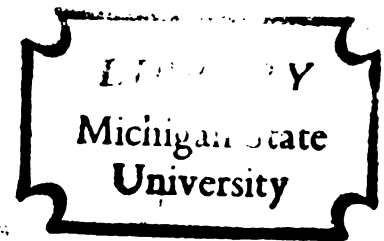


THE INFLUENCE
OF CAUCASIAN TEACHERS
ON NEGRO AND CAUCASIAN
STUDENTS IN SEGREGATED AND
RACIALLY-MIXED INNER-CITY SCHOOLS

A Thesis for the Degree of Ed. D.
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JOSEPH H. McMILLAN

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This is to certify that the

thesis entitled


THE INFLUENCE OF CAUCASIAN TEACHERS ON NEGRO
AND CAUCASIAN STUDENTS IN SEGREGATED AND
RACIALLY-MIXED INNER-CITY SCHOOLS

presented by

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ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE OF CAUCASIAN TEACHERS ON NEGRO AND CAUCASIAN STUDENTS IN SEGREGATED AND RACIALLY-MIXED INNER-CITY SCHOOLS

by Joseph H. McMillan

This investigation was an exploratory study to determine if the racial composition of a school had a differential effect upon teacher influence on sixth grade students in sixteen lower-class schools of an urban midwestern community. More specifically this research focused on the differential on teacher influence of schools categorized as predominantly Negro, racially-mixed, and predominantly white. The major independent variable in the study was the racial composition of the school. The major control variables were student socio-economic status, student race, and school social class composition. The indices of teacher influence were: (1) the association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability, (2) the association between perceived teacher evaluation and grade-point average, (3) the association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations, and (4) the association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average.

Drawn from the theoretical orientation, symbolic interactionism, the major hypothesis was that the magnitude of teacher influence would

be greater in predominantly white schools than in racially-mixed schools, which would in turn, be greater than the magnitude of teacher influence in predominantly Negro schools.

The population included all of the Negro and Caucasian sixth grade students with Caucasian teachers in sixteen lower class inner-city schools of an urban school system in the midwest. There were 438 students, 260 Caucasian and 178 Negro, included in the analysis.

Findings: Racial Composition of the School and
Its Effects on Major Indices of Teacher Influence

1. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

2. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

3. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools.

4. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly white inner-city schools.

5. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

6. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

7. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

8. The association between perceived teacher evaluation and grade-point average was greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

Findings: Racial Composition of the School
and Its Effects on Other Related Indices
of Teacher Influence

1. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was greater for Caucasian teachers with Caucasian students in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

2. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was not greater for Caucasian

teachers with Caucasian students in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

3. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

4. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was not greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

5. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

6. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

7. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

8. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Negro students in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

Major Conclusions

Although further testing for confirmation is required this investigation has revealed that the racial composition of the school does have an effect on teacher influence which is distinct from that of the social class composition of the school.

It is also concluded that racially-mixing a school does not impair or weaken the magnitude of teacher influence or the achievement level of Negro or Caucasian students.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Need

Is the racial composition of a school likely to be a relevant condition affecting the influence of teachers on students? This study examines the relationships between student perceptions of teacher expectations and student characteristics under conditions of school racial composition.

Although prior research has focused on the association between students' socio-economic status level and school performance, very few investigations have examined the impact of the schools' social class level on student or teacher behaviors.¹

Recently social scientists have recognized the need for studying the class status of schools. Herriot and St. John,² for example, examined the influence of the socio-economic status levels of schools on teachers and students. In their research, however, the racial composition of the school, a status characteristic in many communities and the independent variable in this study, was not specifically taken into account. With considerable insight and clarity they pointed to

¹Robert C. Herriot and Nancy H. St. John, Social Class and the Urban School: The Impact of Pupil Background on Teachers and Principals, New York: John C. Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958, p. 4-12.

²Ibid.

the need for research which focuses on conditions of school racial composition under which expected relationships between socio-economic status levels of schools and educational outcomes may appear.

In the recent report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, the social class composition of schools was found to have a strong relationship between the attitudes and achievement of students.³ This finding was a corroboration of the earlier report, Equality of Educational Opportunity.⁴ In the latter report Coleman concludes empirically that the social composition of the student body is more highly related to achievement, independently of the student's own social background than is any other school factor.⁵

Both of these reports, which are drawn from the same fund of nationwide data on student achievement and attitudes, show a relationship between student performance and the racial composition of schools which also apparently is distinct from considerations either of school social class or school quality.⁶ In this research, however, only comparisons are made between social class composition of schools and school racial mix as racial composition of the schools is examined under the rubric of social class composition of the schools.

³Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 86.

⁴James H. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

⁵Ibid., p. 325.

⁶Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 100.

As pointed out in the appendices to the report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, "This is because the tables present the racial proportions of the classroom together with the social class level of the school. Holding constant the social class composition of the schools with a number of measures does not affect the relationship between the racial composition of the class and achievement. The tables suggest that no matter what the student composition of the school, the characteristics of the other students in the class are strongly related to a student's academic performance. And to the extent that school measures adequately separate students into subgroups where the social class of their fellow students is alike, the residual relationship between racial composition of classmates and achievement can be attributed to racial desegregation in contrast to social class desegregation."⁷ In this study only a residual relationship between racial composition of the class and achievement was found.

However, in the Coleman report the regression analysis employed did not reveal a very large residual relation between racial composition and achievement after differences in the social class composition of classmates had been taken into account. The result was stated:

"The higher achievement of all racial and ethnic groups in schools with greater proportion of white students is largely, perhaps wholly, related to effects associated with the student body's educational background and

⁷Appendices to Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Volume 2 of a Report by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 41.

aspirations. This means that the apparent beneficial effect of a student body with a high proportion of white students comes not from racial composition, per se, but from the better educational background and higher educational aspirations that are, on the average, found among white students."⁸

None of these studies cited above allowed for an adequate test of the importance of racial composition on Negro student performance, independent of the social class composition of the school. Thus there is a need for research which focuses on racial composition of schools, controlling for school social class composition, and its relationship to teacher influence and student characteristics.

In a recent Review of Educational Research, Sanborn and Wasson⁹ elaborated upon educational outcomes and economic disadvantage. They stated that very little research has been done to describe the relationships between school staff members and children of disadvantaged subcultures.¹⁰ Implied in this review of research is the need to understand not only the influence which teachers may have on the learning of disadvantaged students, but also to understand their relative influences under varying school conditions.

One important question, commonly discussed but seldom researched, concerns the impact of the teachers on Negro and Caucasian students in lower class inner-city schools.

⁸Coleman, op. cit., p. 307.

⁹Marshall P. Sanborn and Robert M. Wasson, "Guidance of Students with Special Characteristics," Review of Educational Research, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, (April, 1966), 308-322.

¹⁰Ibid.

The thesis of this study is that the racial composition of the school is an important status characteristic which affects the teachers' influence. Stereotyping of schools on the basis of racial composition has been considered by many to be an important factor in the behavior of teachers, students, and others.

On the basis of a thorough review of the literature to this date there is very little empirical evidence to support this thesis. Thus, this study was based on that need to examine the effects of racial imbalance on teachers' influence in the school.

