial tensions, but also because of what was wholly unanticipated by the earlier research: the emerging consciousness of Black Americans and the new forms of collective action resulting from that.

The dominant theme here is the educability and the increasing educational aspiration of the intellectually deficient minority student. Most of them are not incapable of academic excellence, but are delayed by the neglect of the development of their intellectual potential by the educational institution of the dominant society. See Figure 3 for regional differences. See Figure 4 for path diagram. This then leads to the following hypothesis:

Independent Variables		Dependent Variables						Hypotheses
		Urban Core-City		City-Suburb		Suburb-Rural		
		Drop-outs	Non-drop-outs	Drop-outs	Non-drop-outs	Drop-outs	Non-drop-outs	
Race	Afro-American	+ +	+ -	+	-	-	+ +	Race is related to drop-outs
	Anglo-American	+ -	+ -	+ +	+ -	-	+ +	
Family Structure	United Family	-	+ +	+ -	+ +	-	+ +	Family structure is related to drop-outs
	Distal Family	+ +	+ -	+	+	+ -	+ -	
Residence	Uncrowded	-	+ -	+	+ -	-	+ -	Crowding is related to drop-outs
	Over-crowded	+	-	+	-	+	-	
Poverty Level	Above Poverty	-	+ +	-	+ +	-	+ +	Below poverty level income is related to drop-outs
	Below Poverty	+ +	-	+ +	-	+	-	

‡ = Very strong positive relation; + = strong positive relation; ± = strong to weak, positive or negative relation; - = strong negative relation.

Figure 3. Control chart of drop-outs and drop-out related variables.



*Drop-outs.

Figure 4. Path diagram of variables used in this study.

Hypothesis I

The drop-out rate is significantly higher in most inner city and ghetto areas of the Lansing Public School District than it is in suburban-rural areas.

Prevalent in current applicable sociological theory is the supposition that greatest numbers and percentages of high school drop-outs come from the metropolitan core centers. Sacks (1972), Bogue (1969), Prewitt (1969), and Hoffman (1969) assert heavier concentration of drop-outs per unit population area in the core city than in the non-urban areas of comparable size.

Definitions of Regional Divisions of Lansing School District Population

The Urban Core.--Is demographically and geographically central to the SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area), at the heart of the inner city. Criteria of the urban core are low income, over-crowded living quarters, high deterioration of housing, low percentage of home ownership, high percentage of renters of older type tenement houses (as an example, Lansing census tract 15 has 981 rented living quarters, 637--65 percent--of which are occupied by Black Americans, permanently residing in this core tract), disproportionate numbers of large, broken families, minimal play area and heavy concentration of minorities. There is no cultural activity with meaning to non-urban residents. In fact, the cultural ethos of inner city minorities has no interest for persons who live outside the ghetto area. To these categorical data, common to many deep core areas, one could add still other social behavioral patterns that are peculiar to

some of the more demoralized communities, such as high crime rates and heavy drug traffic and use. In the Lansing SMSA the census tracts registering highest incidence of these kinds of antisocial conditions and practices within the Lansing School District are census tracts 12, 15, and 18. But there is also much of the same kind of anti-social behavior in other non-urban communities. Because of the permeating spread of the non-conventional social behavior, we find other census tracts far removed from the central city--36.01 and 36.02--significantly affected and classified with urban core census tracts. Some of these are selected for special treatment by the CDA (City Demonstration Agency) as high problem areas.

The Inner City.--As used in this study, lies between the core and the city fringe. The census tracts which make up the inner city overlap the urban core census tracts and exhibit strong ethnographic relationship to the core community way of life. But the similarity, though strong in some areas, diminishes with distance from the core areas, i.e., it is strongest in the overlap where the two areas blend, but fades as one moves away from the urban core. This inner city area is marked by mixture: there are some well-kept homes and some run-down houses; some economically thriving families and some indolent and "disreputably" poor, distinguished from what John R. Seely (1959) calls the "respectable poor." This inner city area could be and often is integral to the ghetto, when the ghetto is perceived in its functional and dysfunctional aspects as Clark (1965) views the temporary residency and relatively high transciency rate

among the out-migrating minority who achieve middle-class economic status. These are medium-high population density areas which experience alternating drop-out rates, ranging from very high to very low. The proximity to the urban core incurs mutual exposure to contrasting life styles and aspirations by each of the adjacent and overlapping areas. The result of this residential integration is that in the midst of the slums and slum margins we find strange mixtures of social classes (Warner, et al., 1949) at widely variant economic levels. This pattern evidences the fact that all of the slum dwellers are not poor; and all of the poor are not in the slums (Hunter, 1964).

The Urban Fringe.--Comprises those census tracts that zig-zag around the rim of the inner city. The residents of these census tracts run the gamut of an economic continuum, ranging from the very rich, who love the city and refuse to move out (Jean Gottman, 1966); and those who remain to grow rich through exploitation of the poor (Hunter, 1964). But both of these economically independent urban sub-groups are socially remote from the predominantly poor city dweller. Jean Gottman (1966) said that the rich and the poor lived within short distances of one another and that it was "brutally amoral to witness destitution, neighboring on elegant sophistication, poverty mixing with prosperity."

The Suburban Area.--Includes those census tracts in totally residential neighborhoods where the level of economic existence is superior to that usually found at the urban core and in much of the inner city. Physical characteristics of the suburbs are newer and

better. There is also more adequately constructed housing in these decommercialized communities. Business operations are virtually non-existent in suburban sub-divisions. Another characteristic of the suburbs is provision of ample play-ground space and facilities for recreation. Generally, maintenance of the total area surpasses up-keep in the inner-city. Geographically, the suburbs touches the city fringe at the rim. It is separate; and yet, integrate. But cultural diffusion extends across regional boundaries between the inner-city and the suburbs. The inner-city culture really thrives in the suburbs, because many suburbanites were socialized in urban environments. Besides, many extended families have members in both areas, and continuous communication inevitably synthesizes the life styles of the separate households into one common way of life, with strong similarities and cultural affinities.

Economic Exploitation.--Of the urban poor is shared by the suburban-commuter-exploiter (Willheim, 1971) and the urban resident store and business owner-operator. The former, who comes into the ghetto from the outside and bleeds it dry, contributes to its economic dependence on the affluent majority. According to Willheim (1971), all necessary commodities--food, clothing, tenement rent fees, interest rates and general living costs are higher in the ghetto residential areas. The latter--the urban resident store owner--is identified as a vital instrument for diminishing Black American self respect, community esteem and regard for public property or its value (Clark, as quoted by James W. Vander Zanden, 1966).

The Rural Sector.--Would include those census tracts with more extended geographical boundaries, diminished population density, homogeneity among its residents, and organization of life and activity around rural interests and institutions which hold minimal attraction for urban residents. Oscar Lewis (1951) doubts that there are any real criteria for distinguishing rural from urban life and environment. Charles T. Stewart (1958) criticizes the demographic basis of distinction between rural and urban definition. Louis Wirth (1938) points out certain forms of social action and organization that typically emerge in relatively permanent, compact settlements of large numbers of heterogeneous individuals as central to the problem of definition. We are here concerned primarily with the school attendance and drop-out frequencies and patterns as shown in Table 3.

The purpose and value of the division of Lansing area census tracts into five regional groups is best perceived by looking at Tables 3 and 37 with Figure 5. And the criteria for categorizing these census tracts for regional assignment are found in the expanded definitions of the regions on pages 18-22. From our point of view several advantages accrue to the study from this comparison of variant versions of the ecological data represented in the tables and figures in this section, namely:

1. Demarcation of census tract areas in Figures 5 and 6 provide for clearer observation of high population density areas and their geographic distributional patterns in the City of Lansing and its environs.

Table 3. Census tract division for the City of Lansing in five groups, according to geographical region, racial composition, economic level of residents and population distribution and density.

Regional divisions of census tracts											
Urban Core			City			Urban Fringe			Suburban		Rural*
Census Tract Numbers			Census Tract Numbers			Census Tract Numbers			Census Tract Numbers		Census Tract Numbers
7	8	11	1	2	3	22	23	26	17	33.01	52
12	13	14	4	5	6	27	28	30	29	33.02	202
15	16	18	9	10	24	31.02		32	34	38.02	214
19	20	21	25					51	35	44.01	99
36.01									37	53.01	
36.02											

*Definitions of Regions

The Urban Core consists of those census tracts which are characterized by a constellation of those demographic variables used in this study.

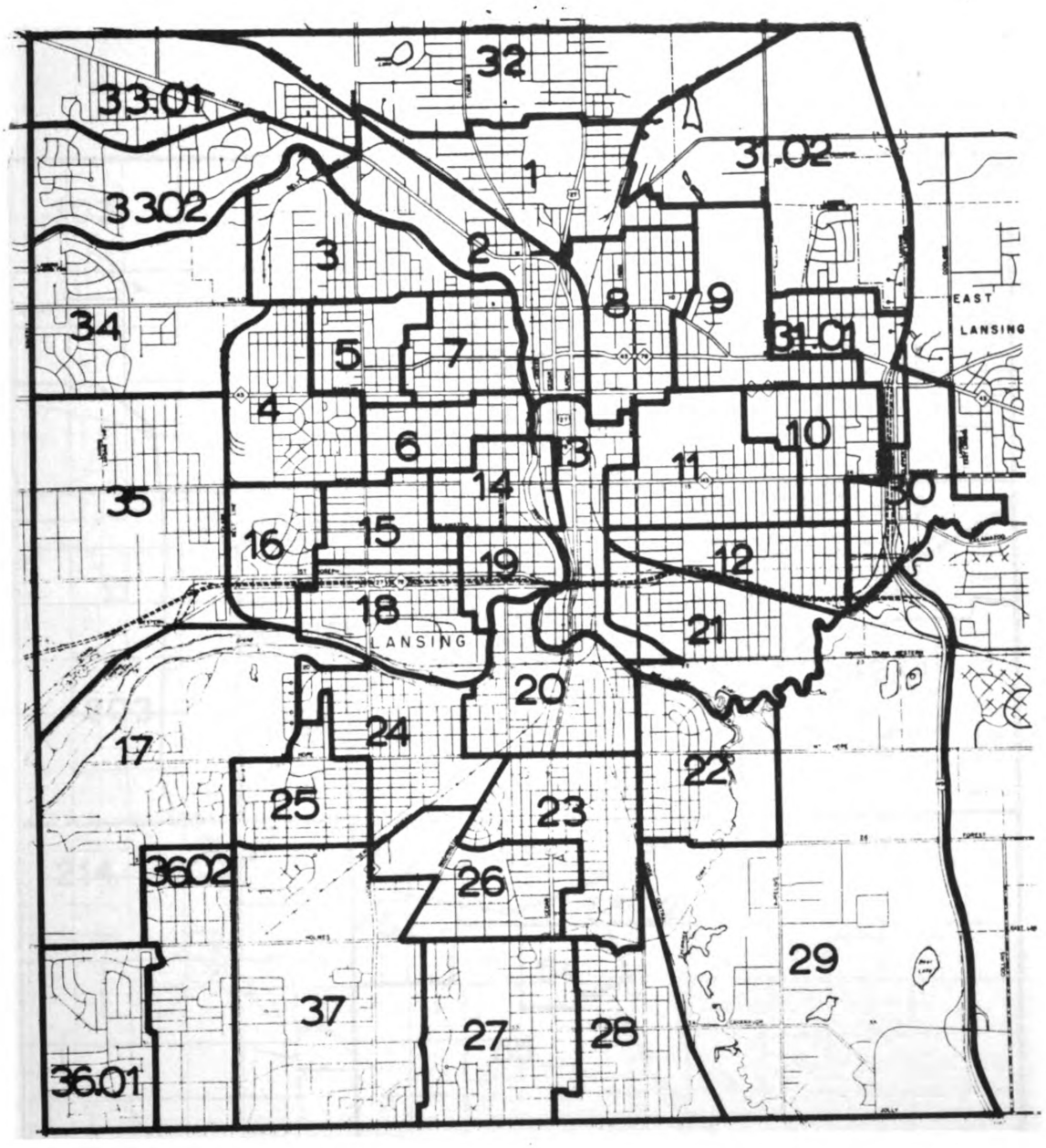
The Inner City is the intermediate residential-industrial-commercial area between the urban core and the city fringe.

The Urban Fringe is that residential area interspersed with urban rich among the urban poor.

Suburban refers to the residential areas of predominantly middle-class income families of mostly Anglo-Americans and small but increasing numbers of minorities.

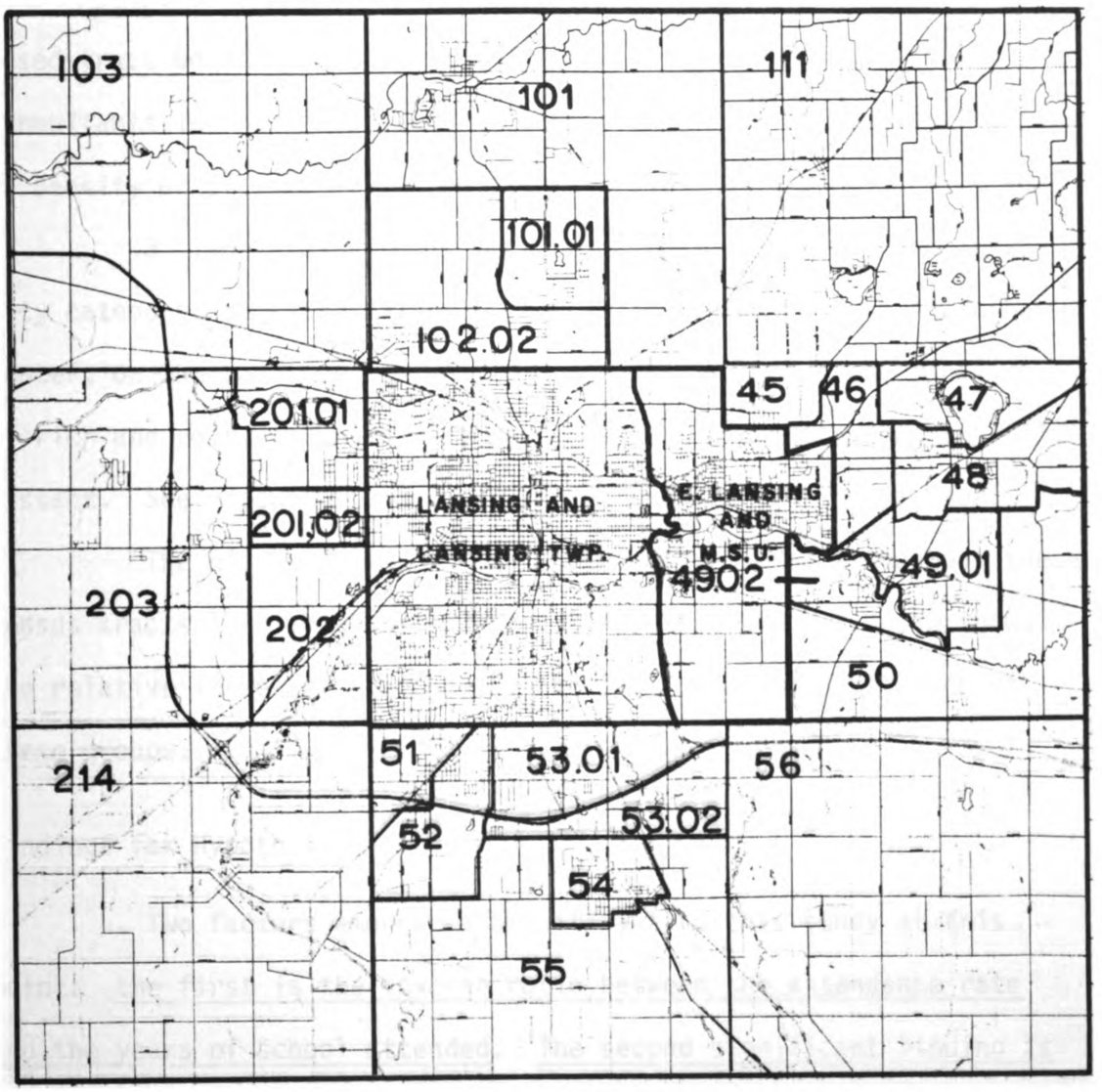
Rural census tracts are those sparsely occupied residential areas, characterized by social space variation from the inner city residential pattern.

The census tracts which make up these regions are found in Figure 5 and Figure 6. Only the census tracts listed in the table above properly fall within the City of Lansing.



Source: Tri-County Regional Planning Commission for Clinton, Eaton, and Ingham Counties, 1970.

Figure 5. Lansing Area Map: 1970 Census Tracts, boundaries and numbers.



Source: Tri-County Regional Planning Commission for Clinton, Eaton, and Ingham Counties, 1970.

Figure 6. Nine Township Area: 1970 Census Tracts, census tract boundaries and numbers.

2. Spatial allotment of land area for each census tract is determined by the density of the residential population--by the number of persons per acre or per square mile, living within any proposed tract boundary. The cut-off point is 4000 (more or less) inhabitants in the area. Thus the tract size also becomes an indicator of density or of some deviating characteristic of a particular tract.

3. The exclusion of certain census tracts from the inner city category, in spite of their geographical proximity to the urban center, on the basis of ecologic incongruence suggests the mingling of rich and poor, often in close geographical proximity, yet socially distant. See Figures 5 and 6 and Tables 3 and 37 for comparison.

The high schools of Lansing are distributed throughout these census tracts in five ethnic groups. Table 4.1 and 4.2 below shows the relative losses of students by the public schools from each of these groups.

Findings for Hypothesis I

Two factors emerge as significant to this study at this point: the first is the inverse ratio between the attendance rate and the years of school attended. The second significant finding is the differentiated ethnic-racial drop-out pattern. Commencing with the closing elementary grades, attendance rate decreases significantly with increasing number of years of attendance, until the peak drop-out grade level is reached. The Anglo-American drop-out rate peaks at

Table 4.1. Number and percentage of drop-outs in the Lansing Public School District by school, race, sex and grade for the 1971-72 school year.

	Names of five Junior High Schools*					
Students Grade 9	French	Gardner	Otto	Pattengill	Rich	Total Number
Number Enrolled	396	505	464	493	528	2,386
			Males			
Drop-Outs						
Anglo-Americans	1	0	2	5	0	8
Afro-Americans	0	0	0	1	0	1
Spanish Americans	2	0	1	1	0	4
American Indians	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
			Females			
Drop-Outs						
Anglo-Americans	2	0	0	3	0	5
Afro-Americans	1	1	0	0	0	2
Spansih Americans	0	0	0	3	0	3
American Indians	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	6	1	3	13	0	23

*Source: Ethnic Report Count, Lansing School District, 1971-72.

Table 4.2. Number and percentage of drop-outs in the Lansing Public School District by school, race, sex and grade for the 1971-72 school year.

Students' Data	Eastern	Everett	Hill	Sexton	Total Number
	Names of four Senior High Schools				
Number Enrolled					
Grade 10	778	587	475	701	2,541
Grade 11	656	557	343	596	2,152
Grade 12	575	703		595	1,873
Totals	2,009	1,847	818	1,892	6,566
		Anglo-American Males			
Drop-Out Grade Level					
Grade 10	39	24	30	26	119
Grade 11	29	37	30	30	126
Grade 12	13	26		32	71
Totals	81	87	60	88	316
		Anglo-American Females			
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	33	19	24	16	92
Grade 11	33	22	26	20	101
Grade 12	19	17		15	51
Totals	85	58	50	51	244
		Afro-American Males			
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	8	1	6	8	23
Grade 11	1	3	5	11	20
Grade 12	1	1	0	7	9
Totals	10	5	11	26	52
		Afro-American Females			
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	5	2	4	10	21
Grade 11	7	2	2	5	16
Grade 12	2	1	0	3	10
Totals	14	5	6	18	43

Table 4.2. Continued

Student Data	Names of four Senior High Schools: Eastern	Everett	Hill	Sexton	Total Number
Spanish-American Males					
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	21	2	1	3	27
Grade 11	11	2	0	2	15
Grade 12	4	0	0	2	6
Total Males	36	4	1	7	48
Spanish-American Females					
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	10	2	1	4	17
Grade 11	7	2	0	1	10
Grade 12	3	1	0	2	6
Total Females	20	5	1	7	33
American Indian Males					
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	2	0	0	0	2
Grade 11	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 12	0	0	0	0	0
Total Males	2	0	0	0	2
American Indian Females					
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 11	0	0	0	1	1
Grade 12	0	0	0	0	0
Total Females	0	0	0	1	1
Other Males					
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 11	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 12	0	0	0	0	0
Total Males	0	0	0	0	0
Other Females					
Drop-Outs					
Grade 10	0	0	1	0	1
Grade 11	0	0	0	0	0
Grade 12	0	0	0	0	0
Total Females	0	0	1	0	1

grade 11: all other student drop-out rates peak at grade 10. This indicates that Anglo-Americans tend to stay in school longer than students of other ethnic-racial groups (Table 5). This table further indicates that while Anglo-Americans made up 82.8 percent (7,415) of the 9-12 grade student population of the Lansing Public High Schools during the 1971-72 school year, they constituted 75 percent (573) of the total (763) drop-outs for that year. Of the 573 Anglo-Americans who dropped out of high school 21.3 percent (122) were 12th grade students; 39.6 percent (227) were 11th graders; and 39.1 percent (224) were 9th and 10th graders. Boys constituted 56.5 percent (324), while girls made up 43.5 percent (249) of the total.

The significance of the 10th grade peak drop-out level is its correspondence to the 16th year of age, which is the recognized age of independence which gives the right of self-direction. Attainment of this age of majority gives the student the right to withdraw from public education in the State of Michigan. Mandatory education is no longer enforceable at 16+ years of age. This is reflected when the student status forms records overage or truancy 631 times, out of the total number of 763 drop-outs for the 1971-72 school year, as reasons for withdrawal. This could strongly indicate that 82.7 percent of those who dropped out of high school were academically capable in other respects. One precaution should govern conclusions and generalizations in this aspect of school behavior: some of these students may be emotionally handicapped or retarded because of other physical, social or spiritual problems.

Table 5. Number of drop-outs for the Lansing Public School District by grade level, sex and ethnic group for grades 9-12 for the 1971-72 school year.

Grade Level	Ethnic groups in the school population										Totals
	Anglo-Americans		Afro-Americans		Spanish Americans		American Indians		Others		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
9th Grade	8	5	1	2	4	3	0	0	0	0	23
10th Grade	119	92	23	21	27	17	2	1	0	1	302
11th Grade	126	101	20	16	15	10	0	0	0	0	289
12th Grade	71	51	9	6	6	6	0	0	0	0	149
Total	324	249	53	45	52	36	2	1	0	1	763

Source: Annual Report of the Lansing Public School District for 1971-72, Fourth Friday to Fourth Friday count--October 1 to September 29.

Supplementary data with proportionate drop-out rates are listed below:

Ethnic Group	Percent Enrolled	Percent Drop-Outs
Anglo-Americans	79%	75.1%
Afro-Americans	14%	12.8%
Spanish Americans	6%	11.6%
American Indians	.4%	.4%
Others	.6%	.1%

The grestest disproportion between drop-outs and students enrolled is shown among Spanish Americans. The enrollment percentages are based on figures of the total secondary (grades 7 - 12).

The second major significant factor emerging from these data is the strong association between residential polarization and dropping out of high school. Drop-out rates in certain high schools seem to be related to the racial composition and ethnic group concentration in the immediate area served by the shcools. Table 5 shows 88 Latin American students dropped out of high school during the 1971-72 school year. For the most part, 63.8% (56 students) came from one school--Eastern High School. This school is flanked by heavy concentrations of the Latin American families whose children attend this high school. The school is a microcosm of the strong Latin element of the residential community. The school population becomes a good index of racial and socio-economic make-up of the community. Drop-outs were 53 (60%) males and 36 (40%) females.

Therefore, the hypothesis that higher drop-out rates are found among inner-city minorities is reliable but relatively true. The relativity emerges in the isolation and analysis of single census tract data, or by split sample testing of stratefied groups of census tracts with demographic similarity. This hypothesis is supported by Arthur Simon (1970), Gibbard (1966), and Sacks (1972). Further support of the same hypothesis is found in the report of the Presidential Commission On Education and the Family (Coleman Report, 1966) and the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Moynihan, 1967).

The hypothesis is confirmed by the findings: the inner-city (inclusive of urban core and fringe) does have higher drop-out rates than suburban and rural areas. The macro-analysis of extensive areas or large tract groups--twelve census tracts; namely, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 18 and 20 show a mean drop-out rate of 14.3 percent--strongly supports the claim. By contrast, resistance to inner-city influence is reflected in below district average drop-out rates in certain isolated urban core census tracts. Some of these are ghettoized and sub-standard.

Our definition of "ghetto" means high density, low economic level of living, high rate of disrupted families, lack of recreational facilities, overcrowding, dilapidated structures and high crime rate. We now compare four such urban with three suburban census tracts to show the complexity of urbanism and the erratic variation between geographically contiguous sub-sections of the same area. Significant differences emerge when we compare (Table 6) four urban census tracts with three rural-suburban census tracts.

The selected data (Table 6) such as overcrowded room occupancy (1.01-1.50 persons per room), or severely overcrowded room occupancy (1.51+ persons per room) would indicate higher drop-out rates for the urban area. But the mean rate of drop-outs for the suburban area is 10.2 percent; while the urban area shows a considerably lower (7.8 percent) drop-out rate. Further variations appear in the spatial distribution of physical structures in the selected areas. Concomitantly, population density patterns evolve

Table 6. A comparison between four urban census tracts--5, 15, 16 and 18--and three rural-suburban census tracts--51, 52 and 53 on demographic data and high school drop-outs.

Demographic Data*	Regional Census Tracts						
	Urban Census Tracts				Rural Census Tracts		
	5	15	16	18	51	52	53
Family Structure							
United Families	468	585	349	257	455	1057	1099
Distal Families	105	334	79	102	93	117	121
Land Space							
Acres Per Tract	193	186	221	326	1122	744	2263
Houses Per Tract	788	1648	502	534	635	1420	1441
Houses Per Acre	4.1	8.9	2.3	1.6	.57	1.9	.64
Living Space By Houses							
Overcrowded	53	95	32	44	56	81	91
Severely Overcrowded	7	39	8	9	15	12	8
Persons Per Acre	1.2	22.3	8.2	4.9	2.3	5.7	2.1
School Data**							
Number of Students Enrolled	168	303	167	131	174	233	304
Drop-Outs	17	23	7	12	30	16	20

*U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970.

**Child Accounting, Lansing School District, 1972 Report.

conformably with the distribution patterns of residential structures. These critical variables are invariably significant in the demographic assessment of human society. And the preponderant ecological situations and conditions in these census tracts are usually associated with high drop-out rates. But the reverse variation which emerges (2.4 percent lower drop-out rate for the urban area) shows the difficulty of predictions across cultural lines and ethnic-racial boundaries. It also suggests precaution in formulating broad generalizations for extensive geographical areas.

Further observation discloses those kinds of family structures usually associated with high drop-out rates, concentrated in the urban census tract group. The mean percentage of distal families for the urban area is 25.4 percent. In contrast, the suburban/rural area has a mean rate (for the non-urban census tracts--51, 52 and 53) of 12 percent distal (broken) families for the three tracts. The four inner-city census tracts have 15.4 percent of the families living below the poverty level. But in the three suburban/rural census tracts only 6.8 percent of the families are living below the poverty level. Still, the drop-out rate for the inner-city tracts is lower (7.8 percent) for these census tracts than it is for the suburban/rural census tracts (10.2 percent). In fact, these ghetto nucleus census tracts have an average percentage drop-out rate (7.8 percent) below the Lansing Public School District rate (8.52 percent) for the 1971-72 school year. The contrast is heightened when we

consider that 54.4 percent of the Afro-American (12,234) population of the City of Lansing live in this area.

Summary

The hypothesis is confirmed, if viewed generally; i.e., by dichotomizing the 46 census tracts and dealing with the total population of each tract group as one variable in the dichotomy. Taken en masse, the suburban/rural census tracts would have appreciably better percentage ratings than the inner-city census tracts. But the fact which evidently emerges in this isolated comparison of two extremes of the census tract continuum is that broad generalizations about the structure and function of inner-city ghetto areas are risky, inaccurate and could be misleading.

Hypothesis 2

Poverty is directly related to the high school drop-out rate. The drop-out rate is significantly higher in the residential areas with high economic deprivation incidence than in the more affluent, economically sufficient communities in the city of Lansing.

Definition of Poverty

Poverty is relative and should be defined in the light of the total background and social experience of the individual or family under study (Nye and Berardo, 1966). The term is relative to the general standard of living in the society, the distribution of wealth, the status system and social expectations (Theordorson,

1969). Poverty has reference to economic insufficiency, particularly as it affects marginal members of human society who live in sub-standard conditions. Poverty is related and conducive to emotional deprivation (emotional deprivation as used here refers to the absence of those warm supportive human relationships which generate emotional stability and emotional well being). The state of poverty is related to the economic background, the social and cultural milieu and the total socialization of the individual or human family. The state of poverty, from this view, is determined mainly by two major factors: these are (1) experience (internalized social heritage in a given socio-economic and cultural level); and (2) exposure (contact with others).

There is strong consensus among social scientists on the direct relationship between poverty and public school attendance. The hypothesis is that attendance declines with the increase of poverty. Those who hold this position agree that increased poverty is associated with higher drop-out rates. Some of them who take this position are Conant (1961), Glueck (1962), Passow (1966), Catalano (1967), Lewis (1970), Silberman (1970), Berg (1971) and Sacks (1972). Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck do hold some reservations, however. They have not found sufficient evidence for generalizing the influence of destitution and economic deprivation on delinquency behavior. And, although they do not deny the possibility of significant relationship between the two variables, they do question the adequacy of findings to support the hypothesis.

The hypothesis is strongly implicated in David R. Hunter's quotation from Patricia Sexton's Education and Income on the idea of inequalities in school expenditures:

> Droupouts: "In one low income high school alone $192,000 was saved in one year on drop-outs . . . on lower income students. . . . Upper income students rarely drop out of school before graduation." (Hunter, 1968).

This statement would not hold equally true today, if viewed in the light of reversed trends in Afro-American increased attendance in public schools. In spite of this increased attendance there is still significant association between poverty and dropping out of school. See Tables 6, 7, and 8.

Table 7. Comparison of economic level of families with student status, Lansing Public Schools, by number and percent, 1971-72 school year.

Economic level of families	Student status	Percent Difference
Above poverty level income families	Non-drop-out students	
30,545 (92.6%)	8,189 (91.5%)	1%
Below poverty level income families	Drop-out students	
2,438 (7.4%)	763 (8.5%)	1%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1970.

Since the public school status form does not show the economic level of the student's family by size of income or other valid criteria for assessing the economic status of the single family, census tract data are here implemented to give an admittedly simple and broad perspective of the affect of poverty on school attendance in Lansing. Table 7 is a very broad comparative description of the income level of families with public school attendance rates.

Table 7 is a breakdown of the total population of Lansing (131,546 persons) into 32,983 families from which the 8,952 high school students, grades 9-12, for the 1971-72 school year, come. As forestated, for lack of sufficient data, degree of relationship is not shown in this informational table.

Table 7 does not markedly reflect the debilitating influence of poverty on the victimized residents of core poverty areas of the urban center. Perhaps the chief value of the table is that it points out the inaccuracy of macro-analysis for measuring the degree of poverty in any given community. When fractionized and measured in sections, the poverty picture of the Lansing community appears significantly different. From this broad perspective in Table 7 the picture is not bad. From a closer look at isolated clusters of census tracts in the inner city the picture is not good.

To further illustrate the direct relationship between poverty and dropping out of public school, we resort to a split

sample census tract test. The sample consists of nine census tracts from the urban core and inner city compared with nine census tracts from the suburban-rural sectors of the Lansing area. The tracts are selected on the basis of population size, racial proportionality, geographical separation and social distance (social distance as measured in terms of economic level of residents). The sample will reflect the increased incidence of poverty at the urban center. And, paradoxically, it will reflect the diminishing affect of economic poverty (distinguished here from the social and psychological aspects of poverty) on the Afro-American high school students in many areas. The focal poverty reference point is Census Tract 15.

The comparison of stratified split sample Census Tracts 4, 5, 12, 15, 16, 18, 21, 36.01 and 36.02 from the inner-city core with Census Tracts 17, 27, 29, 32, 33.01, 33.02, 34, 37 and 38 from the suburban-rural sector of the Lansing area reflects the influence of poverty across cultural, racial and geographical boundaries. Table 8 is a measurement of the variables in numbers and percentages.

Approximately 32.7 percent (798) of the city's total number (2,438) of families in the below poverty level income category are in the nine urban census tracts. Thus, 32.7 percent of the poor of Lansing are among 22.6 percent of its population who are residents of the inner city. From another angle 29,784 persons (22.6 percent of the 131,546 in Lansing) include approximately 4,300 (32.7 percent) of the city's 13,114 below poverty level income poor persons. Importantly, 3,134 of the poor persons are Black. (This number represents the total number of Afro-American poor in the Lansing

Table 8.1. A comparison of nine urban with nine suburban-rural census tracts by high school drop-outs and poverty grades 9-12 for the 1971-72 school year.

Regional areas compared	Economic status of families	
	Families above poverty level income	Families below poverty level income
Suburban-Rural Area	6,602 (95%)	340 (5%)
Inner-City Urban Area	6,309 (89%)	798 (11%)
Regional Differences	4.4%	-134%

NOTE: Regional differences = suburban totals minus urban totals divided by suburban totals. Thus 6602 - 6309 = 293 divided by 6602 = 4.4%. Likewise, 340 - 798 = -458 divided by 340 = 134% more families below poverty level income in the urban than in the suburban-rural areas.

NOTE: The poverty factor is strong in the urban areas; but its influence is mitigated by environmental, situational changes of the inner-city urban core. Thus, while the influence of poverty is positively and significantly strong in the core areas, the resistance level (evidenced in increased school attendance by the poor) seems higher. The second half of Table 8 shows the regional difference.