Theoretical Background and Basic Questions

Racial Composition - Independent Variable

In this study the major theoretical assumption is that an individual's expectations of another person depends upon the individual's categorization of that other as belonging to a particular social category, e.g., man, doctor, or Negro. This position is in accord with and elaborates the views of Goffman¹¹ and Becker¹² both of whom emphasize role expectations as they relate to social categories.

Categorization, such as stigmatizing as termed by Goffman, exerts its influence in overt and subtle fashion. One can directly categorize on the basis of personal cues, e.g., color of skin, or one can cate-

¹¹Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1963).

¹²Howard Becker, The Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, (Lovelton: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

gorize others on the basis of their being members of a particular school or institution. This is analagous to Goffman's discussion of personal and social identity.¹³

For example, if the stereotype of a school as a "Negro" school includes meanings of academic inferiority, the Negro and white students in that school are likely to be the recipients of low academic expectation. This assumption was clinically corroborated at the recent civil rights hearings on the effects of racial isolation in public schools.

"At commission hearings parents and teachers often testified that predominantly Negro schools are stigmatized institutions . . . Dr. Charles Pinderhughes, a psychiatrist, who testified at the Boston hearing, said that the Negro school carries with it a stigma that influences the attitudes both on the part of students and teachers . . ." ¹⁴

All Negro or predominantly Negro schools may be looked upon by the community as poor schools. No matter what is done to improve the quality of such schools the predominantly Negro racial composition of the school may conjure up a negative label. As pointed out in the above-cited civil rights report:

"Racially isolated schools, then, generally are regarded by the community as inferior institutions. The stigma attached to such schools affects the attitudes of both students and teachers. Students sense the community attitudes and the fact that their teachers often expect

¹³Goffman, op. cit.

¹⁴Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Vol. 1, a report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 104).

little of them. The combination of poor performance and low expectations reinforces their sense of futility and their image in teachers' minds as children who cannot learn. The negative attitudes and poor performance of Negro children in isolated schools accumulate over time, making a successful interruption of the process increasingly difficult. They carry over into adult life and are reflected there in levels of income and occupation."¹⁵

On the other hand, if the identification of a school as a "white" school carries with it meanings of academic superiority, the Caucasian and Negro students in that school may benefit from high academic expectations. This hypothesis is cogently supported by findings in the reports, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools¹⁶ and Equality of Educational Opportunity.¹⁷ For example, in the Civil Rights Commission Report comparisons show that when relatively disadvantaged Negro students are in class with a majority of similarly disadvantaged white students their performance is higher than when they are in a class with a majority of equally disadvantaged Negroes. A similar relationship obtains for more advantaged Negro students when those in school with similarly advantaged Negroes are compared with those in school with similarly advantaged whites.¹⁸

Although the above research findings suggest a relationship between influences of teachers and the racial composition of schools

¹⁵Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 109.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 91. For a discussion of this finding, see p. 89-114 of above cited report.

¹⁷James H. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity 3 (1966).

¹⁸Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 91.

they do not, however, explain it. In this study the student's race socio-economic status and the social class composition of his school will be controlled so that the independent effect of racial composition of the school on teacher influence can be measured.

Theoretical Issues - Dependent Variables

Prior research has established the relevance of perceived evaluations and expectations of others for affecting self-conceptions of ability. Specifically, recent research has indicated that there is a relationship between self-concept of ability in school and academic achievement as well as between self-concept of ability and perceived evaluations by others.¹⁹

Subsequent research has confirmed the hypothesis that a student's educational plan level is likely to be dependent upon his conception of educational expectations held for him by "significant others."²⁰

Moreover, numerous research findings by Brookover and associates have demonstrated that self-concepts of ability of students are associated with their perceptions of how significant others evaluate them.

*Teacher influence will be operationally defined in a subsequent chapter on methodology.

¹⁹Wilbur B. Brookover, et al., "Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement," Sociology of Education, XXXVII (1964), 271-278.

²⁰Edsel Erickson, Lee Joiner, Corwin Krugh, and Natalie Sproull, "Perceptions of the Educational Expectations of Others and Educational Plans: A Longitudinal Study of High School Males," reported in Education Research Series, No. 36, Cooperative Research Project 2831, February, 1967, 303-316.

The general hypothesis is that the functional limit of one's ability are in part set by one's self-concept of ability which is acquired through interaction with others.

The theoretical framework in which these findings are couched is derived from a symbolic interactional theory of behavior as espoused by George Herbert Mead²¹ and articulated by Wilbur B. Brookover and associates.²² This orientation stresses the influences of others in role decisions. Students and teachers, from this perspective, would react toward each other in terms of how each can be expected to behave. According to Brookover, "the student acquires by taking the role of the other, a perception of his own ability as a learner of the various types of skills and subjects which constitute the school curriculum."²³

Thus, it is not necessarily the actual behavior of others which determines an individual's actions. Rather it is the individual's

²¹George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934) 138-225. "The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. For he enters his own experience as a self or individual not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only insofar as he first becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other individuals toward him within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved."

²²Wilbur B. Brookover and David Gottlieb, A Sociology of Education, (2nd Edition, New York: American Book Company, 1964).

²³Ibid., p. 469.

interpretation of the expectation and acts of others which determines an individual's actions.²⁴

However, social conditions which affect the magnitude of observed associations between perceived teacher evaluations and self-concept, perceived teacher educational aspirations and student plans, perceived teacher educational aspirations and student aspirations, perceived academic expectation levels of teacher and student academic achievement aspirations are not fully known.

The guiding thesis of this study is that the racial composition of the school will differentially affect each of these dependent variables.

Research Objectives and Purpose

The major research objective is to determine how racial dominance in lower class schools will affect the magnitudes of association between student perceptions of teacher expectations and various student characteristics.

There are four major dependent variables, each an inferential index of the magnitude of relative teacher influence on student characteristics. These are the relative associations between: (1) perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of ability; (2) perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average; (3) perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations; (4) perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average. In other

²⁴Wilbur B. Brookover, Edsel L. Erickson and Lee M. Joiner, "Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement 3," final report on Cooperative Research Project 2831.

words, the magnitudes of these correlations will vary by the independent variable of racial status of the school ("white", "Negro", or "racially-mixed"). The major control variables are student's race, socio-economic status, and the social class level of the school. Student sex and measured intelligence were not statistically controlled, but they were evenly distributed throughout the racial categories.

Major Hypothesis

In this study research has specifically focused on sixth grade Negro and Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in the inner-city of a midwest urban community. On the basis of the previous discussion and other findings in Chapter II, Review of Literature, the following general hypothesis is made:

Sixth grade students, both Negro and Caucasian, will exhibit greater magnitudes of association between perceived teacher characteristics and student characteristics in "predominantly white" inner-city schools than in "racially-mixed" schools, which in turn will be greater than in "predominantly Negro" schools.

A restatement of this hypothesis is that the magnitude of these correlations will be greater in "predominantly white" and "racially-mixed" schools than in "predominantly Negro" schools and greater in "predominantly white" than in "racially-mixed" schools.