SMSA, nearly all of whom are within the City of Lansing). This 3,134 Black American poor represents 21.3 percent of the total number (14,699) of Black Americans in the Clinton, Eaton and Ingham (Tri-County Area) Counties. Of the total 3,128 Black families in the Lansing SMSA 20.4 percent (640) are in poverty.

The relationship of poverty to high school drop-out incidence is shown in the disproportionate percentage difference between the

Table 8.2. Number and percentage of drop-outs for suburban-rural and urban census tract groups.

Regional areas compared	Student school status	
	Non-drop-outs	Drop-outs
Suburban-Rural Areas	1,898 (94%)	121 (6%)
Inner-City Urban Area	2,179 (92%)	185 (8%)
Regional Differences	(15%)	(53%)

poverty level of families in five ethnic groups which comprise the total population of the City of Lansing and drop-out rates for these groups (Table 9).

Lansing's SMSA 21.6 percent of Afro-American families below the poverty level is 11.6 percent below the national 33 percent rate of America's Black families below the poverty line of $4,500 for non-farm families.

Findings for Hypothesis 2

When research is refocused on isolated minority sub-groups within the urban core high poverty neighborhoods, the influence of poverty on the drop-out rate remains significantly high; but the degree of association between poverty and the drop-out rate is decreased. The emergent urban core pattern and incidence shares directional similarity, but differs significantly in correlation.

Table 9. Distribution of poverty by persons and families in five ethnic groups in the City of Lansing and the Lansing School District by numbers and percentages.

Categories	Ethnic groups			
	Anglo-Americans	Afro-Americans	Spanish-Americans	Totals
City of Lansing				
Persons	114,242 (87.0%)	12,234 (9.35)	5.070 (3.7%)	131,546 (100.0%)
Families	29,112 (88.3%)	2,845 (8.6%)	1,026 (3.1%)	32,983 (100.0%)
Poverty Level				
Above Poverty	27,398 (89.7%)	2,230 (7.3%)	917 (3.0%)	30,545 (100.0%)
Below Poverty	1,708 (70.0%)	615 (25.3%)	115 (4.7%)	2,438 (100.0%)
Public School				
Students	7,415 (82.8%)	1,157 (12.9%)	380 (4.3%)	8,952 (100.0%)
Drop-Outs	577 (75.7%)	98 (12.8%)	88 (11.5%)	763 (100.0%)

Table is read across the rows.

End column of row totals are base numbers for computation of percentages.

Anglo-American numbers (114,242 persons, etc.) include 1,025 persons of American-Indian and other persons which amount to .78 percent of total population.

See Table 38 for poverty guidelines as set by HUD.

Most of the time and effort of recent poverty studies are spent in exploring the problem among Afro-Americans and other minorities in the urban core areas with high drop-out rates. Conant (1961) observed that:

> In a slum section composed almost entirely of Negroes. . . . a total of 59% of the male youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one are out of school.

He estimates that 70 percent of boys and girls, ages 16 through 21 were out of school. Oscar Handlin (1966) found that a large proportion of the poor are either immigrants or Black Americans. Gibbard (1966) insists that the school drop-outs come predominantly from poor families. He also affirms strong direct relationship between poverty and drop-out incidence. Miller (1966) sees the large urban centers as areas of heaviest concentration of poverty. Miriam Goldberg (1963) says Negroes account for increasing proportions of the large city school population; and that the school population exceeds the proportion of minorities in the city population.

As shown in Table 9, 25 percent of the Lansing area residents with incomes below the poverty level are Afro-Americans, who constitute only 9.3 percent of the resident population of the city. Much of the 25 percent is concentrated with three Census Tracts--15, 18, and 21. Respectively, 23.7 percent, 23.4 percent and 15.4 percent of the people living in these Census Tracts are in the below-poverty level income category. Yet, the mean drop-out rate for these low-income areas is only 6.65 percent which is roughly two percent below the district rate of 8.52 percent. This shows that the stereotypical ascription of social deviance; irregular attendance or dropping

out of public school to a given community of the urban ghetto on the sole basis of disproportionately heavy concentration of minority groups, is unwarranted and biased. The assumption of equivalence between high rates of poverty, large minority constituency and higher than average drop-out rates is erroneous.

The association of poverty per se as a cause of social deviance is not established and should be either totally rejected or cautiously accepted on strong empirical evidence. Any assessment of the correlation between poverty and drop-out behavior must consider the wide differentiation in the definition of poverty with respect to the wide variety of cultural milieus of the poverty stricken, the total cultural background preconditioning and the particular social group residing in any given geographical area, in a given place and at a particular time.

Hypothesis 3

As the concentration of Afro-Americans in a given urban core area increases, the drop-out rates for that area will decrease. A strong minority component in any given urban population unit will be associated with lower rates of drop-outs and/or higher rates of attendance than ecological variables in that urban population unit would indicate.

As established in Hypothesis 2, one strong ecological indicator of academic disinterest and decline is poverty. But poverty, because of multiple and intricate ramifications, is variedly

defined. This fact complicates the assessment of the economically poor and the assignment of certain ethnic groups to the poverty line category. It is conceded, however, that most of the poor gravitate to the urban core. And, since most Afro-Americans are residents of urban centers, proportionately more of the poor are black.

With the possible exception of southern SMSA's, and resort metropolitan centers, and certain "deviant cases" (deviant cases being those cities in northern and central regions) most central cities in SMSA's have under-gone significant changes in racial composition of their population (Schnore and Sharp, 1963). Accellerated immigration of minorities to the urban centers of the northern, eastern and central regions of America, and rapid withdrawal of middle-income, non-minorities from urban core to suburban subdivisions, have resulted in the redistribution of the population with resultant changes in racial composition. The complexion of the inner-city population has noticeably darkened, particularly during the 1950's and 1960's (Schnore and Sharp, 1963). Observed change was a +16.6 percent metropolitan change between 1960 and 1970; and +19.2 percent change for the urban centers during the same period (American Almanac--Statistical Abstract of the U.S.A., 1974) of centripetal mass migration. Percentage changes in urban population was greatest among non-white persons, who left the farm and the South for the city and the North. The inner cities became conspicuously darker.

The City of Lansing also has experienced appreciable ethnic change in population distribution and racial composition over the past two decades: the urban core has become increasingly Black. Approximately 76.15 percent (9,316) of the total Black population of Lansing (12,234) live at the core of the city within 9 Census Tracts. The remaining 23.9 percent (2,918) of the Black people live in thinly scattered clusters throughout remaining parts of the city. All the ecological conditions which characterize the ghetto are concentrated in these 9 Census Tracts with most of the minority residents. These tracts have disproportionately high population density, high distal family rates, high rates of below-pverty level incomes, too many severely overcrowded living space in household quarters and spatial congestion in neighborhood housing patterns and distribution.

Based on the assumption that high density, predominantly Black communities function as an aversive stimulus to high school attendance (Conant, 1961; Hunter, 1964; Miller, 1966; and President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967) we should expect high drop-out rates for the extremely over-crowded and congested, poverty ridden areas. The positive direct relationship between residential spatial variation and educational aspiration levels is generally conceded and too well authenticated to need elaboration. And because most Black people have converged toward urban metropolitan centers, the minority drop-out rate is concomitantly higher in the inner-city Afro-American communities and in those school districts which serve most of them (See Patricia Cayo

Sexton's reprint from Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 352, 1964).

The prodigious increase of Afro-Americans at the urban-core has rapidly exhausted available housong and precipitated a critical situation in overcrowding and congested living within family dwellings. According to Schnore and Scharp (1963) poor housing is the hallmark of poverty. This crucial problem is also endemic to Lansing.

Definitions for Hypothesis 3

Metropolitan Core.--In this section is an area whose population size conforms to the definition of the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census. The 1970 census lists some 250 SMSA's in the U.S.A.

A Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.--Is defined as a county or group of contiguous counties "which contain at least one city of 50,000 inhabitants or more, or twin cities with a combined population of at least 50,000 . . . including other counties that are socially ane economically integrated with the central city.

A City.--Is a community of 10,000 to 50,000 that also serves as "the economic focal point of its environs."

A Town.--Is a community of 2,500 to 10,000 that also serves as the economical focal point of its environs."

An Urban Fringe.--Is a community of any population size that has "its economic focal point a metropolitan core or a city."

A Rural Community.--Has less than 2,500 residents.

A Census Tract.--Is a small area into which large cities and adjacent areas have been divided for statistical purposes. The normal census tract has about 4,000 residents and usually runs in consecutive series within each city, or township. Census tracts populated only by crews of vessels are identified by the tract number suffix "99".

A composite survey of the Lansing public school drop-out rates, spanning four consecutive school years is presented in Table 10. This table shows higher than average drop-out rate for each of the four years among Afro-American students. And, it further shows the slight 1.2 percent variation for the school district between the first and the last recorded year, as compared with the 3.3 percent change in Afro-American students' rates for the same period.

From these disproportionate percentage differences, it is obvious that the drop-out problem more significantly affects inner-city Afro-Americans.

In contrast to the typical pattern of extremely high drop-out rates in urban public school districts Table 11 reveals a markedly significant reverse trend. Selected census tracts show a mean drop-out rate nearly 1 percent below the total Lansing school district average.

Compared mean drop-out rates could indicate that Black, distal, urban families are not solely the drop-out problem. All things considered, the mean 7.9 percent drop-out rate for the

Table 10. A comparison of Afro-American drop-out rates with the total Lansing Public School District drop-out rates for four years, 1968-1972.

School years	Drop-out rates		
	Total school district	Afro-American students	Percentage difference
1968-69	9.68%	16.1%	+6.4%
	(807)	(130)	
1969-70	9.9%	16.1%	+6.2%
	(849)	(137)	
1970-71	9.5%	16.4%	+6.9%
	(881)	(145)	
1971-72	8.5%	12.8%	+4.3%
	(763)	(98)	

Source: Report: Child Accounting for Lansing's Secondary Schools, Drop-Outs by Ethnic Group and Sex, for years listed.

The Afro-American student column represents the proportion of drop-outs from this ethnic group.

Table 11. A comparison between two sets of matched census tracts selected from the urban core and from the outer regions of the Lansing Public School District.

Ecological data	Inner-city census tracts				
	5	15	16	18	Totals
		Number of Persons			
Total Population	2,367	4,153	1,811	1,607	9,938
Afro-American Portion	625 (26%)	3,240 (78%)	1,310 (72%)	1,486 (93%)	6,661 (67%)
		Number of Families			
Family Structure					
United Families	468	585	349	257	1,659 (73%)
Distal Families	105	334	79	102	620 (27%)
		Income Status of Families			
Poverty Level					
Above Poverty	535	697	466	270	1,698 (84%)
Below Poverty	38	222	38	89	387 (16%)
		Residential Spatial Variation			
In-House Living Space					
Overcrowded	53	95	32	44	224 (7%)
Severely Overcrowded	7	39	8	9	63 (2%)
		Number of Students			
Student Data					Mean Rates
Enrollment	168	303	167	131	N=192
Drop-outs	17	23	7	12	N= 15
Percentages	(10%)	(7.6%)	(4.2%)	(9.6%)	(7.8%)

Table 11. (Continued)

Ecological data	Suburban-rural census tracts			
	51	52	53	Totals
		Number of Persons		
Total Population	2,557	4,263	4,785	11,605
Anglo-American Portion	2,381 (93%)	4,152 (97%)	4,092 (86%)	10,625 (97%)
		Number of Families		
Family Structure				
United Families	455	1,057	1,099	2,611 (88%)
Distal Families	93	117	121	331 (12%)
		Income Status of Families		
Poverty Level				
Above Poverty	492	1,128	1,143	2,763 (94%)
Below Poverty	56	46	77	179 (15%)
		Residential Spatial Variation		
In-House Living Space				
Overcrowded	56	81	91	228 (2%)
Severely Overcrowded	15	12	8	35 (.4%)
		Number of Students		
Student Data				Mean Rates
Enrollment	174	233	304	N=237
Drop-Outs	30	16	20	N= 22
Percentage	(17%)	(7%)	(7%)	(10%)

Sources: Ecological data for census tracts: U.S. Department of Commerce: 1970 Census of Population and Housing.

Student data: Child Accounting: Drop-Outs by Ethnic Group and Sex, Lansing Public School District, 1971-72 School year.

selected, core city tracts with the predominantly Afro-American resident population is substantially lower than the 10.2 percent mean drop-out rate for the out-city, suburban-rural census tracts. These findings emerge only when split samples are selected and compared. They are not discoverable when the universe or a substantially larger sample is tested, before it is qualified.

The important guide for effective use of census tract data in areas similar to the Lansing urban community is that study should focus on census tract groups, selected on the basis of demographic similarity. The use and measure of the large or extensive, unbroken chain of census tracts in any given area, before such census tracts properly stratified, could diminish or distort the results of the research. The split sample testing seems preferable in the study of the larger SMSA's where there is wide variation in community type and racial composition.

The indiscriminate comparison of variables of census tract data, collected from the larger metropolitan centers, may not reveal the true relationship between these variables. Such factors as erratic distribution of multiethnic groups, widely diversified cultural and economic levels and standards of living could significantly bias testing results. Accuracy and integrity is best achieved by restriction of testing to the small census tract group. Table 12 is an example of the discriminate selection of census tracts which nullifies the inference that deconcentration of Afro-Americans in urban areas is invariably accompanied by low drop-out rates.

Table 12. Mean drop-out rate for twelve selected census tracts with low minority population in the Lansing Public School District, 1971-72.

Census tracts number	Total tract population	Anglo-American population	Afro-American population	Drop-out rate per tract
2	2,109	2,046	63 (3.0%)	(13.5%)
6	2,899	2,694	205 (7.1%)	(16.0%)
7	3,576	3,479	97 (2.7%)	(18.0%)
8	4,554	4,279	275 (6.0%)	(13.0%)
12	3,006	2,650	356 (12.0%)	(13.2%)
13	1,843	1,757	86 (4.7%)	(30.0%)
17	4,393	4,279	114 (2.6%)	(4.7%)
20	5,374	5,219	115 (2.9%)	(17.5%)
36.01	5,105	4,562	533 (10.0%)	(12.2%)
36.02	4,524	3,961	541 (12.0%)	(1.3%)
51	2,557	2,061	176 (7.8%)	(17.2%)
202	1,192	1,126	62 (5.2%)	(14.4%)

The mean rate of drop-outs for the 12 census tracts is 16.07%--tract rates totals/total number of tracts.

The mean rate of Afro-American population is 8.48%.

Census Tract 12 has high drop-out rate and high percentage of Black Americans. But this tract is also area of heavy Latin American concentration: a fact surely to affect the drop-out rate. This area is serviced by the Eastern High School--highest percentage of Latin American students; and second highest drop-out rate in the Lansing school district (12.3%). This could be due to a linguistic problem of poor communication.

Census Tract 17 has a very small percentage of Black Americans and a small drop-out rate, a clear exception to other census tracts in this group. This tract is largely new suburban sub-division on the city's rim. Even the older residential structures are well kept in this area.

Census Tract 36.01 is all new sub-division residential structures. Most of the residents in this area either own, are buying, or rent-lease the dwelling house they occupy.

Findings for Hypothesis 3

First, it should be noted that the Michigan Department of Education reported 50 percent or more minority students concentrated within ten public school districts: to wit, Inkster, Highland Park, Muskegon Heights, Buena Vista, Covert, Cross Village, Detroit City, Benton Harbor, Ecorse and Mackinac Island. There are 529 districts in the state.

Secondly, observe that during the 1971-72 school year there were 299,685 Afro-American students enrolled in Michigan public schools, or 13.6% of the total 2,206,878. This figure represents an increase of 9,616 over the 290,069 Afro-Americans enrolled in the 1970-71 school year and an increase of 25,413 over the four year period between 1968 and 1972. Fluctuation in percentages over the four years, however, was slight. In 1968-69 the Afro-American element was 13.3 percent: in 1971-72 it was 13.6 percent.

Table 13 reflects the statewide heavy concentration of Afro-American students in urban core communities.

Table 13. Distribution of Afro-American students in all Michigan communities, by percent and number for the 1971-72 school year.

Community type*					
Metro-core	Cities	Towns	Urban Fringe	Rural	Totals
85.8%	4.2%	1.7%	6.6%	1.7%	100%
(257,194)	(12,730)	(5,166)	(19,645)	(4,950)	(299,685)

*Adapted from Michigan Educational Statistics, 1972.

The following Table (14) clearly reveals an erratic pattern of drop-out distribution and the disparities between regions of the Lansing school district. The difficulty of measuring association between variables is evident.

Table 14. High school enrollment and drop-outs by region the Lansing Public School District, grades 9-12, 1971-72.

Regional divisions* of the school district population						
Student status	Urban core	Inner city**	Urban fringe	Suburban-fringe	Rural	Totals
Enrollment by region	2,962	1,817	2,099	1,750	324	8,952
Drop-outs by region						
Number	297	156	111	165	34	763
Percents	8.6%	10%	5%	9%	10%	8.52%

*The percentages for the regional divisions of the Lansing school district do not reflect the true picture of the school attendance record. The percentage is significantly higher for a considerable number of inner city census tracts. Calculation of drop-outs in census tracts 1-8, 12, 13, 18, 20 and 36.01 (all inner-city, core census tracts) show a 14.12 percent drop-out rate for the 13 tracts. This rate is higher than either the total urban core or any single region shown in Table 13. This calculation justifies the hypothesis for inner city high drop-out rates.

**A totally different picture emerges when inner city and urban core census tracts with highest percentages of Afro-American population are grouped and averaged. From Table 38 we select eight census tracts--4, 5, 15, 16, 18, 21, 36.01 and 36.02--which range in percentage of Afro-Americans from 10.4 percent to 92.5 percent. Between these two extremes Afro-Americans make up 12 percent, 15 percent, 19.7 percent, 26.4 percent, 72.3 percent and 78 percent of respective census tracts. But the mean drop-out rate for these census tracts is 7.2 percent. Perhaps higher percentages of low economic, inner city non-minorities dropout than is reported.

The 7.2 percent drop-out rate (see footnotes on page 56) for the eight inner-city census tracts with heavy Afro-American concentration is lower than the Lansing School District average of 8.52 percent for the 1971-72 school year. To account for this below-average drop-out rate in the eight selected inner-city census tracts is somewhat beyond the scope of this study which is concerned more with associations than with particular causes. One fact stands out: empirical analysis of the social variables associated with high drop-out rates are concentrated in these eight census tracts with a mean rate of drop-outs lower than the district average. From this we draw at least two conclusions: the first is that race makes a difference (race is used here in the broad sense inclusive of biological descent and ethnicity with all of its cultural, environmental and linguistic implications and ramifications); and, secondly, the residential area and its characteristic life style is an influential factor in the analysis of social conduct, particularly school attendance, or dropping out of school.

The findings for the eight selected census tracts do not hold true for all urban neighborhoods. As an example, predominantly Black inner-city Detroit has 14.5 percent drop-out rate for 1971-72. On the other hand, Muskegon Heights, with its equally heavy minority element has a very low 2.54 percent rate for the same year.

Not all people living in the ghetto really belong in the ghetto. They are neither psychologically nor socially adapted to the climate and culture of the ghetto. Gordon (1962) found that

many children in the disadvantaged and economically deprived ghetto areas do not conform to the expected delinquency pattern of the ghetto. Immogene D. Cahill (1967) discovered that many of these ghetto residents placed a high premium on education and pressured for equal educational opportunity. Even more strongly, Glueck (1962) asserted that obviously there are many children who withstand . . . the confusion in the daily life in the socially maladjusted family. Edmund W. Gordon (1964) admitted high incidence of norm variance among subgroups in school achievement, persistence in school attendance, dropping out of school and adjustment to school problem situations while attending school. But he also discerned wide range in variations within subgroups. This wide distribution of norm variance, he finds, to be a most significant factor in measuring behavior within any group or subgroup.

Inasmuch as cultural and racial factors significantly influence social interaction, middle-income groups are not acceptable as models or suitable norms for low-income people.

Another significant factor is the size of the community under survey. In this connection attention is focused on the spatial geography of the total physical area under study. But, in addition to this, intra-group size variation between constituent racial elements is also important.

Hypothesis 4

In an area of heavy Black concentration the Afro-American students will show a higher rate of attendance than the Anglo-American students of the Lansing Public High School District for the 1971-72 school year.

To test this hypothesis two grouping techniques are devised: first, the five racial-ethnic groups are collapsed into a dichotomy with the Anglo-American, the Spanish American, the American Indian and Orientals forming one member of the dichotomy and the Afro-American the second member. A second grouping of the racial-ethnic portions of the population isolates the Anglo-American from the other three racial-ethnic groups and measures this group in association with the Afro-American students or residents. When the resident population in the four ethnic groups is measured, the unit comprises a total of 119,312 (90.7 percent) of the total 131,546 population of Lansing. By contrast, when the Anglo-American element is computed separately, this single group numbers 113,217 (86 percent) of the 131,546 Lansing population (see Table 15). The Afro-American component of the resident population of Lansing is 12,234 (9.3 percent).

Comparatively, the Anglo-American four-group component, while constituting 90.7 percent of the resident population, makes up only 87.1 percent of the school population--3.6 percent below the expected percentage average. Afro-Americans are 3.6 percent above. Anglo-American student enrollment is 82.8 percent (7,415)--

3.2 percent below the expected proportion. Anglo-American students fall below the proportionate expected average when associated with the total resident population (1970 Census, U.S. Department of Commerce), or when dissociated and treated separately.

Conversely, Afro-Americans number 12,234 (9.30 percent) of the total population of Lansing (131,546) as compared with 1,157 (12.9 percent) of the school population (8,952) for the 1971-72 school year, grades 9-12. This represents a difference of 3.6 percent above the expected percentage of the school enrollment. In other words, the ratio between the Anglo-American students and the Afro-American students is seven to one for grades 9-12, for the 1971-72 school year. But the population ratio is ten to one. This is statistically significant. And it could be indicative of the fact that:

1. Black families are larger and have more school-age children per family.
2. That an enormous number of the Anglo-American children are attending parochial schools, in proportion to the Afro-American children attending these non-public schools.
3. That possibly some Anglo-American students of the Lansing community are filtering through the district boundaries into other districts (although this is not assumed).

4. That there are more Anglo-American school-age children who simply do not attend school, and are never reported either as students or drop-outs, because never registered.

Relative family size between ethnic groups is an important factor.

Tables 15 and 16 reflect the size and composition of the public high school population, grades 9 through 12 in three different group formations, as discussed on page 60. Notice the proportionality between the school population in Table 15 and the residential population percentages in Table 16.

Table 15. Number and percent of students attending Lansing Public High Schools in three racial groups, grades 9-12, 1971-72.

Student school status	By racial group formation			
	Others (Oriental) Latin-American American Indian	Anglo-American	Afro-American	Totals for all groups
Number Enrolled	380 (4.2%)	7,415 (82.8%)	1,157 (12.9%)	8,952 (100%)
Non Drop-Outs	288 (3.5%)	6,842 (83.6%)	1,059 (12.9%)	8,189 (100%)
Drop-Outs	92 (12%)	573 (75.0%)	98 (12.8%)	763 (100%)

Source: Child Accounting: Secondary Schools, Ethnic Report Count, Lansing School District, 1971-72.

Table 16. Resident population of Lansing in five racial groups.

	Distribution by race					
	Anglo-American	Afro-American	Latin-American	American Indian	Oriental	Totals
Number	113,217	12,234	5,070	465	560	131,546
Percent	(86.0%)	(9.3%)	(3.9%)	(.35%)	(.43%)	(100%)

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce: 1970 Census.

Findings for hypothesis 4

There is an inverse relationship between the age-grade level and student population among Afro-Americans. This pattern and trend in public school attendance of the minority students is reflected in the 1971-72 school year: the percentage of Afro-American students for all grades in the State of Michigan was 13.6 percent (299,685), while the total Afro-American enrollment in the state for grades 9-12 was 10.5 percent (63, 366) of all students at this level. Attendance rate decreases with the increase of grade level.

In the Lansing Public School District the total enrollment of Afro-American students at the elementary grade level was 15 percent (2,724) of the 18,145 total of all students, for the 1971-72 school year. For the same year the enrollment of Afro-American students in secondary schools was 14 percent (1905) of the total 14,079 students in this grade level. Finally, at the senior

high school, 9-12 grade level the Afro-American student population had dropped to 12.9 percent (1,157) of the total 8,952.

These data cited by the State Board of Education as evidence of serious, progressive decline among Afro-American public school students (see page 65) should be evaluated in the light of the corresponding decline in the population ratio of school-age Afro-Americans to the total school-age population in the City of Lansing. At ages 5-9, Afro-Americans make up 12.3 percent; at ages 10-14, 11.3 percent; and at ages 15-17, 10.7 percent.

The high school 8.5 percent drop-out rate for the Lansing public school district is higher than the 6.5 percent drop-out rate for the State of Michigan by two percent. The Afro-American drop-out rate, viewed one way is 12.8 percent (98 drop-outs by 763 total drop-outs). But viewed in another way it is 8.5 percent (98 drop-outs divided by the 1,157 Black students enrolled in grades 9-12, during 1971-72). Both views show proportionately more Black Americans attending and proportionately fewer dropping out of school.

Overspreading the state we notice reversed trends in residential and school population distribution. Table 17 indicates that between the 1970-71 school year and the 1971-72 school year attendance rate dropped significantly in the urban core areas; but rose sharply in the rural sectors. During the period the Afro-American student enrollment increased most sharply at the urban core, but to some degree also in the inner city and urban fringe.

The increase in rural and suburban (upper level suburbs) areas was almost entirely non-minority. Afro-American population increase in these areas was a slight .2 percent for this period. This small Afro-American element among the many who migrate to the rural and suburban areas is probably due to the rise of portions of Black Americans to middle-income status.

Table 17 reflects changes in population trends.

Table 17. Distribution of students for the state of Michigan by number and percent of Afro-American students compared to total number of students, grades 9-12, and community type, for 1970-71 and 1971-72.

Student data	Type of communities					
	Metro-Core	Cities	Towns	Urban Fringe	Rural	Totals
1970-71						
Total Students	144,114	46,523	91,359	225,715	105,187	612,898
Total Black Students	60,606 (42.1%)	2,818 (6.1%)	1,325 (1.5%)	4,924 (2.2%)	1,184 (1.1%)	70,857 (11.6%)
1971-72						
Total Students	118,488	43,455	101,027	208.858	129,307	601,135
Total Black Students	51,485 (43.4%)	2,696 (6.2%)	1,557 (1.5%)	5,847 (2.7%)	1,847 (1.3%)	63,366 (10.5%)

Source: Public School Racial-Ethnic Census, 1970-71 and 1971-72, Michigan Department of Education.

Note the change in population composition in the five regions between 1970 and 1972. This regional redistribution of the student population of public schools in the State of Michigan reflects the suburban trend, the flight of middle-income people from the inner city.

The Michigan Department of Education issued a very informative and interesting statement which strongly supports the findings of this hypothesis. In the annual report for the 1971-72 school year the department made public some of its own findings on this important phase of the drop-out problem. From this report the following excerpt is presented, not only to clarify and illuminate the particular point of interest here; but, more significantly, to excite interest and draw attention and stimulate investigation in this critical region of the educational experience. This statement by the State Department is both relevant and cogent. The Michigan Education Statistics Department (1971-72) reported:

> In each year, there seems to be a trend toward a proportionate decrease in the percentage of Negro students to the total population as the grade level increases. For example in 1970-71, 14.0 percent of the Pre-K through 6 student population were Negro, while only 13.5 percent of the students in grades 7-8, and 11.6 percent in grades 9-12 were Negro. This same phenomenon holds true for 1971-72 with figures of 14.7 percent, 13.8 percent, and 10.5 percent for Pre-K through 6, grades 7-8, and grades 9-12, respectively.
>
> It is not known whether this phenomenon is due to a higher than average dropout rate among Negroes, to an inflow of predominantly white children from non-public elementary schools to the public high schools or to other reasons. Further information is needed to answer this question.
>
> Of particular interest is the high percentage of Negro students in the category called 'other.' In 1970-71

> this classification was composed primarily of special education students. More than one-fourth of the students in this category were Negro, while Negro students accounted for only 13.4 percent of the total student population in the State. In 1970-71, Metropolitan Core City Schools reported that 57.2 percent of the students in this category were Negro.

This poignant observation by the State Department of Education justifies the recommendation for change in the Student Status Form, as suggested in that section of this study (pp. 102-103) which cites implications for further research. The too often recurrent "truancy" or the equally redundant "overage" indicates the need for a close look at the students who fall in these Mode of Withdrawal categories. The frequency and pattern could be implicative of more serious underlying and emerging social and emotional problems which need attention.

Proportionally, the same problems cited by the State Department of Education are endemic to the Lansing Public School system. These percentage differences between the elementary and intermediate grades reflect the psychic and physical withdrawal process which progresses with grade level and culminates at the peak 10th grade. The total enrollment of Afro-American students at the secondary level is 14 percent of the total district enrollment (see Table 35). When this 14 percent is compared with the 12.9 percent Afro-American students for grades 9-12, the withdrawal affect stands out more distinctly. As grade level increases, the percent attendance of minority students decreases.

As noted, the Afro-American student attendance for grades K-12 in the Lansing School District is 14 percent for the

1971-72 school year at the elementary level, but decreases 1.8 percent between elementary and senior high level. This decline in attendance is assumed by some to be the result of an irreversible process of withdrawal observed as early as beginning grade school level (Mackler, 1967) and continues unchecked until voluntary physical withdrawal by the student just as soon as the age of independence is attatined. The Michigan Department of Education sets the age of independent self direction at 16. Most intervention techniques in the incipient stages of decline have proven ineffective. Passow (1966) and Miriam Goldberg (1966) are convinced that homogeneous or ability grouping, as an intervention technique, is effective only in certain school situations. But, as Mackler (1967) observes, the degree of effectiveness is contingent on the variability and flexibility of the situation and the techniques used in implementation of intervention measures.

Among Afro-Americans and Latin American minorities the problem is intensified by the cultural diverstiy. Depressing environmental conditions precipitates withdrawal and foster feelings of inadequacy and low self-esteem (an attitude which experienced radical and decisive change during the past 40-50 years--commencing in the 20's or early 30's and climaxing in the 60's) among Afro-Americans. And, similar problems impede education of Latin Americans. In addition to those there is the lingual barrier which significantly reduces the quality and effect of teaching, because communication is retarded. Compare Table 36 with Table 5

and see how the percentage of students who drop out of school is double the percentage who remain in school. We can only guess at educational losses suffered by those affected by this particular problem of being taught in an unfamiliar language. The Latin-American students have this problem and it shows.

Paradoxically, however, it seems we are witnessing the emergence of a new Black attitude toward school attendance and other self-improving activities. It could be interpreted and defined as a new kind of resistance to the status quo in the economic and educational statuses and relationships between social classes in American multi-ethnic society. Lerone Bennet (1964) designates the fifteen-year period between 1930 and 1945 as the time of the emergence of a new self-concept and self-awareness by the Black American of his strength and of his situation. Everything in his life marked the change. Bennet also claims that in the same period there was a noticible change in the total behavioral attitude--from the submissive, well-accommodated minority, to the vociferous, contending, competitive Black aggressor (Gunnar Myrdal, 1944). He further asserts that "In the fifteen-year period, there was a greater change in the Black American psyche than in the whole period between 1860 and 1930."

Irrespective of the validity of Bennet's claim, it must be acknowledged that there is an increase in the attendance rate of minorities in the public school system which is encouraging, because it offers some hope for improved education among the educationally

deprived. According to the Michigan Education Department (1972) each of the four minority groups showed appreciable gains in public school attendance: all four groups increased at a faster rate than Anglo-American students. The greatest increase was shown for the American Indians--from 1970-71 to 1971-72, 16.9 percent; followed by the Orientals, 11 percent; then the Spanish Americans, 10 percent; and last among the minorities are Afro-Americans with 3.3 percent. All of these showed higher gains than the Anglo-American 2 percent rise in attendance. The minority students as a whole increased slightly more than 6 percent from 1970-71 to 1971-72. Similar gains were reported for the Lansing School District.

Hopefully, the change is prophetic of academic excellence and improved cognitive skills among minority students for stronger and more effective competition within a system resistant to social change. And, hopefully, it is not the lowering of educational standards to a perceived inferior mentality incapable of grasping abstract ideas.

Hypothesis 5

The drop-out rate for the Lansing Public School District is directly related to the structure of the families of the students who attend public schools in this school district. Students who come from united families will tend to be fewer in number of drop-outs. Students who come from distal families will tend to be more numerous. The magnitude of the number of drop-outs is associated with the structure of the families of high school drop-outs.

Definitions

The united family is the exclusively monogamous kinship structure, conformable with Murdock's independent nuclear family (1949, p. 32), and the simple nuclear family of Andrew Billingsly (1968, p. 18). It is made up of adults of both sexes (Felix M. Barardo, 1966, p. 23), living together in one household, in a socially approved relationship as husband and wife, with their own or adopted (in a consanguinial or affinal kinship bond) children. In either case, the parents are considered the real father and the real mother of the children. This is sometimes called the primary family (Donald J. Bogue, 1969, p. 368).

The united family also includes a modified kinship structure, similar to the primary family, differing from the above in one respect. Only one of the parents of children residing with sexually cohabiting adults, is the real parent of those children. The other parent--the husband or the wife--is the step-parent.

The broken, distal family is the kinship unit which consists of one parent--a father or a mother--with whom her own children live, in a primary, consanguinal relationship. It corresponds in some aspects to the avunculocal family of Murdock (1949, pp. 35, 41) which includes nephews, uncles, nieces and cousins. It is Andrew Billingsly's augmented extended family type (1968), p. 16).

A breakdown of the total population of Lansing into three types of family structures is shown in Table 18. This Table (18) shows the disproportionate number of male heads of families in

Table 18. The total population of the City of Lansing in families by census tracts, numbers and percents.