Exploratory questions dealt within this study concern comparisons of Negro students in "white" schools in contrast to Caucasian students in "Negro" schools, etc. and the differences in the characteristics of students and teachers in each type of school.

Importance of the Study

The significance of this study is that it provides a more definitive examination of the relevance of schools of similar socio-economic status which are labelled according to racial composition. In this way a contribution is made to the social science literature pertaining to social status as a useful construct. Most other investigations have found significant correlations between social class or socio-economic status and pupil academic performance but generally have treated socio-economic status or social class separately from school racial composition. Usually racial composition of the school was not controlled for in such studies. Thus, in essence, these studies have attempted to explain away effects of racial composition of schools on student and teacher characteristics. If they discover effects of racial composition such effects are described as being merely spurious.²⁵

For educators and other decision makers, if segregated and nonsegregated inner-city schools have differential impact on teacher influence on Caucasian and Negro students important decisions may be made with greater confidence by school administrators, many of whom are simultaneously concerned with the issues of school desegregation and compensatory education.

²⁵Herriot and St. John, op. cit., p. 180.

School systems throughout the country are faced with tremendous problems which are incident to racial isolation. Indeed, as indicated in a previously cited report by Coleman, the great majority of American children attend schools that are largely segregated. Many school systems are launching school desegregation projects via changing feeder patterns, changing boundary lines, bussing children, and establishing educational parks. Most of these decisions regarding school desegregation have been made without supporting research evidence. Hopefully, this research will provide school personnel with programmatic information which can be used in reaching decisions regarding school desegregation.

Moreover, the findings of this study will aid school personnel who are concerned with the attendant problems of teacher recruitment, teacher placement and assignment, and teacher transfer.

Furthermore, this study will provide school personnel with information regarding the effects of racial composition of schools of similar socio-economic status level, an often overlooked factor by those concerned with school integration.

Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of this inquiry lies in the sample of schools, students and school staff.

Although all of the sixth grade students in sixteen inner-city schools were studied, the schools in this city may or may not be

typical of other cities in the urban north. Therefore, generalizations from this study should be made with caution.

Also the small number of Negro children in schools of the racial category, "predominantly white", was sufficient only for very tentative conclusions.

In addition, while several relevant controls were applied, it was not possible to control for teacher social class, teacher job satisfaction, teacher morale, all of which may bear on teacher influence. Also there were no controls for teacher quality, school quality and effects due to different school facilities and curricula.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Research in the area of social class and education has traditionally been focused upon associations between socio-economic status level and teacher attitudes. Many well known studies have provided evidence that teachers tend to promote and perpetuate "middle class norms."

In a classic study, Who Shall Be Educated?: The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities¹ Warner, Havighurst and Loeb found that "middle class norms" are used to screen out lower class children who do not conform to the "middle class" standards of the school. "The American School . . . reflects the socio-economic order in everything that it does; in what it teaches, whom it teaches, who does the teaching, who does the hiring and firing of the teachers and what the children learn in and out of the classroom."²

The authors conclude that the American schools have a social class screening device which generally keeps upward mobility for lower class children at a minimum.

¹W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst and Martin Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated?: The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities, (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), p. 11.

²Ibid.

"This book describes how our schools, functioning in a society with basic inequalities facilitates the rise of a few from lower to higher levels but continued to serve the social class system by keeping down many people who try for higher places. The teacher, the school administrator, the school board, as well as the students, play their roles to hold people in their places in our structure."³

This study has been corroborated by investigations by Warner and Bailey,⁴ Rich⁵ and Davis.⁶

The fact that teachers increasingly come from lower class groups does not suggest a change in this "middle class orientation." Patricia Sexton found that while teachers may come from lower class backgrounds they tend to identify with upper-income groups.⁷ Brookover⁸ corroborated this finding in an earlier study.

There appears to be much more to this problem than the orientation of the teacher per se. Burton⁹ found that . . . "many

³Ibid., p. 11.

⁴W. Lloyd Warner and Wilfred C. Bailey, Democracy in Jonesville, (New York: Harper, 1949).

⁵John Rich, "How Social Class Values Affect Teacher-Pupil Relations," Journal of Educational Sociology.

⁶Allison Davis, Social Class Influences Upon Learning, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952).

⁷Patricia Sexton, Education and Income, (New York: The Viking Press, 1961).

⁸Wilbur B. Brookover, "Teachers and the Stratification of American Society," Harvard Educational Review, XXIII (1953), p. 257-667.

⁹William H. Burton, "Educational and Social Class in the United States," Harvard Educational Review, Volume 23, No. 4, Fall, 1953.

teachers cannot communicate with lower class children and have no idea of the beliefs and motives of the children. Furthermore, he coupled this problem with the finding that ". . . many lower class children do not value the objectives and processes of the school."

Undoubtedly, as emphasized above, social class differences between teachers and students exist and these differences are relevant for understanding teacher-student relationships. Unfortunately, however, social class as an explanatory variable has been overemphasized with examining conditions which modify the impact of class. Granted, the lower the social class or socio-economic status of students the greater the proportion of students who do not achieve at higher levels in school. However, as found in a study by Brookover,¹⁰ a large proportion of lower class children do achieve well within the school system. In this study it was discovered that more than thirty percent of students from the lower socio-economic stratum were high achievers. As he concluded, in spite of the limited educational attainment and lower occupational status of their parents, a sizable proportion of students from lower-class families are excelling in school. In fact many of these who do fail, may fail for reasons outside of the "middle class" bias of the school.¹¹

This warrants a movement away from research which simply relates individual social class level to school performance. What

¹⁰Wilbur B. Brookover and David Gottlieb, Sociology of Education, New York: American Book Company, 1964.

¹¹Ibid.

is needed is research which helps us to distinguish between lower class children who achieve from lower class children who do not achieve. This stance has recently been taken in the research of Gross and Herriot¹² and Herriot and St. John¹³ where family social class characteristics are examined under conditions of the socio-economic status level of the school. From their perspectives a lower class student in a school of lower socio-economic status might be expected to have different experiences than a lower class student in a school of middle or upper socio-economic status. Herriot and St. John¹⁴ report that the socio-economic composition of the school has a differential impact upon the characteristics, attitudes, and behavior of students, teachers, and principals. "A very large percentage of a long list of characteristics of parents and pupils were found to vary significantly and, for the most part, monotonically by school SES, while the direction of the variation is without exception to the disadvantage of pupils in schools of low SES."¹⁵ This finding was corroborated by Wilson¹⁶ in a recent study in a single California community and Coleman¹⁷ in a massive nationwide study.

¹²Neal Gross and Robert E. Herriot, Staff Leadership in Public Schools, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965.

¹³Robert E. Herriot and Nancy H. St. John, Social Class and the Urban School, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 204.

¹⁶Alan Wilson, "Educational Consequences of Segregation in a California Community" in app. C-3 (Volume II of report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office (1967), 165-206.

¹⁷Coleman, op. cit., p. 307-310.