Census tracts	Family structure						Totals families	
	Husband and wife		Male head		Female head		Numbers =100.0%	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	625	88	13	2	75	10	713	100
2	387	82	15	3	72	15	474	
3	683	86	16	2	92	12	791	
4	865	85	20	2	135	13	1020	
5	468	82	19	3	86	15	573	
6	453	79	20	3	104	18	577	
7	695	79	29	3	157	18	881	
8	984	85	37	3	143	12	1164	
9	488	90	7	1	50	9	545	
10	701	86	18	2	93	12	812	
11	941	82	41	4	160	14	1142	
12	599	83	17	2	110	15	726	
13	327	77	13	3	87	20	427	
14	7						7	
15	585	63	44	5	290	32	919	
16	349	81	15	4	64	15	428	
17	1111	93	16	1	65	6	1192	
18	257	71	17	5	85	24	359	
19	153	82	11	6	22	12	186	
20	1077	89	38	2	201	9	1316	
21	606	78	27	3	146	19	779	
22	593	91	9	1	53	8	655	
23	1148	90	20	2	106	8	1274	
24	993	86	26	2	132	12	1151	
25	858	91	11	1	78	8	947	
26	709	89	10	1	81	10	800	
27	977	90	20	2	85	8	1082	
28	901	89	20	2	93	9	1014	
29	461	92	11	2	31	6	503	
30	--	--	--	-	--	-	--	

Table 18. (Continued)

Census tracts	Family structure						Totals families	
	Husband and wife		Male head		Female head		Numbers =100.0%	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
31	523	95	2		25	5	550	100
32	600	82	18	2	117	16	735	
33.1	730	90	9	1	75	9	814	
33.2	698	95	5	1	33	4	736	
34	11	92	--	-	1	8	12	
35	2						2	
36.1	1085	92	15	1	84	7	1184	
36.2	910	81	17	2	192	17	1119	
37	1550	90	30	2	130	8	1710	
38.1	147	93	2	1	10	6	159	
44.1	20	--	--	-	--	--	20	
51	455	83	9	2	84	15	548	
52	1057	90	20	2	99	8	1174	
53.1	1099	90	20	2	101	8	1220	
53.2	220	90	3	1	22	9	245	
202	277	93	5	2	16	5	298	

All percentages are rounded to the nearest tenth.

*U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1971.

comparison with those families headed by women. Attention is called to the high rate of female heads of families in those Census Tracts which lie nearest the urban center and ghetto areas (Table 3). These tables are used with greatest advantage with reference to Tables 37-40 of this study.

Findings for Hypothesis 5

Family structure significantly influences the drop-out rate in the Lansing public school district. Direct relationship between the number of drop-outs and the number of disrupted families is consistent in any given census tract (The Kerner Report, 1968). Hunter (1968) stresses the indirect relationship between slums, poverty, low parental expectation, broken family and drop-out. James B. Conant (1961) makes a point of the strong influence of the family on school performance and attendance. Dentler (1967) uses an entire chapter to define the school-parent program. He emphasizes parental education, family environment and general conditions of the home as viable approaches to increase the academic achievement of the disadvantaged child in the depressed urban areas. David and Pearl Asubel (1963) see minimal parental education, large families, negative family atmosphere, broken homes and unemployment as major factors that retard aspiration and achievement of all minorities and particularly Black Americans. They see the imperative for better education of the Afro-American and of other minorities in two major changes in modern society: the first is automation; and, the second is discontentment. Automation has brought about technological changes which demand educational improvement among minorities. Discontentment is increasingly strong among Black Americans who abhor his segregated caste status.

Tables 19, 20 and 21 will show the weaker influence of the Afro-American distal family on high school drop-out rates. The

Table 19. Number and percentage of Afro-American drop-outs according to family structure in the Lansing School District, grades 9-12, 1971-72.

Student Status	Family structure					
	United families		Distal families		Totals	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Non-Drop-Outs	54.8%	(634)	36.7%	(425)	91.5%	(1,059)
Drop-Outs	4.4%	(51)	4.1%	(47)	8.5%	(98)
Total	59.2%	(685)	40.8%	(472)	100.0%	1,157

N = 1,157--base for percentages. All numbers representing category sub-totals are in parentheses.

Table 20. Anglo-American drop-outs according to family structure.

Student Status	Family structure					
	United families		Distal families		Totals	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Non-Drop-outs	71.3%	(5,555)	20.2%	(1,575)	91.5%	(7,130)
Drop-outs	4.7%	(363)	3.8%	(302)	8.5%	(665)
Total	76.0%	(5,918)	24.0%	(1,877)	100.0%	7,795

N = 7,795--base for all percentages. Definitions for family structures on page 70.

Table 21. Percentage of drop-outs by family structure of Afro-Americans.

School Status	Family structure				Total
	United families		Distal families		
	Frequencies		Frequencies		
	Observed	Expected	Observed	Expected	
Non-Drop-outs	634 (54.8%)	627 (54.4%)	425 (36.7%)	432 (37.3%)	1,059 (91.5%)
Drop-outs	51 (4.4%)	58 (5.0%)	47 (4.1%)	40 (3.5%)	98 (8.5%)
Totals	685 (59.2%)		472 (40.8%)		1,157 (100.0%)

ratio of Afro-American distal families to Anglo-American distal families is 1.7:1. The respective drop-out ratio is 1.1:1. Black distal families produce proportionately fewer drop-outs than Anglo-American distal families.

Even though the association between family structure and the drop-out rate is weaker among Afro-Americans, the two variables are not independent. In all social groups family structure is significantly related to school attendance and dropping out of school. The expected percentage values in the drop-out row in the distal family column is perceptably lower than observed. This means that the distal (broken) family is producing more than its share of the drop-outs among Black Americans. But the results are not as dismal as is often implied.

The importance of strong united family ties and support for public education is reflected in this Table (22). The results may be indicative of a dire need for reconstruction of family life for its value to education.

Table 22. Number and percentage of high school drop-outs according to family structure in the Lansing Public School District, grades 9-12, 1971-72.**

High School Status	Family structure*					
	United families***		Distal families		Totals	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Non-Drop-outs	69.0%	(6,189)	22.5%	(2,000)	91.5%	(8,189)
Drop-outs	4.5%	(414)	4.0%	(349)	8.5%	(763)
Total	73.5%	(6,603)	26.5%	(2,349)	100.0%	(8,952)

*U.S. Department of Commerce: 1970 Census on Population and Housing, Bureau of the Census.

**N = 8,952--Basis for all percentages.

***See page 70 for definitions of family types.

Proportionately, greater percentages of drop-outs come from distal families. Students from distal families constitute only 26.5% of the total school population; but, by comparison, nearly half of the drop-outs come from this type of family. Thus, the distal family might well constitute a key target area in analyzing and reducing the drop-out problem. So the home becomes a major

factor. By rank order correlation the drop-out rate by census tract is inversely related (rho = -.13) to the united family.

These additional observations indicate very strongly that the hypothesis--drop-out rates will vary with family structure--is confirmed by the findings of this study. This view is supported by Hunter (1964) who calls attention to the debilitating influences of the total (predominantly matriarchal) family environment of the Negro child. He denies real family status (as measured by middle income social strata) to the majority of economically deprived, minimally educated, disrupted minority families, particularly those in the slum areas of urban centers. Jencks (1972) finds that although within family variations may account for the escape of some from the vicious circle of poverty, as a rule, most black students of disrupted family background do experience inclination toward academic decline. He warns, however, of the fact that "the concept of family background has serious limitations." But a qualifiedly oppositional stance is taken by Rashi Fein (1968) who claims that, in spite of higher retardation rates in Negro educational achievement, the rise in educational attainment of younger Negroes is quite rapid and, outside of the South, quite high.

The dissimilarity between the theoretical stances cited above justifies the inference that either the family background environmental influence is over-rated; or, that the strong family background influence is now being successfully resisted by the younger generation of Afro-Americans.

This study reveals slightly higher drop-out rates in those neighborhoods with greater percentages of Afro-American distal families; but, proportionately, higher rates of drop-outs in neighborhoods with significantly greater percentages of non-minority distal families. To use the phrase of Jencks, within region variance accounts for surprisingly low drop-out rates in many census tracts with high incidence of drop-out related variables.

A graphic view of distal families is presented in Table 18 where the 32,983 families in the Lansing area are classified as united family, male-head family and female head family, because of variation in the influence of the three types of family structures. Table 23 is a rank order of census tracts in Lansing, according to family structure and frequency of drop-out related variables used in this study. Except that Table 23 omits the male-head distal families (693), which, for all practical import is dispensible here. Almost without exception the first six top-ranked census tracts in each variable category are within the inner city or urban core. Three exceptions are the drop-out category rates for Census Tracts 19, 44.01 and 99, which have three drop-outs, two drop-outs and (a catch-all) 47, respectively. Catch all refers to the hypothetical tract to which all students with indefinite addresses are assigned.

Table 23 confirms the correlation between drop-out rates and overcrowding, distal families and poverty. Rank 1 for Census Tract 19 based on the 75% rate is misleading.

Table 23. Rank order of drop-outs and related variables for the Lansing Public School District, grades 9-12, 1971-72, by census tract.

Census Tracts	Number of enrollments and drop-outs		Drop-out percents by census tracts	Rank order of drop-outs and related variables by percentages and by census tracts			
				Drop-outs	Severely over-crowded	Female head family	Below poverty
1	175	17	9.7%	19	12.5	22	18
2	126	17	13.5%	11	2	11	4
3	190	20	10.5%	15	16	19	20
4	235	23	9.8%	18	17.5	16	35
5	168	17	10.1%	16	20.5	13	19
6	113	18	16.0%	8	15	5	5
7	109	20	18.3%	5	22.5	6	6
8	332	45	13.6%	10	17.5	17	10
9	136	9	6.6%	25	22.5	26	26
10	233	13	5.6%	29.5	33.5	21	28
11	230	13	5.6%	29.5	22.5	15	15
12	272	36	13.2%	12	6	12	12.5
13	87	26	30.0%	4	5	3	11
14	2			43	41.5	43.5	41.5
15	303	23	7.6%	22	3	1	2
16	167	7	4.2%	33	14	14	16
17	402	19	4.7%	32	39.5	39	40
18	131	12	9.2%	30	2	2	1
19	4	3	75.0%	1	4	18	24
20	258	45	17.5%	6	8.5	10	9
21	188	6	3.2%	39	7	4	3
22	159	3	1.9%	42	41.5	33	36
23	291	10	3.4%	37	37.5	31	31
24	257	14	5.4%	31	33.5	20	32
25	203	8	3.9%	35	39.5	32	27
26	248	8	3.3%	38	25.5	23	22
27	388	14	3.6%	36	36	34	23

Table 23. (Continued)

Census Tracts	Number of enrollments and drop-outs		Drop-out percents by census tracts	Rank order of drop-outs and related variables by percentages and by census tracts			
				Drop-outs	Severely over-crowded	Female head family	Below poverty
28	269	19	7%	23	37.5	25	38
29	166	11	6.6%	26	25.5	38	34
30	41	1	2.4%	41	41.5	43.5	41.5
31	370	15	4.1%	34	22.5	41	37
32	178	19	10.7%	14	11	8	7
33.1	206	21	10.1%	17	30.5	24	29
33.2	188	1	.5%	45	41.5	42	39
34	17	1	5.8%	28	41.5	29	41.5
35	8			46.5	41.5	43.5	41.5
36.1	449	55	12.2%	13	30.5	36	30
36.2	451	6	1.3%	44	12.5	7	8
37	471	35	7.4%	21	30.5	35	24
38	3			46.5	17.5	37	25
44.1	4	2	60.0%	2	41.5	43.5	41.5
51	174	30	17.2%	7	8.5	9	12.5
52	233	16	6.9%	24	25.5	20	33
53.1	304	20	6.6%	27	33.5	30	20.5
53.2	18	5	2.7%	40	20.5	27	17
202	90	13	14.4%	9	25.5	40	41.5
99	92	47	38.0%	3			

Total enrollment = 9,117 minus 165 students removed from the school system through "involuntary losses." These losses are those students transferred to other schools, students who died; those with prolonged illnesses, or severe injuries; and those committed to mental health institutions, or any other commitment, or leaving school for any other reason than dropping out.

Total drop-outs = 763 students who voluntarily withdrew from the Lansing Public Schools, grades 9-12.

The Lansing community is a replica of the national pattern. Proportionately, more drop-outs come from distal families than from united families. The percentage of drop-outs from distal families nearly equals the percentage of drop-outs from other families. But the percentage of united families nearly triples the percentage of distal families in the Lansing School District. The correlation between the drop-out frequency and family structure is r = .51. This indicates relatively strong relationship between the two variables--that family structure significantly influences drop-out behavior. The correlation between drop-out frequency and distal family structure, female head, is even stronger--r = .56.

There are 4,470 distal families in the City of Lansing. Fully 72 percent (3,217) of this total number reside within the inner city. A disproportionate 43 percent of the 3,217 distal families inhabit predominantly Afro-American residential sectors of the inner city. This 43 percent distal families (1,383) in the Afro-American neighborhoods constitute 31 percent of the total 4,470 in the city.

The 1,383 distal families are encompassed within nine census tracts with a spatial area of 2,840.6 acres--13.2 percent of the total 21,494.7 acres of the City of Lansing. These 1,383 families are made up of 29,784 individuals. Of these 29,794, 31 percent (9,316) are Afro-American. These 9,316 constitute 76 percent of the total number (12,234) of Afro-Americans in the City of Lansing. Thus 19.6 percent (9) of the 46 census tracts have 22.6

percent (29,784) of the total 131,546 persons in the city. The city's core density area is within the nine-tract area. There are 10.5 persons per acre at the core as compared to 4.23 persons per acre in nine comparable census tracts in the suburban-rural area of Lansing. By further contrast, census tract 15 at the urban core, with greatest percentage per census tract of the Black population (78 percent of 4,153), has 22.3 persons per acre and 222 distal families. Perhaps this one census tract is too small a geographical or social space to make a basis of conclusions; even about associations between congestion and family structure. But this does point the way to further research.

To summarize the findings of Hypothesis 5: the drop-out rate is significantly related to family structure. As the structure of the family varies, corresponding changes will be observed in the drop-out rate. The united family will tend to have fewer drop-outs. The distal families will produce more drop-outs. Co-variation will be observed between family structure and drop-out frequency.

Broken families are concentrated in the inner city, the residence of most minority people. Drop-out rates will, therefore, tend to be higher among minorities of the inner-city public schools.

Another major contributory factor in the correlation between drop-out frequency and family structure is the space for living. Inner-city residences are usually overcrowded; and, consequently, have higher drop-out rates, because compressive living

situations are more frequently found there. A large portion of distal families live in close quarters, substantially more than the better income single parent family.

Distal families with female heads contribute the greater proportion of drop-outs: more than distal families with male heads. Since the inner city has the highest percentage of such families, it is more likely to contribute the greater percentage of drop-outs.

Hypothesis 6

The complex structure of the Afro-American family significantly alters the relationship between family structure and drop-out frequency and behavior. This is peculiarly true of the female-head family.

Definitions for Hypothesis 6

Complex structure is best defined by reference to the American origin of the structure--the pre-emancipation experience of Afro-Americans, who were forcibly separated from their families and merchandised to an equally degrading habitat. This transaction determined and defined the nature of the separation: it was not in hot anger and hostilities between parents (a key characteristic in the breakup of many disrupted modern families among all racial groups); it was not preceeded by violent quarrels; neither was it the result of lack of love (Glueck, 1962). Moynihan (1965) educes support from Thomas F. Pettigrew's summary of a thesis of Stanley M.

Elkins on the effects of slavery on the Negro family structure and function. He likens the reduction to total dependence and obedience on the part of the Black people to the psychological effect of the Nazi camp. He analyzes and explains the Black family on the basis of this perception of the slavery vitiated family life of forebears.

But it is this very fact of perpetuated forced separation of Black families which constitutes the peculiarity of the minority Black family. Separations often experience no loss of love, no overt hostility, no observable verbal or physical abuse, no internal conflict or other disruptive domestic conditions. Very often it is strong emotions of love which prompts the more able members of the family to part with the others, temporararily, for the specific purpose of establishing an economic and domestic base for resettlement. Many of the separations are due neither to divorce nor desertion; but rather to economic necessity and an aspiration and desire for a better life. Andrew Billingsly (1968) strongly disagrees with the typical American concept of the nature, extent and significance of the matriarchal (female head) Afro-American family. Of the many inadequacies which characterize the typical manner used by Anglo-Americans to analyze Afro-American families, he cites the underestimations of the variations among Afro-American families living under different basic conditions.

Significantly altered is to be understood in terms of the unexpected changes in reduction in drop-out rates in those census tracts with high percentages of Afro-American, female head families.

By way of contrast, it might be observed here that Jencks (1972) perceives serious limitations in the concept of the "fuzzy and differentially perceived" family background influence on the education of the children. The theory deserved consideration and reflection and evaluation.

Findings for Hypothesis 6

The socio-cultural equipment and preparation of Afro-Americans for functional and creative response to adverse circumstances, limited and impoverished resources and supply is a major factor in assessing relationships involving Black families. Survival potential of Afro-Americans is relatively high. Whether it is reduced, or increased, exposure to technological and social change is uncertain. But, on the basis of a noticeable rise in suicide rates among Black people, the increase in coronary death rate, the high incidence of hypertension cases in predominantly Black communities, we may assume some reduction in the level of stress resistance and survival potential, particularly among Black people. On this same basis we may assume that Americanization of people of African origin is deeper now than at any other preceeding comparable period in American history, if measured by these criteria.