Although Herriot and St. John¹⁸ point out that the racial composition and the socio-economic position of the school are so closely intertwined and correlated that there is no need to treat them separately, they raise the question that the racial composition of a school may in fact differentially impact behavior of a school's pupils and staff. Using statistical techniques of zero order and partial correlation they make the case that among schools variation in the racial composition of enrolled pupils will not "explain away" the observed relationships between socio-economic composition and the many phenomena found to vary with it.¹⁹ However, they point out parenthetically, "This is only one of the three variable models which could be applied to study the effects of School Race on the relationship between School SES and a selected dependent variable. However, it is the one most crucial to the problem under consideration. We shall have to leave to future research the fascinating problem of determining the conditions of School Race under which expected relationships between School SES and the characteristics and behavior of teachers and principals, which we have failed to find, may appear, as well as the conditions under which relationships might be stronger or weaker."²⁰

¹⁸Herriot and St. John, op. cit., p. 210.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 184.

²⁰Ibid., p. 185.

In a recent report released by the United States Commission on Civil Rights the same question was raised and discussed in the following manner:

"Thus far the racial composition of schools has not been taken into account. Does it have a relationship to performance which is distinct from that associated with the social class composition of schools? Research has not yet given clear answers to the question. While serious performance differences between predominantly Negro and predominantly white schools are evident, there has been disagreement on whether the differences are due entirely to factors associated with the social class level of schools or whether racial composition is an important additional factor."²¹

Although it was found in this report that there was a residual relationship between racial composition of the school and achievement of students, racial composition is generally subsumed under the rubric of social class composition of the schools. In the appendices to this study the following finding was reported by Wilson:

"The racial composition of a school, however, is confounded with its social class composition and the various characteristics which link social class to educational attainment."²²

Thus it seems safe to assume that if one controls for socio-economic status of schools the differential impact of racial composition of schools, the independent variable, on selected dependent variables can be measured.

The Herriot and St. John investigation of the impact of socio-economic composition of urban elementary schools on teachers

²¹Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 89-90.

²²Wilson, op. cit., p. 182.

and principals was based on the way in which these school personnel viewed the principals and parents with whom they interact.²³

However, in this study the major focus will be on student perceptions of the expectations of Caucasian teachers in schools of varying racial composition. As previously stated in the theoretical framework and subsequent hypotheses the racial categorization of schools will influence to a large extent the expectations of teachers and the student perceptions of teacher expectations. Such a view is consonant with the findings of Goffman,²⁴ Becker,²⁵ and Brookover²⁶ who couched their investigations in the framework of Meadean symbolic interactionist theory.

Another distinction, which is commonly recognized except in the research literature, is the fact that teachers may have entirely different attitudes toward lower class Caucasian immigrant pupils than toward lower class Negro children. Often what is passed under the rubrics of "upper", "middle", and "lower" class conflict may be appropriately labelled as "race conflict."

²³Herriot and St. John, op. cit., p. 203.

²⁴Erving Goffman, Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1963.

²⁵Howard Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

²⁶Wilbur Brookover and David Gottlieb, A Sociology of Education, New York: American Book Company, 1964.

As Gottlieb²⁷ found in a study of teacher attitudes toward Negro and white students in a midwestern urban community, Negro and white teachers tend to define Negro students quite differently. The Negro teachers tended to see the children as "happy," "energetic" and "fun loving" while the white teachers were likely to see the same children as "talkative," "lazy" and "rebellious."

Furthermore, Negro teachers were more satisfied with their current teaching positions in the inner-city than were the white teachers. "The fact that Negro teachers are more likely than white teachers to come from backgrounds similar to those of children of the inner-city probably tends to make them more realistic in their expectations and hence less likely to be dissatisfied with their current teaching roles."²⁸

Moreover, Gottlieb²⁹ in another study found that Negro high school students, regardless of class, perceive a greater discrepancy between their goals and those they believe are held by the teacher; and that socio-economically lower-class youth, especially Negro youth, are least likely to perceive their teachers as wanting to help them reach their goals. Also Negro children in segregated schools in the South perceived goal consensus between themselves and their teachers more so than did Negro students in Northern interracial schools and

²⁷David Gottlieb, "Teaching and Students: The Views of Negro and White Teachers," Sociology of Education, Volume 37, (Summer, 1964), 345-353.

²⁸Ibid., p. 349.

²⁹David Gottlieb, "Goal Aspirations and Goal Fulfillment," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 34, p. 934-941, October, 1964.

predominantly Negro schools.³⁰ These findings allow us to infer influence of teachers on students. If the goals between teachers and students are disparate the lesser will be the influence of teachers on students. Also these findings imply that the racial category of a school as well as the geographic location of a school influenced goal consensus between Negro students and their teachers. Thus, it seems logical to assume that the racial composition of a school may well influence expectations of Caucasian teachers and in turn affect perceived evaluations of Negro and Caucasian students. In this research the direction of this influence will be investigated.

Grambs³¹ corroborated the relevance of racial typing when she found that prospective teachers might well express "good" tolerant attitudes toward children of all groups in our society but that the degree of acceptance dropped markedly if the personal lives of these future teachers were involved. She states, "Studies of their attitudes toward children show that the Negro child is rated lowest in all rankings of groups on a Bogardus-type social distance scale."

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Jean Grambs, "Are We Training Prejudiced Teachers?" School and Society, 1951.

In summary, while socio-economic status and social class are important variables to be considered, Davidson and Lang³² point out that most research does not consider racial status. The most disappointing gap, they contend, is in the area of the attitude of the teacher in segregated and racially-mixed school situations. As Green³³ related, "There are teachers who perceive an assignment to an integrated school as an academic affliction." Such an assignment is viewed as a loss in prestige. In fact, Green suggests that the greater the proportion of students in a school who are Negro, the lower the school is ranked on the academic status pole. Hence, racial composition may affect the education of students in two ways: (1) the identification and stereotyping of a student on the basis of his racial identity and; (2) the identification and stereotyping of a student on the basis of being in a school with a racial identity.

Summary

In this chapter the review of related literature has been presented. Although the literature is replete with studies of the relationship between social class or socio-economic status and education most studies focus on the social class levels or socio-

³²Helen Davidson and Gerhard Lang, "Children's Perceptions of Their Teachers Feelings Toward Them Related to Self Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," Journal of Experimental Education 29, 107-118, December, 1960.

³³Robert L. Green, "After School Integration - What?: Problems in School Learning," Personnel and Guidance Journal, Vol. XLIV, No. 7, March, 1966, p. 706.

economic status of the individual and its relationship to achievement, intelligence or some similar educational factor. At the beginning of this chapter attention was given to classic studies of this type.

However, there was a need to break away from these limited and traditional research foci. Recent research has begun to investigate and identify the relationship between the social class composition or the socio-economic status of a school and its impact on relevant educational factors. Research by Herriot and St. John was cited as being typical of the recent trend to focus on the social class or socio-economic composition of the school as the independent variable which impacts characteristics, attitudes, and behavior of students, teachers, and principals. Subsequent research by Wilson and Coleman ostensibly point out the strong association between student aspirations and academic achievement and the social class composition of schools.