Black Americans are better conditioned to absorb abrup-change shock without total social disintegration and loss of familial affection. Physical separation does not destroy or seriously efface the strong union or affective family bond. Temporary separation is often necessary for survival. The description of "lower

class" family behavior in words that have only Anglo, middle-class meaning is inaccurate (Hyman Rodman, 1959). Rodman further says that this implies middle-class judgment of behavior in a middle-class manner in order to bolster a sagging middle-class ego. Leslie (1967) cites Jessie Bernard, who argues that the contemporary Negro urban matricentric family does not trace back to slavery conditions but is wholly a new phenomenon. But Leslie himself holds to the stereo-typical high illegitimacy, high illiteracy, high deprivation, low aspiration broken family patterns among Afro-Americans. He sees the urban northern Black distal family as the extension or transplantation of the southern rural Black distal family. It is this group which makes up the inner-city migrant. He sees the Black marital relationships as violent and conflictual. Fighting, knifing and shooting characterizes his perceived Black community.

Obviously, Leslie overlooked one major characteristic of these migrant minorities: their disgust with the old style of living and strong desire for a better and more refined quality of life style. Though many failed to realize their dream of a better life, the point is they wanted it and sought it. Some were trapped in the ghetto, but at no time acculterated: they constantly yearned for escape. Arthur M. Vener (1972) asserts significantly improved modification in the Black American's self concept. He points out the surprising and unanticipated result of an extensive study of adolescent self image by Rosenburg. That study revealed that

self-esteem scores of Blacks on self-ranking scales were only slightly below those of whites . . . not nearly as low as one might expect if general status were a determinant of self-esteem. A dismal and opposite view is assumed by Herman P. Miller (1966), who finds in Black family structure, particularly the female head, distal family a strong influence on poverty among Afro-American people. Dentler (1963) finds remarkable similarity between "the whites and the Negroes in attitudes toward school and academic work" up to college level. According to Dentler, at college level entrance Negro students aspirations toward college education drops "notably below" . . . whites.

For a brief summary of the findings in Hypothesis 6 we cite the constellation of "agents of change: namely, increasing involvement in protest marches, sit-ins, picketings, wade-ins . . . the Supreme Court decisions and more favorable employment policies in . . . government and industry" which most significantly influenced the emergence of the new Black American (Vener, 1972). Social action and latent self-concept and aspiration coupled with strong persistence and determination on the part of the minority Black youth and their parents have produced a new generation of Afro-Americans. And, although the educational achievement level of these minorities is still below the average Anglo-American achievement rate, and the gap is still relatively wide in academic and technical areas significant changes toward equality are emerging. Table 24 is suggestive of the rising aspiration level of minorities.

Table 24. Number and percentage of high school drop-outs of Afro-American students grades 9-12 by five types of family structures.

Family structure	Status of students				Totals	
	Non-drop-outs		Drop-outs			
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United Families						
Husband and Wife	536	(50.6%)	40	(40.8%)	576	(49.8%)
One Foster Parent	21	(2.0%)	12	(12.2%)	33	(2.8%)
Distal Families						
Female Head	346	(32.9%)	26	(26.5%)	372	(32.2%)
Male Head	89	(8.4%)	11	(11.2%)	100	(8.6%)
Extended Family	67	(6.3%)	9	(9.2%)	76	(6.6%)
Totals	N = 1,059	(100%)	N = 98	(100%)	N = 1,157	(100%)

The drop-out percentages for the respective groups in Table 24 shows how the female head family compares with other family types in the Afro-American subgroups.

The table reflects a direct relationship between drop-out rates and the female head family. But the association with these

female head Afro-American family is weaker than with other ethnic groups. It is proportionately lower than other Afro-American distal family groups and structures.

CHAPTER IV

OBSERVATIONS

Drop-Out Related Deviant Behavior

The study indicates that high school drop-out rates could be strongly associated with some forms of destructive deviant behavior. This assumption seems justified by a comparison of the highlights of U.S. History during the ten years between 1963 and 1973 with the school census for the same time period. The comparison (pages 96 and 97) will imply this in that immediately following the assassination of President Kennedy in November of 1963 the drop-out rate began to rise. Contemporary subordinate historical accompaniments were the Berkeley's free speech movement, strong resistance and rejection to western Christian religion and the rise of Eastern mysticism in America. In 1965 Malcolm X is assassinated, and 1966 saw a record high 7.02 percent drop-out rate. It was the year of drop-outs in public and parochial education, in Catholic and Protestant Church. In the 1970-71 school year the drop-out rate decreased but rose the following year immediately after the assassination attempt on the life of Governor Wallace. Kerner (1968) asserts strong relationship between "educational practices and civil disorders."

These findings could indicate direct association between crime and other forms of deviant and anti-social behavior in most SMSA's, particularly the larger metropolitan cities. They also suggest the following conclusions:

1. Academic decline is related to high incidence of crime and civil disorders.
2. Academic aspiration and achievement often exist co-extensively with high crime incidence.
3. In spite of urban deterioration, urban centers are not irrecoverable.
4. Urban renewal is feasible, viable and functional for social progress.
5. The ghetto also can be functional, and often is.
6. Functionality of the ghetto and faith in the ghetto potential is suggested by the findings in Table 20 on Census Tracts 5, 15, 16 and 18.

The City of Detroit has the highest drop-out rate in the State of Michigan. Table 25 (with Table 26) shows this extremely high drop-out rate and its striking parallelism with the phenomenal homicide rate for the same city during the same time span. These coincidences could indicate significantly strong correlation between drop-out incidence and some forms of civil and social violence.

The gain in enrollment for the Detroit Public High Schools, grades 9-12, for the 1971-72 school year was partially offset by the increase in drop-out rate for that year. The gain

Table 25. Percentage change in drop-out rates for Detroit between the 1970-71 and 1971-72 school years.*

Years	Number enrolled	Drop-outs		Percent change	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1970-71	71,933	9,834	(13.7%)	1,150	(+1.6%)
1971-72	73,083	10,436	(14.3%)	602	(+0.6%)

*Public High School Drop-Outs, Bulletin No. 4007, 1971-72, State of Michigan.

itself is perhaps best accounted for by an influx of Black Americans into the city core and the efflux of middle-income, Anglo-Americans to the suburbs. The population distribution of ethnic-racial groups over most recent years, certainly, would reflect this trend.

The Detroit pattern reappears in other urban centers throughout the state. Concurrently, with high drop-out frequency, patterns of high incidence in civil disorder and violent crime and social deviance emerge. An example of this phenomenon is the reported criminal homicide incidences in the City of Detroit. Table 26 compared with the results in Table 25 reflects the coincidences.

Some Significant Decades of Modern History

Chester E. Eisinger (1969) selects the ten year terminal dates which fall at the beginning and the end of each decade at its turn, i.e., 1920-1930 or 1930-1940. But he makes no claim for the

Table 26. Criminal Homicides for four years City of Detroit.*

Year of crime	Mode and type of crime	Number of crime
1967 (for July only)	Riot and Violence	43
1966	Homicide	214
1967	Homicide	287
1972	Homicide	693

*Michigan Chronicle, Detroit, Michigan, Volume 38, No. 16, August 4, 1973.

undeviating continuity of this pattern throughout the centuries of history. He sees the 1940's as a cultural unit, an entity that must regard the 40's in a cavalier way. He sets the 40's at the outbreak of the Second World War, at the close of the depression and at the demise of the New Deal which he claims marked the close of the 30's. Anthony Lewis (1965) deviates from the ten-year unit concept and dates the most significant decade from 1954 to 1965: he calls this the period of the "Second American Revolution." His summary of the decade is called "the best historical account of the civil rights movement" by Max Lerner. Eric F. Goldman (1960) veers from all the forementioned and focuses on the 1945-1955 era as the most significant decade in modern history in America.

The choice of the 1963-1972 decade as the most socially significant is partially influenced by a retrospective survey of

these ten years which terminates with the 1971-72 school year. The survey (see pages 95 and 97) is significant for this study in that it delineates certain aspects of the decade which seem to bear some relationship to drop-out behavior. Other related and influential factors are mentioned on page 96.

A Review of Critical Historical Events: 10 Years--1963-1972

"Ten years (1963-1972) that shook the world" and became the most significant ten years in the 20th century, and, perhaps, the most important decade in American history are those years which between the beginning of 1963 and the end of 1972. This is particularly true if viewed from the standpoint of the societal upheavals and revoluntionary changes in the social, scientific and economic conditions which transpired during the decade. This decade, characterized by open violence, reputedly set in with the November 23, 1963 assassination of President Kennedy--the second youngest president in the history of the country--by Lee Harvey Oswald. The assassin's bullet terminated a presidency which lasted two years and ten months. This act of cruel violence precipitated a decade of political, social, economical and religious chaos. And resulting waves of violence swept across American cities and throughout the inhabited, civilized world. The decade was marked by violence, disorder and demand for change, most insistently for institutional change.

Paradoxically, however, these same ten years were marked by unprecedented advances in science and technology (Dahrendorf, 1959) such as the moon landing, open-heart surgery, inauguration of the Peace Corps ministries and the creation of the essence of human life itself--the first artificial synthesis of living cells--by U.S. scientists.

Presented here in encapsulation are some of the main features of the changing face of America which seem to be most outstanding in 1973 (U.S. News & World Report):

Population.--210 million, up from 189 million a decade earlier, but growing at a slower rate. Birth rate is falling and family size is whittled back.

Age.--Half of Americans are over 28.2 years of age compared with a median or 28.6 in 1963. But number of children and teenagers now is falling, number of young adults and people over 65, rising.

Race.--Nonwhites increasing at a faster rate than whites--making up nearly 13 percent of population, compared with 12 percent in 1963.

Residence.--Exodus of Americans to suburbs continues. More people now live in suburbs--37 percent.

Migration.--Americans, broadly speaking, are moving from heartland to coastal areas. West and South were fastest growing regions in the past decade.

Education.--Levels rising. Among people over 25 years of age, 12 percent have finished college, up from 9 percent 10 years

ago. Median years of school completed: 12.2 now, compared with 11.4.

Incomes.--Median family income doubled in last 10 years to $12,000. Poverty is declining--9 percent of families below poverty line, compared with 19 percent in 1963.

Some Highlights of a Decade, 1963-1973

The abbreviated chronology presented here lists some of the significant historical events of the critical decade selected for this study. Compare this with Table 27.

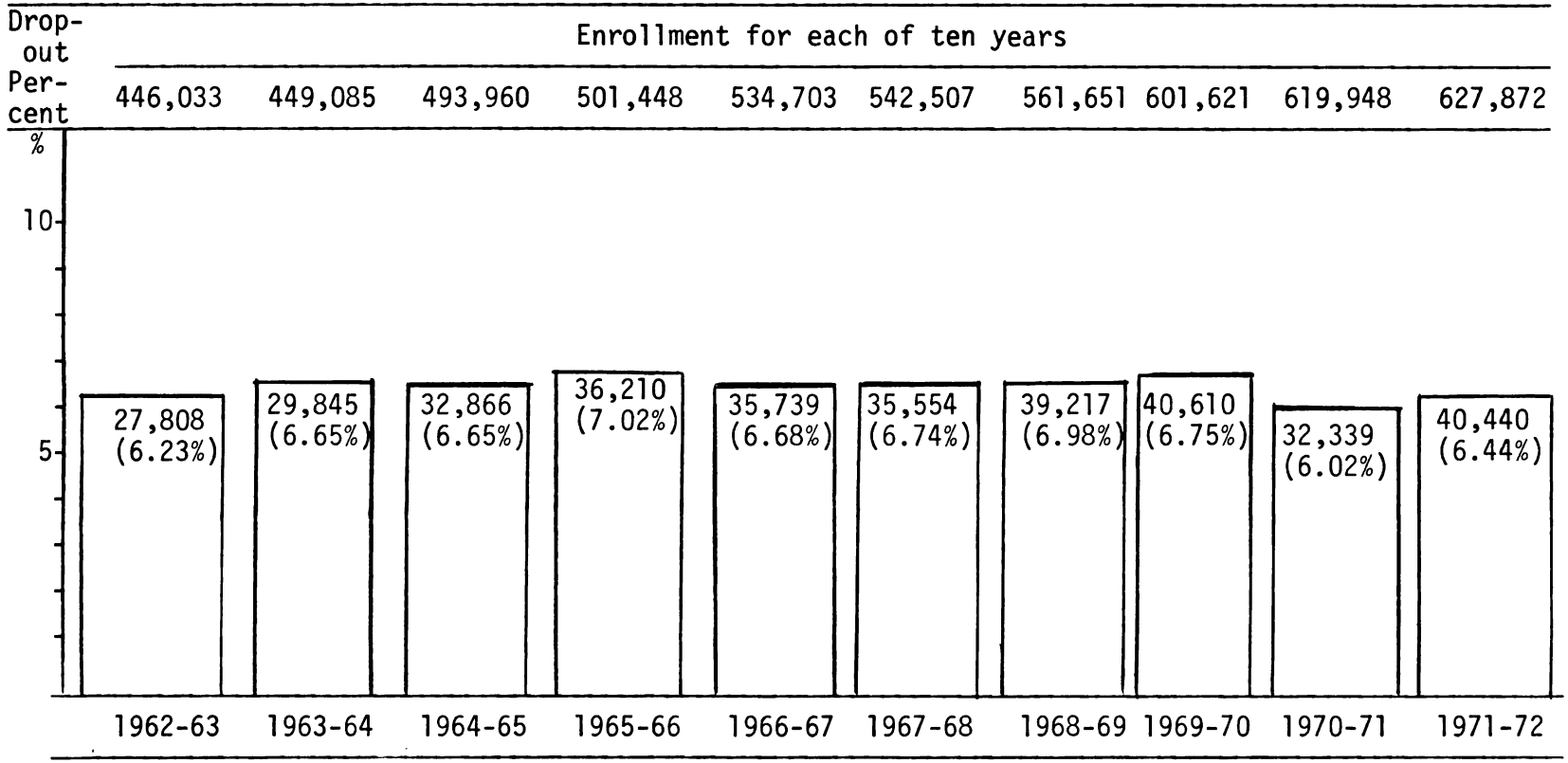
1963.--Peak of American military supremacy--Russian breakdown in Cuban crises. John F. Kennedy assassinated by Lee H. Oswald. Lyndon B. Johnson assumes presidency.

1964.--Beginning of rise of Western Christian Church revolt. Beginning of rapid spread of Oriental mysticism Revolution in Movies--Hair. Berkeley's Free Speech movement begun. Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960 reenacted by Lyndon B. Johnson.

1965.--Voting Rights Law passed under President Johnson's Administration.

1966.--Drop-Out proliferation--Catholic Church attendance rapidly decreasing--from peak to about 48 percent; Protestant church attendance decreases from peak to about 36 percent. Catholic Church school enrollment dropped from 5,573,810 to 3,789,007 in 1973. Protestant Parochial school attendance dropped to about 36 percent in 1973.

Table 27. Public high school enrollment and drop-outs for the State of Michigan for ten years from 1962-63 through 1971-72.



Source: Michigan Department of Education Annual Report: A Statistical Summary, 1972. Annual Reports include all students removed from the school membership roll prior to graduation for any reason other than involuntary losses without provisions being made to transfer to another school which would provide courses leading to the completion of high school education.

1968.--Moon Launch--July 20. Martin Luther King assassinated--April 4. Robert F. Kennedy assassinated--June 5. Chicago Democratic Convention riot.

1969.--Moon landing--July 20.

1970.--Joseph A. Yablonski, union official, and his family were murdered. Supreme Court decision on 14 public school districts in deep South to desegregate. President Nixon's Commission on Campus Unrest.

1971.--Constitutional Amendment lowering voting age to 18.

1972.--Governor George Wallace's near assassination.

CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDED CHANGES FOR STUDENT DATA SHEETS

Multi-Source Student Data

The multi-source technique, it is hoped, will prove a viable approach to the analysis of demographic data pertaining to the public school student body. It should significantly improve student-teacher relationship through intensified knowledge of the student's total social background and environment. This method might also provide for greater accuracy through closer cross comparison of data from multiple sources. And, as an added advantage, this way would make for a much more comprehensive and immediately available status reference sheet and student record.

The multi-source approach coordinates data content into one multiplex student school status form in this way:

Board of Education Status Form	Board of Census Report
Name of Student	Number
Address of the Student	Census Tract and Block Number
School District	Census Tract District
Family Structure	Community Structure
Family Size by Household	In-House, Spatial Distribution

To operationalize this the student's name is first entered, followed by the address. Then follows the coded census tract and block number--for example, John Doe, 111 Oak Street, 1-32, where 1 means census tract number 1 and 32 refers to the block number. A quick reference to the cnesus report of the Census Bureau would supply all the information needed to give the teacher or researcher some significant insights into the student's home and community ecology. Thus, the out-of-school interests and involvements might, in many instances, be fairly accurately assessed or inferred. These out-of-school hours of family living and play are important.