In most of these investigations, however, attempts are not made to control for the factor, racial composition of schools. School Race in the Herriot and St. John study was subsumed under the general rubric of socio-economic status. Although students, teachers, and parents were found to be affected by the racial composition of the school they were affected by the socio-economic status of the school regardless of its racial composition.

However, the authors' own data suggest that School Race appears to exercise an influence as great as socio-economic status. The following question is raised, "Does the racial composition of a

school impact the characteristics, attitudes, and behavior of school staff and students in a different way than does the socio-economic status of a school?"

Drawing from Meadean symbolic interactionist theory it is postulated that categorizing or typing a school on the basis of its racial composition may affect teacher expectations and concomitantly affect student perceptions of teacher expectations. Studies by Goffman, Becker and Brookover give support to this hypothesis. Teacher attitudes toward students have been found to vary according to the race of the student.

In general this research will focus upon the influences of Caucasian teachers in schools categorized as (1) predominantly white, (2) racially mixed and, (3) predominantly Negro. More specifically it will investigate the impact of these racial categories on the magnitudes of association between teacher expectancies and student behaviors.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the populations are described; the operational definitions of the major concepts are specified; and the procedures to test the hypotheses are presented.

Major Racial Categories of Schools

Predominantly Negro School¹

A predominantly Negro school is defined as a school in which eighty percent or more of its present student population is Negro. Also it is a school which has been "typed" by citizens in the community as "Negro" because of its high Negro student enrollment over the past ten school years. (School racial composition is 80% through 100% Negro).

Predominantly White School²

A predominantly white school is a school in which eighty percent or more of its student enrollment is Caucasian. Also it is a school which has been "typed" by citizens in the community as "white" because

¹See Appendix A for tables which indicate inner-city schools and their racial composition.

²See Appendix A for tables which indicate inner-city schools and their racial composition.

of its high Caucasian enrollment over the past ten school years.

Racially-Mixed School³

A racially-mixed school is a school in which the student population is seventy-nine percent or less Negro and twenty percent or more Caucasian (20% through 79% Negro). Also it is a school which has been "typed" by citizens in this community as "racially-mixed" because of its mixed racial composition over the past five school years.

Populations

The populations under analysis included all of the sixth grade students and Caucasian teachers in sixteen lower class "inner-city" schools in an urban midwestern city.

Specifically the populations are:

(1) Negro students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Negro schools. This population includes all of the Negro sixth grade students and their Caucasian teachers in five inner-city schools of an urban midwestern city. All of these students have been regularly promoted and are not a part of a special education program.

(2) Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Negro schools. This population includes all of the Caucasian sixth grade students and their Caucasian teachers in five inner-city schools of an urban midwestern city. All of these students have been regularly promoted and are not a part of a special education program.

³See Appendix A for tables which indicate inner-city schools and their racial composition.

(3) Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools. This population includes all of the Negro sixth grade students and their Caucasian teachers in four inner-city schools of an urban midwestern city. All of these students have been regularly promoted and are not part of a special education program.

(4) Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools. This population includes all of the Caucasian sixth grade students and their Caucasian teachers in four inner-city schools of an urban midwestern city. All of these students have been regularly promoted and are not part of a special education program.

(5) Negro students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools. This population includes all of the Negro students and their Caucasian teachers in seven inner-city schools of an urban midwestern city. All of these students have been regularly promoted and are not part of a special education program.

(6) Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools. This population includes all of the Caucasian students and their Caucasian teachers in seven inner-city schools of an urban midwestern city. All of these students have been regularly promoted and are not part of a special education program.

There were more than 700 students who were originally tested. However, because there were insufficient numbers of students and teachers in certain categories many were excluded from the analysis. There were 438 students who constituted the general population of analysis.

Table 3.1. Numbers of sixth grade Negro and Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers* in schools which are predominantly Negro, racially-mixed, and predominantly white (16 poverty area inner-city schools).

School Racial Status					
Predominantly Negro		Racially Mixed		Predominantly White	
Student Race		Student Race		Student Race	
N	C	N	C	N	C
127	31	51	21	208	

*24 Caucasian Teachers

Instrumentation and School Records Data

Self-Concept⁴

General self-concept of academic ability refers to the evaluating definitions which an individual holds of himself in respect to his ability to achieve in academic tasks in general as compared with others in his school class.

General self-concept of ability is operationally defined as the sum of scored responses of a student to the Michigan State General Self-Concept of Ability Scale, hereafter referred to as "GSCA."

This scale of eight multiple choice items was developed under U. S. Office

⁴Wilbur B. Brookover, Ann Paterson, and Shailer Thomas, Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement, U. S. Office of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 845, East Lansing: Office of Research and Publication, Michigan State University, 1962.

of Education, Cooperative Research Project No. 845. Each item is scored from five to one with higher self concept alternatives receiving the higher values. In this study a modified version of this form (GSCA-D) was used.⁵ It is scored from three to one with higher self concept alternatives receiving the higher values.

Perceived Teacher Evaluations (PTEv)⁶

Perceived Teacher Evaluations, hereafter referred to as PTEv, refers to the sum of scored responses to a scale of five multiple choice items. Each item is scored from three to one with higher perceived teacher evaluations receiving the higher values. The central question is, "How do you think your teacher would rate your school ability as compared with others of your age." (See Appendix C for specific questions).

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scored</u>
a. Among the best	5
b. Above average	4
c. Average	3
d. Below average	2
e. Among the poorest	1

⁵See Appendix B for instruments measuring "Self Concept of Academic Ability."

⁶See Appendix C for instruments measuring "Perceived Teacher Evaluations."

Academic Achievement (G.P.A.)

For the purpose of this study, "academic achievement" was defined as the total grade-point average of a subject's grades during the school year 1965-66. Grade-point averages were obtained by averaging grades in reading, mathematics, social studies, and science.

<u>Classification</u>	<u>Grade Point Average</u>
Outstanding	3
Satisfactory for Grade	2
Not Satisfactory for Grade	1

Perceived Teacher Achievement Preferences (PT Ach. Pref.)⁷

Perceived Teacher Achievement Preferences refer to a score a student received in response to the question, "For your teacher to be most pleased with you, what kinds of grades should you get in school in general?"

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scored</u>
a. Mostly A's	9
b. A's and B's	8
c. Mostly B's	7
d. B's and C's	6
e. Mostly C's	5
f. C's and D's	4

⁷See Appendix D for instruments which measure "Perceived Teacher Academic Preferences."

g. Mostly D's	3
h. D's and E's	2
i. Mostly E's	1
j. My grades do not make any difference to my teacher	0

Achievement Aspirations (Ach. Asp.)⁸

Achievement Aspirations refer to a score a student receives in response to the question, "What would be the lowest grades you could get and still be satisfied with yourself?"

<u>Responses</u>	<u>Scored</u>
a. Mostly A's	9
b. A's and B's	8
c. Mostly B's	7
d. B's and C's	6
e. Mostly C's	5
f. C's and D's	4
g. Mostly D's	3
h. D's and E's	2
i. Mostly E's	1
j. My grades do not make any difference to me	0

⁸See Appendix E for instruments which measure "Achievement Aspirations."

Student Socio-Economic Status (Stu. SES)

Socio-Economic Status of students was assessed by a scale developed by Otis Dudley Duncan which uses father's occupation as an index. The occupation of the student's father (or whoever supports the family) was assigned a value ranging from 1 (lowest) to 100 (highest).⁹

School Socio-Economic Status (Sch. SES)

School Socio-Economic Status was determined by a school's rank on indices of poverty as established by the Office of Economic Opportunity (local Community Action Agency). Schools which met OEO criteria were delineated as "target area schools". In order for a school to be designated as "target area" it ranked high on the following OEO indices of poverty:

1. Percent Negro
2. Percent Functional Illiterates
3. Low Family Income
4. Male Unemployment
5. Substandard Housing
6. Property Value
7. Overall Crime Rate

⁹See A. Reiss, Occupation and Social Status. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961.

Lower Class Inner-City School

An inner-city school in this study is defined as a school which met requirements of Title I - Public Act 89-10. Using indices of poverty established by the local Office of Economic Opportunity agency sixteen schools were designated as "inner-city" or "target area".

Measured Intelligence

Measured Intelligence was determined from the I.Q. score on Form E, Kuhlman-Anderson Group Intelligence Test (given to the students in this study in February, 1966, in Grade 5).

Student Race

Student Race was coded on questionnaires as follows:

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Race</u>
1	Caucasian
2	Negro

School Race

School Race was coded on questionnaires as follows:

<u>Code No.</u>	<u>Race</u>
1	White
2	Racially-Mixed
3	Negro

Influence

One can never observe influence. It is a theoretical construct. For the purpose of this study, however, influence was defined as the magnitude of association between student perceptions of teacher expectations and self characteristics of these students. More specifically, teacher influence refers to the magnitude of association between: (1) perceived teacher evaluations and self concept, (2) perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average, (3) perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations, and (4) perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average.

Reliability of Instruments

Reliability of GSCA-D Scale

In the Brookover studies of the relationship of self concept of academic ability with academic achievement the major instrument used was the Michigan State University General Self Concept of Ability Scale (GSCA). It is an eight item Guttman-type scale which has shown high reliability and validity over time. Coefficients of reproducibility were .95 for males and .96 for females for 1050 seventh grade students. In grades eight and nine with random samples of thirty-five males and thirty-five females these items retained scale form with reproducibilities of .92 and .93 for females and .96 and .97 for males in the two years. In tenth grade with random samples of 150 males and 150 females reproducibilities were .86 and .91 respectively.

Reliabilities calculated by Hoyt's analysis of variance indicate high internal consistency over the four years.

In this study a modified version of this scale was used because of the low reading levels of sixth grade inner-city school students. This form was developed by Joiner, Erickson, and Brookover¹¹ for use with a diversified group of hearing impaired students. The readability level of this form is lower than the readability level of the original form, GSCA - Form A.

Reliability and validity data are reported by Joiner¹² in his study. The Pearson (Product Moment) correlation coefficient between scores for non-impaired subjects on the Self Concept of Academic Ability - Form A and the Self Concept of Academic Ability - Form D was .75. A separate analysis of males (n=49) and females (n=48) disclosed no difference in correlation for these groups. The coefficient of equivalence was .762 for males and .756 for females. Also stability via test-retest correlations was .84. The reproducibility value was .941. These data were sufficient to warrant use of the GSCA - D scale with lower class inner-city sixth grade students, many of whom have low readability levels.

¹¹Wilbur B. Brookover, Edsel L. Erickson, and Lee M. Joiner, "Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement, III," Cooperative Research Report No. 2831, U. S. Office of Education. Michigan State University, East Lansing: (1967) p. 61.

¹²Lee M. Joiner, "The Reliability and Construct Validity of the Self Concept of Academic Ability Scale - Form D for Hearing Impaired Students," An Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, East Lansing: Michigan State University (1966), p. 52.

Relationship of PTEv and GSCA-D

Because reliability data have been reported for the dependent variables, Perceived Teacher Evaluations and General Self Concept of Academic Ability, it is postulated that correlations between these two variables will provide a more powerful test of the magnitude of teacher influences.

Reliability of PTEv

Also the following table shows reliability data for Perceived Evaluations of Academic Ability scales:

Table 3.2. Hoyt's analysis of variance reliability coefficients for perceived evaluations of academic ability scales, grades 8-12 longitudinal study.¹³

Grade	PPEv	PFEv	PTEv
8	.838	.755	.918
9	.846	.880	.927
10	.782	.869	.921
11	.828	.859	.921
12	.849	.871	.912

n=561 combined males and females

*From this table one can discern the high reliability coefficients for Perceived Teacher Evaluations.

¹³Wilbur B. Brookover, Edsel L. Erickson, Lee M. Joiner, op. cit., p. 61.

Reliability of Other Variables

Reliability data has not been reported for Perceived Teacher Achievement Preferences (PT Ach.) or Achieved Aspirations (Ach. Asp.). However, these variables have been used frequently in other studies conducted by Brookover, Erickson and associates in the Michigan State University studies of "Self Concept of Ability and School Achievement." Because these scales lack reliability the findings derived from them can only be considered tentative. As indices of teacher influence these one-item instruments are much less sensitive than the GSCA scale or the PTEv scale.

Data Collection Procedures

In the winter of 1967 questionnaires were administered to all of the sixth grade students in sixteen inner-city schools of a medium sized midwestern city. The questionnaires were administered in each sixth grade class in each of the sixteen schools under the direction of the author and research assistants from Western Michigan University.

Idiosyncratic background data on each student was simultaneously collected by this author.

The investigators were careful not to mention to students or teachers race, class or any items which they feared might confound the results of this study.

Statistical Procedures

The general hypothesis was that the magnitude of teacher influence on students in predominantly white schools will be greater than the magnitude of teacher influence on students in racially-mixed schools which will, in turn, be greater than the magnitude of teacher influence in predominantly Negro schools. The predicted direction is as follows:
 $W > M > N$.

The major research hypotheses to be tested are that the Pearson Product moment correlations between PTEv (Perceived Teacher Evaluations) and SCA (Self Concept of Ability) and between PTEv (Perceived Teacher Evaluations) and GPA (grade-point average) differ for schools which are predominantly Negro (N), racially-mixed (M) and predominantly white (W) as follows:

$$H_{R1} : r_W > r_M$$

$$H_{R1} : r_W - r_M > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_W - r_M \leq 0$$

$$H_{R2} : r_M > r_N$$

$$H_{R2} : r_M - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_M - r_N \leq 0$$

$$H_{R3} : r_W > r_N$$

$$H_{R3} : r_W - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_W - r_N \leq 0$$

Hypothesized Correlations

Pearson's Product moment correlations were computed to test hypotheses of association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of ability and between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average.

These correlations were tested for significance at the .05 level (one-tailed test) by reference to tabled values of r for a given number of degrees of freedom.¹⁴ The null hypothesis is:
 $H_0: \rho = 0$

Hypothesized Differences in Correlations

$H_R: \rho_1 - \rho_2 > 0$: Differences in Pearson's Product moment correlations for independent populations was determined by a one-tailed z test¹⁵ where values of ρ are converted to z scores.