This approach views the student in a kind of situational framework, wherein the classroom behavior is analytically viewed in the background light of the student's social milieu. It might also prove valuable in a psychoanalytical approach to better understanding of the student's social/asocial/anti-social interpersonal interaction with other pupils and teachers in the classroom.

All students in a given school or school district should be properly coded and collated. Then, all students having the same or similar data profile should be grouped and studied by correlating their behavior patterns with cirriculum choice, grade point average (as dependent variables) with demographic data as independent variables, and vice versa. In this way particular problem areas chould be more quickly pin-pointed

and elimination processes set in motion. Problem detection and definition and analysis are thus facilitated.

Insight and understanding of the specific nature of the student's behavioral problem is categorically significant. To rephrase this: before the teacher or any school staff personnel can effectively deal with any given student in a problem situation involving learning or other bhavior, definitive knowledge of the particular area of difficulty--whether it is physical, psychical, social or cultural--should be obtained as nearly as possible. But, to use an example, to assign or attribute all learning difficulties to a biological cause is not only indiscriminative but is likely to destroy all possibilities for sensitive and therapeutic response to the total problem situation.

The cross-data analysis technique suggests further reconciliation of disparate items of information for a more effective application of the technique to improvement of the student status forms. It suggests:

1. Geographical boundary adjustment of public school district tracts to coincide with the U.S. Census Bureau census tract; or

2. A map combining the two--school and county--tracts with clear demarcations of each tract, particularly in overlapping areas. This would show student location in school, school tract, city census tract, census tract block number and

all other relevant social and demographic data listed under respective headings.

3. A situation-at-a-glance map--that is, by locating and identifying each school within the census tracts (combined) the school and the people it serves are instantly visualized.

4. Finally, the whole census tract idea should be integrated with high school curricula.

Student Data Profile

Inadequate or imprecise recording of addresses of out-city or out-county students, or of students who live in the new, unlisted urban and suburban subdivisions substantially diminishes the value of an otherwise excellent system of record keeping. Because of the inaccuracies in some of the students' records, it was necessary to create an additional Census Tract with a total number of 92 entries.

Necessary adjustment or corrections of the incomplete students' Status Forms might be achieved by a follow-through or recheck on vague addresses of those students who:

1. Change addresses too frequently.
2. Are uncertain about the precise number and street name of their residence.
3. Show discrepancy in restatement of addresses from time to time.
4. Seem doubtful or hesitant in stating street name and number.

Further improvements in the Status Form could be made by modifying the method of coding the mode of withdrawal. This could be done by using a more specific and definitive description of the exact reason why any given student withdraws from the public school system. The overused truancy or overage labels are too broad and general. Though exact causes may not be ascertainable, the perceived reasons could be spelled out with more precision. The student who is expelled, suspended (and does not return), forcibly ejected for various kinds of misbehavior, should be so coded.

If at all feasible, diagnostic evaluation of the individual student's problem should be made by a competent agency, before the student is typed. Particularly should this be done, if the student is a member of a minority subclass. Too many generational and pre-generational forces are influencing the character and disposition of the student for this kind of face validation analysis. And there are too many subtle and intricate differences between individuals and social groups with little or no cultural affinity to allow for broad categorization, or for indisciminate inclusion under one emotional handicap umbrella.

This individual student care is possible through the institution of a new repatriate liason between the home and the school. Liason qualifications should be psychological identity and empathy (economic poverty is not essential) with the lower

strata of human society; strong aversion to ascriptive value orientation; and, strong sense of loyalty to the total society--the lower minorities and the larger social group. Besides other possible needed qualifications, these seem imperative, if benevolent social and interracial human relations are to be realized.

Finally, interpersonal and intergroup harmony is only where there is strong confidentiality and effective communication. And communication is best effected by a trusted intermediary capable of effecting co-orientation between diverse social groups toward a mutually desirable goal.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

Not a New System of Operations, But Operation of the System

A new modus operandi per se is not the most essential and urgent corrective measure needed for improved educational competence. It is not certain that total revolution of the system would affect change toward upgrading of educational opportunity or refinement of the quality of education for the total school population without arbitrary 'natural or social' discrimination. What emerges as the most expedient and urgent need is the reversal of the stereotypical assignment of students to courses of academic pursuit on the basis of race, social class or economic status. Tracking or steering motivated by unproven theories, such as the genetic determination of intelligence advocated by Eysenck, Jensen, et al., is inimical to the achievement of academic potential and excellence. Assumptions, founded on the mere biological basis of learning and mental capacity, or based on the genetic potential of intelligence in the individual or race is equally pernicious.

A basic and fundamental need, however, is motivational re-orientation with reference to the ultimate goal-object,

adoption of alternative values and re-organization of value system on the part of the minority or underachiever. On the part of the academically advanced student attitudinal re-orientation from the ego-centered, competitive toward the cooperative, collectively oriented learning behavior. The public education system must provide the creative, harmonious climate conducive toward integrative educational enterprise.

Internal Environment Effect

All individuals do not have identical cognitive skills. Those with similar cognitive skills will show some differentiation and inequality in quantity and quality. The unequal distribution of intellectual, cultural or material wealth is obvious. The material and cultural capital of some is less developed and more contained than others. The mental capacity and potential of some is not maximized to full out-put. The result is an appearance of intellectual inferiority in those who are really disadvantaged and deprived.

Achievement potential is neither determined nor regulated by the place, time or external accidents of birth. Innate human abilities or capacities are, to some degree, affected by biological and environmental conditions. But the normal individual, under normal conditions, should exhibit intellectual skill and capacity on a par with other normal persons. A Biblical enunciation of this principle is found in the reference

to the growth and development of Jesus Christ in a sub-standard social environment. The Bible says: "And he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of dry ground (Isaiah 53:2)." The point here is that the individual can develop contrary to external environmental conditions.

Any assessment of environmental or genetic influence must include the prenatal, internal environment during the formulative period of gestation. For the fetus is affected by the physical and emotional states of the parents.

A Forecast: The Educational Potential of Minorities

Table 28 clearly shows a narrowing population gap between Anglo-Americans and Afro-Americans. This increase in Afro-American population increases the number of school-age children among minorities also; and this probably accounts for some of the educational gains now observed in minority school attendance. This fact stands out more clearly when comparison is made between the median age of the separate ethnic groups. Black Americans are seen to be much younger than the rest of the American population, by the median age index.

A recent population survey (1973) shows sizeable and significant proportional gains in the Afro-American component of the total American society. In addition to the proliferation of Afro-Americans, their median age in 1970 was 22.4 as compared with the 28.1 years for the total population. Between 1954 and 1973 Blacks gained .6 years.

Table 28. The population of Black Americans by year, numbers and percentages showing change between 1954 and 1973.*

Year	Black American population in numbers	Percentage of total population
1954	17,772,000	10.9%
1973	23,876,000	11.4%

*Estimate of U.S. Populations as of January 1, 1973: the number is 209,717,000 (World Almanac, 1974).

About two-thirds of the increase in the Black population came in the 5-24 age bracket.

The table data is adapted from the U.S. News and World Report (May 20, 1974).

The younger median age of Afro-Americans will affect the school attendance rate in increased proportion, inasmuch as there is a trend toward increased attendance of this racial group. But, on the other hand, this growing proportionate majority of young Afro-Americans could aggravate the already existing problem of job shortage and a diminishing job market, especially for the unemployed Black youth. The increasing share of Afro-Americans is shown in Table 29.

The increase of Black Americans in professional and technical fields amounts to about 128 percent and exceeds the 49 percent increase in these jobs in America. It is important to observe also that although income for Black Americans has

Table 29. Median age of Afro-American population compared with the median age of the total population.*

Ethnic group	Year reported		Change in years
	1954	1973	
Median age of U.S. population	30.4 (years)	28.4 (years)	-3
Median age of Afro-Americans	25.5 (years)	22.9 (years)	-2.6
Difference	4.9 (years)	5.5 (years)	-.6

*Source: U.S. News & World Report, Volume LXXV, No. 22, Washington, D.C., November 26, 1973.

increased markedly since 1959 (from $4,178 median income in 1959 to $7,106 in 1972) there are more Afro-Americans living in poverty (32 percent of the total American population). Actually, intra-group statistics show far fewer Afro-American people living in poverty (from 56 percent in 1959 to 34 percent in 1972); but relatively and proportionately there are more Black Americans in the poverty ranks--32 percent--than there are of any other ethnic-racial group.

The income gap has seen little change, even though income for Afro-Americans in median family income has almost doubled. But the gap between Anglo-American income and Afro-American income has actually widened--from $3,926 in the early 1960's to $4,443 in 1972.

The implications of these statistics for the total population educational interests are significant. For one thing, rise in income and standard of living is strongly associated with academic achievement, educational aspiration and economic opportunity. In addition, as technical and professional expertise increases, there is usually a corresponding change in social and economic status. Significantly for Afro-Americans, from 1960 to 1973 jobs increased in all areas except common labor and household help. Jencks differs in his treatment of occupational status. He assigns about half of the variation in income and occupational status to educational attainment, family background and test scores and attributes much of economic success to other sources. His position is that years of schooling do not always control or determine level of income in dollars and cents. In a general sense this statement may be relatively valid, but the fact remains that Afro-American income is significantly affected by formal education and job training.

The population gains of the 5 through 24 years age group of Afro-Americans and their growth in public educational interest and training have resulted in larger numbers of professionals and technicians; and, corollary to this, increased income. The results of these changes are certainly improved quality of living among minorities and rising levels of educational aspiration in the academically disinclined.

But the possibility of a problem crystallizes at this point: increased numbers of better trained minorities necessitates an expanding job market to absorb these new technicians and professionals. Inadequate preparation for the absorption of the skills and trades of the increased work force creates a crisis. The extrusion (Mizruchi, 1964) of the educated hopeful could precipitate feelings of alienation and dejection, leading to some form of self-rejecting attitudes and behavior.

The view taken here is that adequate education without suitable occupation could lead to complex problem situations even for the individual who has overcome the difficulties involved in academic achievement. It may be that much of the discontent and protest, particularly in urban centers, is influenced by this factor. It is the position here that public protest is proportional to the degree the individual or group is exposed to raised levels of living, which is perceived but not possessed. The concept stated here is supported by a 1937 prediction by Dr. Charles Prudhomme (1974) who predicted that suicide among Blacks would increase in direct proportion to their status change. He is now predicting a skyrocketing of Black suicides, especially among males, because of job reversals. In his own words:

> The big changes in the 1960's--which brought <u>well-paying jobs to well educated blacks and introduced them to prosperity</u>, recognition and a place in the middle-class--are easing off, and many such blacks are actually losing jobs. . . .

> Unlike their white counterparts, when jobs fail blacks don't get invitations to go to Harvard or Brookings or other brain trusts. We're going to get plenty of suicides as job reversals continue, because they won't be able to handle the transition backwards.

It is not unreasonable to assume that the exposure to higher and better education, widening social integration of Afro-Americans and even temporary economic improvements are also major factors which indirectly influence anti-social behavior in the form of variegated protests.

On the basis of the findings of this study, the position taken here is that the primary problem in the future will not be inducement of minorities to higher educational aspiration, but placement of educated minorities in positions which utilize their skills and human services. This will not be an alternative with freedom of choice, but an imperative to be obeyed.

Indicative of the trend toward minority academic adequacy and surplus of educated persons seeking employment is the academic achievement of inner-city senior high school students. In keeping with a tradition which began in 1957, the Board of Education of the Lansing School District honored the scholars in this year's senior class. The honored students maintained a 3.5 grade point average during three years in senior high school. The largest group (58 students) came from Sexton High School--the urban core school with highest percentage of Afro-American students, and closest to the ghetto area. Table 30 reflects school's percentages.

Table 30. Percentage of honor students from four senior high schools of Lansing Public School District--1974.*

High School	Enrollment		Honor roll	
	1971-72	1973-74	Number	Percent
Eastern	2,009	1,902	46	2.4%
Everett	1,847	1,753	42	2.4%
Hill	818	1,239	38	3.1%
Sexton	1,892	1,612	58	3.6%

*Schools In Review, Lansing School District, 1974.

There is no claim here for a Black majority or even a proportionately larger percentage of minorities in the total number of honor students. It seems that no ethnic breakdown of the groups had been made and, consequently, was not furnished when requested. According to the principle of the inner-city high school, there were some minorities among them; but the exact number is not presently known. A major factor is the record number of honor students (the largest in several years, according to Schools in Review, June, 1974) from a public high school in the urban core. The fact that high scholastic achievement is possible to students in the urban core setting, in a school population comprised of so large a percentage of minorities (21 percent Black in 1971-72 school year) and so close to the ghetto community. If the curricula of these students is

on the college preparatory level, it could be indicative of a favorable change developing in the urban school environment.

The reduction of drop-outs through the trend toward increased number of years of schooling among those most often affected by the tendency to disrupt formal education by dropping out of school is reflected in Table 31. Significant gains are measured for minorities in all grades of school up to college and beyond college level (Table 32). Lower class people are getting more and better education.

Table 31. Median years of schooling among adults by race and year, age 25-29.*

Racial groups compared	Years compared		Increase in years
	1960	1973	
Afro-American	10.8 (years)	12.4 (years)	1.6
Anglo-American	12.3 (years)	12.7 (years)	0.4
Difference	1.5 (years)	0.3 (years)	1.2

*Adapted from U.S. News & World Report (May 20, 1974).

Tables 31 and 32 clearly show that the greatest gains in education have been made by the minority racial groups. On the basis of these figures, it is safe to say that the educational gap between Anglo-Americans and Afro-Americans is narrowing;

Table 32. Percent with four years of high school or more among adults, age 25-29.*

Racial groups compared	Years compared		Persons increased in percent
	1960	1973	
Afro-American	39% (persons)	67% (persons)	28%
Anglo-Americans	64% (persons)	82% (persons)	18%
Difference	25%	15%	10%

*Adapted from U.S. News & World Report (May 10, 1974).

and with it the improvement of racial equality and race relations. Beneficient results are also seen in the economic improvement of minorities. But economic equality between Anglo-Americans and Afro-Americans is not improved: wide disparity in levels of income still prevails. Just how much this is affected by the widening of the college level education gap between the thirteen years from 1960-1973 and in the years preceeding that period, we do not know. The one sure thing is the widening of the gap: Anglo-Americans are getting more college education than minorities. Table 33 measures the gains and losses between the two racial groups.

Much of the riot action prevalent during the 1960's has given way to aggressive pursuit of education. And, with

Table 33. Percent who are college graduates among adults, ages 25-29.

Racial groups compared	Years compared		College graduate increase
	1960	1973	
Minorities	39%	67%	+28%
Non-Minorities	64%	82%	+18%

Source: U.S. News & World Report (May 20, 1974).

increasing minority adult education, parents of the next generation will provide a more conducive educational environment. Environmental changes should conduce toward higher aspiration in the child reared in the home of parents imbued with the education idea. Parents who value education highly, exposed to the educational climate themselves from youth, are more likely to impart the educational impulse to their children.

The optimization of the educational environment of the home and improved community should raise the academic potential of minorities, i.e., the home with a good supply of wholesome reading materials, where the cultural interests are high, and where conversation often centers around subjects of elevating quality and recreational activity of the family is often of some cultural value--this kind of home will more often produce finer minds and intellects.

It is the position of this paper that these factors have significant implications for the school drop-out problem, both now and in the future.

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APPENDICES

APPENDICES

STATISTICAL PROFILE

The total resident population for the State of Michigan during the 1971-72 school year was 8,997,000. The public school enrollment for the State for the 1971-72 school year was 2,212,523. These 2,212,523 were enrolled in 608 public school districts throughout the state. Parochial school enrollment for the same year was 223,836 (9.3 percent of total school enrollment in the state). The total school enrollment, public and parochial, was 2,436,359--27.07 percent of the total resident population. The total adjusted school membership--grades 9-12--was 627,872.. Total number of drop-outs for the 1971-72 school year throughout the state was 40,443.

The Metro Area, consisting of Ingham, Eaton and Clinton Counties has a total resident population of 378,423 persons. The County of Ingham has the largest resident population--261,039. The Ingham County public school district enrollment, grades 9-12 for 1971-72, was 18,057, who attended schools in the 12 local school districts in the county. The Lansing school district in Ingham County enrolled 8,952 of these 9-12 grade students.

The land area of the City of Lansing is 33.58 square miles, or 21,494.7 acres. The resident population for Lansing for the 1971-72 school year was 133,315 (1,769 increase from the 131,546 count of the 1970 census). Drop-out rate for 1971-72 was 763--8.52 percent of the enrolled membership--2.08 percent higher than the state drop-out rate of 6.44 percent.

Table 34 presents an ethnic breakdown of the Lansing East Lansing SMSA. The Table shows the heaviest concentration of minorities in the Ingham County area. And, while this is also true of the Anglo-American, i.e., that there is a greater number in the Ingham County area, it is also true that fully 98 percent of the population of Eaton and Clinton Counties is non-minority people. Among the minorities in Eaton and Clinton Counties there are fewer Afro-Americans in all of Clinton County and, except for the American Indian and Other Americans, fewer in Eaton County. This shows that the dispersion of Black Americans in the tri-county area is quite limited and sparce.

To facilitate comparisons used in this study it was necessary to collapse four of the five ethnic groups to form one of the two major groups which form the dichotomy used throughout. There is first a breakdown of the total population into five ethnic groups (See Figure 1); and then the five are regrouped into three by merging the three smaller ethnic groups (See Table 35). And finally, the five groups are dichotomoized--the Anglo-Americans (comprized of four groups, including the

Table 34. Population distribution for total SMSA, Lansing--East Lansing area by county in five ethnic groups.

Racial groups	Population number and percent			Total SMSA
	Counties			
	Ingham	Eaton	Clinton	Number and percent
Anglo-Americans	237,403 (91.0%)	67,636 (98.2%)	47,736 (98.4%)	352,775 (93.2%)
Afro-Americans	14,371 (5.5%)	285 (.4%)	43 (.9%)	14,699 (3.9%)
Spanish Americans	6,965 (2.7%)	771 (1.1%)	566 (1.2%)	8,302 (2.2%)
American Indian	608 (.2%)	73 (.1%)	91 (.2%)	772 (.2%)
Other Americans	1,692 (.7%)	127 (.2%)	56 (.1%)	1,875 (.5%)
Total	261,039	68,892	48,492	378,423

Latin Americans, the American Indians and Others) and the Afro-Americans. Table 35 shows the total population in three categories. The three smaller ethnic groups are united and referred to as Others.

Table 35. Composition of the total population* of Lansing and East Lansing in three ethnic groups.

Urban metropolitan centers	Racial categories			
	Anglo-Americans	Afro-Americans	Others	Totals
Lansing	118,287	12,234	1,025	131,546
	(90.0%)	(9.3%)	(0.7%)	(100.0%)
East Lansing	45,099	1,583	858	47,540
	(94.9%)	(3.3%)	(1.8%)	(100.0%)
Totals for Lansing and East Lansing	163,386	13,817	1,883	179,086

*U.S. Department of Commerce: 1970 Census of Population and Housing, Bureau of the Census.

Table 36. Total population of the Lansing School District secondary schools for 1971-72 school year by school and ethnic groups.

Secondary schools	Student enrollment, racial distribution by numbers and percentages					
	Anglo-American	Afro-American	Spanish American	American Indian	Others	Totals
Eastern High School	1,630 (82)	118 (6)	191 (10)	8 (0)	29 (1)	1,976
Everett High School	1,574 (87)	158 (9)	49 (3)	7 (0)	12 (1)	1,800
Hill High School	1,013 (79)	201 (16)	53 (4)	5 (0)	3 (0)	1,275
Sexton High School	1,286 (76)	349 (21)	46 (3)	1 (0)	4 (0)	1,686
Alternative Education	25 (57)	9 (20)	8 (18)	1 (2)	1 (2)	44
Re-Entry	47 (50)	31 (33)	13 (14)	3 (3)	0 (0)	94
Otto Junior High School	1,298 (81)	141 (9)	151 (10)	6 (0)	5 (0)	1,601
Rich Junior High School	1,224 (76)	313 (20)	52 (3)	3 (0)	11 (0)	1,603
Gardner Junior High School	1,218 (80)	237 (16)	56 (4)	0 (0)	3 (0)	1,514
Pattengill Junior High School	1,009 (74)	143 (11)	185 (14)	9 (1)	14 (1)	1,360
French Junior High School	834 (74)	205 (18)	71 (6)	8 (1)	8 (1)	1,126
Secondary Totals	11,158 (79)	1,905 (14)	875 (6)	51 (4)	90 (6)	14,079

Source: Child Accounting, Lansing School District, 1972.

Table 37. Percentage and number of families below the poverty level in the City of Lansing by census tract and race.

Census tract number	Population distribution			Poverty level families	Percent model cities
	Total Number	Anglo-Americans	Afro-Americans		
1	2,763	2,741	22 (0.8%)	54	(16.2%)
2	2,109	2,046	63 (3.0%)	73	(83.8%)
3	3,073	2,845	220 (7.4%)	50	(2.3%)
4	4,130	3,511	619 (15.0%)	25	(22.1%)
5	2,367	1,742	625 (26.4%)	38	(8.8%)
6	2,899	2,694	205 (7.1%)	88	(48.9%)
7	3,576	3,479	97 (2.7%)	114	(13.4%)
8	4,554	4,279	275 (6.0%)	122	(63.1%)
9	2,020	1,967	53 (2.6%)	30	
10	3,062	3,031	31 (1.0%)	39	(19.4%)
11	5,060	4,834	226 (4.5%)	109	(63.0%)
12	3,006	2,650	356 (11.8%)	74	(98.7%)
13	1,843	1,757	86 (4.7%)	44	(100.0%)
14	134	126	8 (6.0%)	--	(5.9%)
15	4,153	914	3,240 (78.0%)	222	(100.0%)
16	1,811	501	1,310 (72.3%)	38	(60.3%)
17	4,393	4,279	114 (2.6%)	9	
18	1,607	121	1,486 (92.5%)	89	(100.0%)
19	946	859	87 (9.2%)	18	(.6%)
20	5,374	5,219	155 (2.9%)	110	(92.8%)
21	3,081	2,475	606 (19.7%)	121	(100.0%)
22	2,219	2,218	6	14	
23	4,513	4,508	5	57	
24	4,344	4,221	123 (2.8%)	46	
25	3,401	3,382	19 (0.6%)	51	
26	2,889	2,861	28 (1.0%)	49	
27	4,261	4,222	39 (0.9%)	64	

Table 37. (Continued).

Census tract number	Population distribution			Poverty level families	Percent model cities
	Total Number	Anglo-Americans	Afro-Americans		
28	3,748	3,713	35 (0.9%)	22	
29	2,464	2,404	60 (2.4%)	16	
30	498	380	98 (19.7%)	--	
31.02	2,364	2,344	20 (0.8%)	10	(8.1%)
32	2,907	2,740	167 (5.7%)	92	
33.01	3,030	2,960	70 (2.3%)	39	
33.02	2,785	2,737	43 (1.5%)	11	
34	63	63			
35	8	8			
36.01	5,105	4,562	533 (10.4%)	54	(4.9%)
36.02	4,524	3,961	541 (12.0%)	137	(61.4%)
37	6,801	6,533	230 (3.4%)	100	(9.0%)
38.01	521	499	10 (1.9%)	9	
44.01	86	79	7 (8.1%)		
51	2,257	2,061	167 (7.8%)	56	(82.7%)
52	4,263	4,112	111 (2.6%)	46	
53.01	4,875	4,806	60 (1.2%)	77	
53.02	966	964	2 (0.2%)	21	
202	1,192	1,126	62 (5.2%)		

132,044-498 (Census tract 30) = 131,546.

Population totals = 131,546; and it includes the total number of persons in each census tract, except the split tracts. An example of the split tract is census tract 31.02. The total population of tract 31.02 is 3,992; but the Lansing City portion is 2,364: the remainder is divided between East Lansing and the rest of Ingham County.

The Model Cities portion of the census tracts is recorded here because of these sections of the city producing the highest percentages of drop-outs, the Model Cities sectors have been designated focal problem areas, heaviest in drop-out related variables.

Tract 30 (population 498) is not considered a part of Lansing.

Table 38.1. Poverty guidelines for the United States Office of Economic Opportunity, 1973.

Family size	Poverty line annual money income	
	Non-Farm families	Farm families
1	$2,200	$1,870
2	$2,900	$2,465
3	$3,600	$3,060
4	$4,300	$3,655
5	$5,000	$4,250
6	$5,700	$4,845
7	$6,400	$5,440

Source: Office of Economic Opportunity.

Table 38.2. Average low income level by size of family and sex of head for non-farm and farm families, 1971.*

Family size	Total non-farm	Male head families	Female head families
All families	$3,724	$3,764	$3,428
2	$2,633	$2,641	$2,581
3	$3,229	$3,246	$3,127
4	$4,137	$4,139	$4,116
5	$4,880	$4,884	$4,837
6	$5,489	$5,492	$5,460
7	$6,751	$6,771	$6,583

*U.S. Statistical Abstract: The American Almanac Bureau of the Census, 1974.

Table 39. Enrollment and drop-outs of Lansing Public School District grades 9-12, by census tract, 1971-72.

Lansing area	Total 9-12 population count			Out district
Census tract number	Enrollment per census tract	Drop-outs per census tract	Census tract number	Enrollment per census tract
1	175	17 (9.7%)	31.01	59
2	126	17 (13.5%)	38.02	11
3	190	20 (10.5%)	39.01	3
4	235	23 (9.8%)	40	12
5	168	17 (10.1%)	41	9
6	113	18 (16.0%)	43	19
7	109	20 (18.3%)	44	4
8	332	45 (13.6%)	45	1
9	136	9 (6.6%)	46	1
10	233	13 (5.6%)	47	1
11	230	13 (5.6%)	48	4
12	272	36 (13.2%)	49.01	16
13	87	26 (30.0%)	49.02	4
14	2			
15	303	23 (7.6%)	50	23
16	167	7 (4.2%)	54	20
17	402	19 (4.7%)	55	4
18	131	12 (9.2%)	56	1
19	4	3 (75.0%)	101	45
20	258	45 (17.5%)	102.01	162
21	188	6 (3.2%)	102.02	229
22	158	3 (1.9%)	103	1
23	291	10 (3.4%)	201.01	59
24	257	14 (5.4%)	201.02	18
25	203	8 (3.9%)		
26	248	8 (3.3%)		
27	388	14 (3.6%)		
28	269	19 (7.0%)		
29	166	11 (6.6%)		
30	41	1 (2.4%)		

Table 39. (Continued).

Lansing area	Total 9-12 population count			Out district
Census tract number	Enrollment per census tract	Drop-outs per census tract	Census tract number	Enrollment per census tract
31.02	370	15 (4.1%)		
32	178	19 (10.7%)		
33.01	206	21 (10.1%)		
33.02	188	1 (.5%)		
34	17	1 (5.8%)		
35	8			
36.01	449	55 (12.2%)		
36.02	451	6 (1.3%)		
37	471	35 (7.4%)		
38.01	3			
44.01	4	2 (50.0%)		
51	174	30 (14.2%)		
52	233	16 (6.9%)		
53.01	304	20 (6.6%)		
53.02	18	5 (2.7%)		
202	90	13 (14.4%)	214	12
99	92	47 (51.0%)		

The total enrollment = 9,139, which includes 187 students removed from the school system through "Involuntary losses." These are students who transfer to other schools, suffer serious illness for prolonged periods, suffer death, serious injury through accident, are committed to mental institutions or remal from school for any cause except by dropping out.

Census Tract 99 is a catch-all hypothetical tract, created specifically to categorize students whose status forms lacked adequate information for proper assignment of the student to a definite tract and block.

Table 40. Population density by occupancy of land and living quarters by census tract, acreage and persons per room.

Census tract number	Land use		Room occupancy	
	Acres per census tract	Houses per acre	Over-crowded	Severely overcrowded
1	455.6	884	68	15
2	427.8	755	54	30
3	397.8	1,018	72	12
4	368.0	1,384	55	13
5	193.0	788	53	7
6	189.8	1,581	35	9
7	210.4	1,680	36	10
8	345.0	1,587	104	15
9	347.3	696	39	4
10	250.7	1,125	37	8
11	401.1	2,036	59	13
12	280.6	1,012	67	21
13	301.3	881	36	13
14	193.2	94	--	--
15	186.3	548	95	39
16	220.8	502	32	8
17	929.3	1,421	30	3
18	326.3	534	44	9
19	135.7	605	7	6
20	372.6	2,165	79	27
21	391.0	1,015	81	22
22	408.0	802	15	--
23	404.8	1,661	54	6
24	380.7	1,554	51	8
25	272.5	1,150	39	3
26	363.4	1,071	48	8
27	531.3	1,261	83	6
28	411.7	1,232	65	5
29	2,125.2	829	53	5
30	184.0	.01	--	--

Table 40. (Continued).

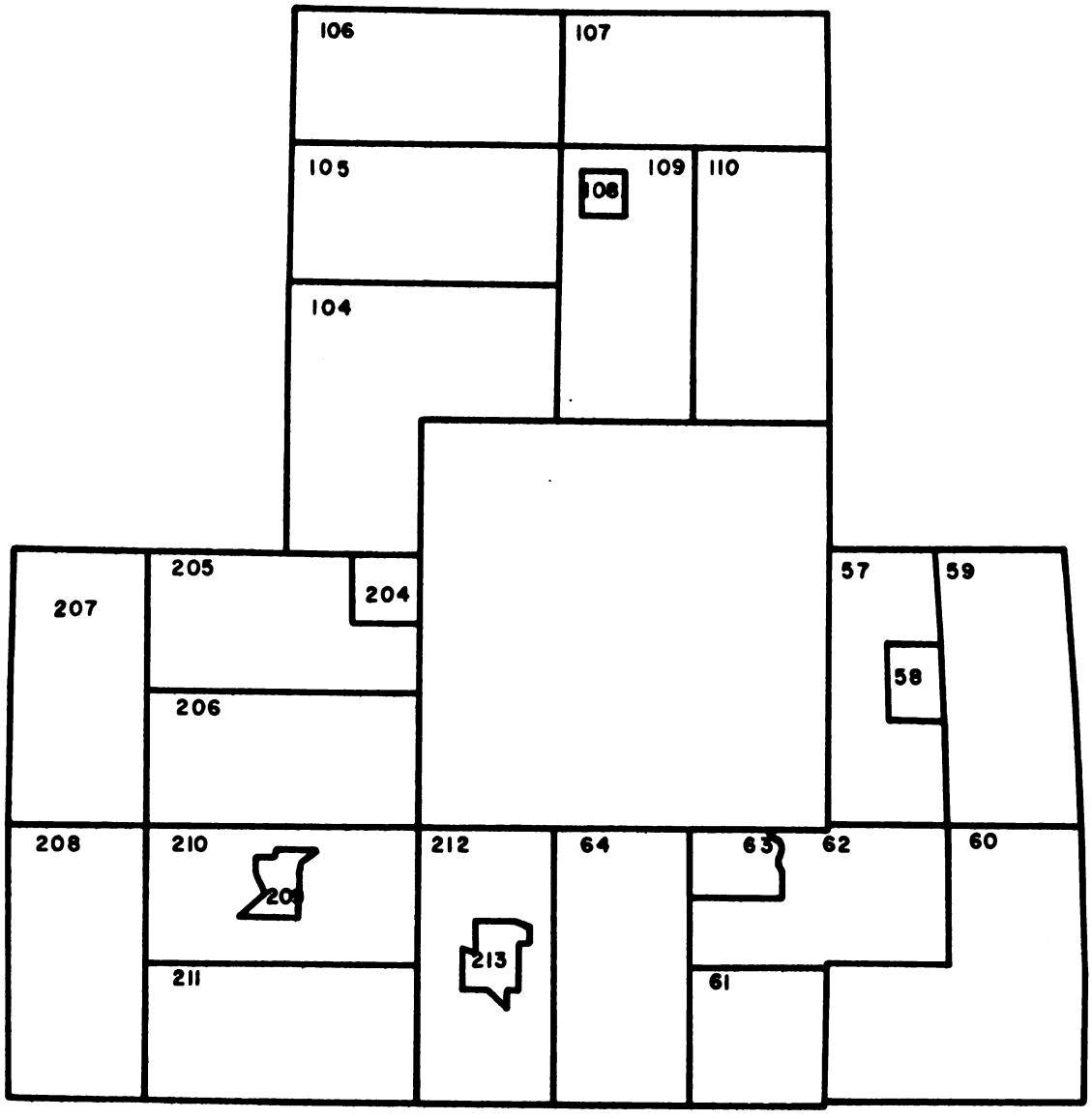
Census tract number	Land use		Room occupancy	
	Acres per census tract	Houses per acre	Over-crowded	Severely overcrowded
31.02	257.6	587	12	6
32	655.5	886	90	16
33.01	542.8	1,067	59	7
33.02	492.2	789	26	--
34	110.4	13	--	1
35	9.2	4		
36.01	395.6	1,357	113	11
36.02	478.8	1,245	126	24
37	964.0	1,985	144	16
38.01	73.6	235	6	2
44.01	357.8	23	1	
51	1,122.4	635	56	15
52	744.0	1,420	81	12
53.01	2,263.2	1,441	91	8
53.02	533.6	263	19	3
202	441.8	357	9	3

Overcrowded = 1.01 to 1.50 persons per room.

Severely overcrowded = 1.51+ persons per room.

Houses per acre = total number of houses divided by the number of acres in any given census tract.

Acres per census tract = number of acres per tract as measured by the Lansing Planning Department, City Hall, City of Lansing. Or acreage may be calculated by dividing land area in square miles by 640 (number of acres per square miles). Lansing is estimated at 33.58 square miles x 640 acres = 21,494.7 acres in the Lansing area, as of 1970.



Source: Tri-County Regional Planning Commission for Clinton, Eaton, and Ingham Counties, 1970.

Figure 7. Tri-County Region: 1970 Census Tracts with census tract boundaries and census tract numbers.

Typed and Printed in the U.S.A.
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