($H_A: \rho_1 - \rho_2 \leq 0$)

Level of Significance

For all null hypotheses the region of rejection, α , was set as equal to or beyond the .05 level of statistical significance.

Supportive hypotheses which are not as subject to as stringent a test as the major hypotheses due to levels of measurement and distribution properties (see Instrumentation section) are that the Kendall-Tau Rank Correlations¹⁶ between perceived teacher achievement preferences (PT Ach. Pref.) and achievement

¹⁴John B. Peatman, Introduction of Applied Statistics, New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 306.

¹⁶Sidney Siegel, Non-Parametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. (1956), p. 213.

aspirations (Ach. Asp.), perceived teacher achievement preferences (Pl' Ach. Pref.) and grade-point average (GPA) and perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average (GPA) will rank as follows:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} H_{R4} & : & \tau_W > \tau_M \\ H_{R5} & : & \tau_M > \tau_N \\ H_{R6} & : & \tau_W > \tau_N \end{array}$$

Hypotheses one through six were tested with Negro students and Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers. As indicated in Table 3 - there were only six Negro students in a predominantly white school. Hence, hypotheses H_{R2} , H_{R3} , H_{R5} , and H_{R6} could not be tested with Negro students in predominantly white schools.

Control Variables

In this study it was important to control for the social class composition of the school. As indicated in the Instrumentation section all of the schools included in this study complied with OEO indices of poverty to qualify as "target area" or inner-city schools. As a further check of the social class composition of the schools mean scores of student SES (socio-economic status) were calculated for each racial category. It was found that there were no differences in mean scores of schools by individual SES. Approximately ninety percent of the students in each school scored one standard.

deviation or more below the mean on the Duncan Student SES scale.¹⁷

These mean scores are reported in the following table:

Table 3.3. Student SES mean scores of schools of varying racial composition.*

N	M	W
(N=158)	(N=72)	(N=208)
22	23	25

*Because these scores were so far below the mean for the general population it was felt that it was unnecessary to calculate statistical differences between them.

Also the breakdown of boys and girls in some categories was too small for analysis. Thus, for purposes of analysis in this study boys and girls were not treated separately.

¹⁷Reiss, op. cit., p. 109-161. The mean scores were derived from the widely-used Duncan-Socio-Economic Index for all occupations. The mean of this scale for the general population is 50. The total means of students in various racial categories ranged from 22 through 25.

Other Findings

Since this study was designed to test magnitudes of association (correlations) between variables which measured teacher influence differences in mean scores were not germane. However, pertinent mean scores are reported in the Appendix.

Summary

In this chapter procedures which were used in conducting this investigation were discussed.

The population under investigation included all of the sixth grade students, Negro and Caucasian, in sixteen inner-city schools of an urban midwestern community. There were 438 students, 260 Caucasian and 178 Negro, included in the study.

Instruments were listed and available reliability and validity data on these instruments were reported. Also operational definitions of terms used in the study were given.

Finally the major hypothesis was stated and subsidiary hypotheses were listed in symbolic form. Major statistical devices which will be employed were described. Analysis involved Pearson Product Moment correlations, Kendall-Tau Coefficients of Rank Correlation, student's "t" tests, and z tests. A summary table listed on the next page succinctly describes the variables and the procedures used in testing relationships between variables.

Table 3.4. Summary of correlations used in the analysis.

	N	M	W
Caucasian Students and Caucasian Teachers	(N=31)	(N=21)	(N=208)
PTEv x SCA	r	r	r
PTEv x GPA	r	r	r
PTAch. Pref. x Ach. Asp.	r	r	r
PTAch. Pref. x GPA	r	r	r
Negro Students and Caucasian Teachers	(N=127)	(N=51)	
PTEv x SCA	r	r	
PTEv x GPA	r	r	
PTAch. Pref. x Ach. Asp.	r	r	
PTAch. Pref. x GPA	r	r	

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The test of the hypotheses and the analysis of the data are presented in the same form and order as their theoretical development in Chapter I.

Racial Composition of the School and Its Effect On Major Indices of Teacher Influence

The research interests in this section are in determining:

- (1) if the relationships between perceived teacher evaluations (PTEv) and self concept of ability (SCA) differs in schools of varying racial composition and (2) if the relationship of perceived teacher evaluations (PTEv) and grade-point average (GPA) differs in schools of varying racial composition. The basic hypothesis was that the magnitude of association between the two sets of variables, each a major index of teacher influence, would differentially be affected by schools which are predominantly Negro (N), racially-mixed (M) and (3) predominantly white (W).

H_1 : The relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Caucasian schools than in racially-mixed schools.

$$H_1 : r_W > r_M$$

$$H_R : r_W - r_M > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_W - r_M \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

The findings presented in Table 4.1 show that the relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in racially-mixed schools.

H_2 : The relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_2 : r_M > r_N$$

$$H_R : r_M - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_M - r_N \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

The findings presented in Table 4.1 show that the relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

H_3 : The relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_3 : r_W > r_N$$

$$H_R : r_W - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_W - r_N \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

The findings presented in Table 4.1 show that the relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than it is in predominantly Negro schools.

H_4 : The relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_4 : r_M > r_N$$

$$H_R : r_M - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_M - r_N \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

As indicated in Table 4.1 the correlation between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability is greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

Table 4.1. Correlations between perceived teacher evaluation and self concept of academic ability for Negro and Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers.

	N	M	W
Caucasian Students PTEv x SCA	(N=31) $r_1 = .57$	(N=21) $r_2 = .42$	(N=208) $r_3 = .54$
Negro Students	(N=127) $r_4 = .43$	(N=51) $r_5 = .54$	

All r 's significantly different, P beyond .05 level, "Student's t" statistic. Small and disproportionate n's prohibited adequate test of differences between r 's, $P > .05$.

$H_1 : r_3 > r_2$ Accepted (magnitude of difference in predicted direction)

$H_2 : r_2 > r_1$ Rejected

$H_3 : r_3 > r_1$ Rejected

$H_4 : r_5 > r_4$ Accepted (magnitude of difference in predicted direction)

$H_5 :$ The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in racially-mixed schools.

$H_5 : r_W > r_M$

$H_R : r_W - r_M > 0$

$H_{\Delta} : r_M - r_N \leq 0$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

An examination of Table 4.2 reveals that the correlation between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in racially-mixed schools.

H_6 : The relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_6 : r_M > r_N$$

$$H_R : r_M - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_M - r_N \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

The findings presented in Table 4.2 show that the association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

H_7 : The relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_7 : r_W > r_N$$

$$H_R : r_W - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_W - r_N \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

The findings presented in Table 4.2 show that this hypothesis was confirmed.

H_8 : The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_8 : r_M > r_N$$

$$H_R : r_M - r_N > 0$$

$$H_{\Delta} : r_M - r_N \leq 0$$

Statistic: z test, one-tailed.

It is shown in Table 4.2 that the correlation between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average is greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly

Table 4.2. Correlations between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average for Negro and Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers.

	N	M	W
Caucasian Students PTEv x GPA	(N=31) $r_6 = .15^*$	(N=21) $r_7 = .38^*$	(N=208) $r_8 = .33$
Negro Students PTEv x GPA	(N=127) $r_9 = .11$	(N=51) $r_{10} = .27$	

*Not significant, P beyond .05 level, "Student's t" statistic.
Small and disproportionate n's prohibited adequate test of differences between r 's, $P > .05$.

$H_5 : r_8 > r_7$ Rejected

$H_6 : r_7 > r_6$ Accepted (magnitude of difference
in predicted direction)

$H_7 : r_8 > r_6$ Accepted (magnitude of difference
in predicted direction)

$H_8 : r_{10} > r_9$ Accepted (magnitude of difference
in predicted direction)

Summary

Many correlation coefficients in the tables of this section were statistically significant. However, because of the small and disproportionate populations in the racial categories adequate tests of differences between correlations were prohibited. To find statistical significance of difference between some correlations required a difference in the numerator of the z test formula of .57.

In this study, however, only actual differences in magnitudes of association between sets of variables in each racial category were relevant. It was found that five of the eight hypothesized relationships in this section were in the predicted direction.

On this basis it appears that the racial composition of schools differentially affects the magnitude of association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of ability and the magnitude of association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average. However, these findings are not always consistent with the direction indicated in the major hypothesis of this research. In one case the relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability the correlation coefficient was greater in Negro schools than in predominantly white or racially-mixed schools.

Racial Composition of the School
and Its Effect on Other Related
Indices of Teacher Influence

The research interests in this section are in determining:

(1) if the relationship between perceived teacher achievement preferences (PT Ach.) and achievement aspirations (Ach. Asp.) differs according to the racial category of the school and (2) if the relationship between perceived teacher achievement preferences (PT Ach.) and grade-point average (GPA) differs according to the racial category of the school.

It was felt that associations between these two sets of variables would furnish supportive evidence to the hypothesis that the magnitude of influence of Caucasian teachers would be differentially affected by schools which are predominantly Negro (N), racially-mixed (M) and predominantly white (W). Because the instruments designed to measure these aspects of teacher influence had no reported reliability data and involved only one item Kendall-Tau rank correlation coefficients were obtained. There are no tests of significance for differences between Kendall-Tau correlations. In this analysis hypothesized differences between correlations can be observed by inspecting the tables,

H_9 : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in racially-mixed schools.

$$H_{R9} : \tau_W > \tau_M$$

By inspection of Table 4.3 a greater correlation between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in racially mixed schools can be observed.

H_{10} : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_{R10} : \tau_M > \tau_N$$

By inspection of Table 4.3 a lesser correlation between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools can be observed.

H_{11} : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Caucasian schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_{R11} : \tau_W > \tau_N$$

By inspection of Table 4.3 a greater correlation between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in predominantly Negro schools can be seen.

H_{12} : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations is greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_{R12} : \tau_M > \tau_N$$

The above hypothesis is disconfirmed by inspection of Table 4.3.

A lesser correlation can be observed between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations of Negro students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Negro schools than in racially-mixed schools.

Table 4.3. Kendall-Tau rank correlations between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations for Negro and Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers.

	N	M	W
Caucasian Students PT Ach.Pref. x Ach. Asp. $\tau_1 = .53$ (N=26)		$\tau_2 = .29$ (N=21)	$\tau_3 = .58$ (N=190)
Negro Students PT Ach.Pref. x Ach. Asp. $\tau_4 = .60$ (N=115)		$\tau_5 = .53$ (N=50)	

$P < .05$ for all coefficients.

$$H_9 : \tau_3 > \tau_2 \text{ Accepted}$$

$$H_{10} : \tau_2 > \tau_1 \text{ Rejected}$$

$$H_{11} : \tau_3 > \tau_1 \text{ Accepted}$$

$$H_{12} : \tau_5 > \tau_4 \text{ Rejected}$$

H_{13} : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in racially-mixed schools.

$$H_{R13} : \tau_W > \tau_M$$

Table 4.4 indicates that this hypothesis is confirmed.

- H_{14} : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_{R14} : \tau_M > \tau_N$$

By inspection of Table 4.4 a greater correlation between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average of Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools can be observed.

- H_{15} : The magnitude of association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average is greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_{R15} : \tau_W > \tau_N$$

An inspection of Table 4.4 indicates that above cited hypothesis is confirmed.

- H_{16} : The observed association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average is greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools.

$$H_{R16} : \tau_M > \tau_N$$

This hypothesis is accepted by inspection of Table 4.4.

Table 4.4. Kendall-Tau correlations between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average for Caucasian and Negro students with Caucasian teachers.

	N	M	W
Caucasian Students PT Ach. Pref. x GPA	(N=26) $\tau_6 = 0^*$	(N=21) $\tau_7 = .05^*$	(N=190) $\tau_8 = .14$
Negro Students PT Ach. Pref. x GPA	(N=115)* $\tau_9 = .06$	(N=50) $\tau_{10} = .17$	

*Not significant, $P > .05$.

$$\begin{aligned}
 H_{13} : \tau_8 &> \tau_7 && \text{Accepted} \\
 H_{14} : \tau_7 &> \tau_6 && \text{Accepted} \\
 H_{15} : \tau_8 &> \tau_6 && \text{Accepted} \\
 H_{16} : \tau_{10} &> \tau_9 && \text{Accepted}
 \end{aligned}$$

Summary

From inspection of Tables 4.3 and 4.4 it can be observed that Kendall-Tau rank correlations, which are not amenable to tests of significance of difference between correlations, are generally greater for Caucasian and Negro students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white and racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro schools. Six of the eight hypothesized relationships for Caucasian and Negro students with Caucasian teachers were in the predicted direction.

However, the correlation between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations for Negro and Caucasian students was found to be greater for Negro and Caucasian in predominantly Negro inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This has been an investigation of the magnitude of teacher influence under conditions of racial composition of the schools.

Summary of Research Objectives

The research objective was to determine if the racial composition of the school has a differential effect upon the magnitude of influence of Caucasian teachers on Negro and Caucasian sixth grade students in lower class inner-city schools of a midwestern city. More specifically the focus of this research was the examination of the hypothesis that the magnitude of teacher influence would differ in schools categorized as (1) predominantly Negro, (2) racially-mixed, and (3) predominantly white.

Summary of Methodology

The population under investigation included all of the sixth grade students, Negro and Caucasian, with Caucasian teachers in sixteen lower class inner-city schools of a medium sized midwestern city. All of these students were in a regular school program and had been regularly promoted. There were 438 students, 178 Negro and 260 Caucasian, included in the analysis.

To determine the relative effects of schools of varying racial composition on teacher influence it was important to control for the social class composition of the schools. Only students, who attended lower class inner-city schools, which met criteria of poverty as defined by the local Community Action Agency were tested. Because approximately equally small numbers of boys and girls were found in each racial category it was deemed unnecessary to control for student sex. In each racial category the mean total student socio-economic status level was approximately the same. Because of disproportionate numbers in racial categories measured intelligence was not controlled.

The variables under analysis were: perceived teacher evaluations, self concept of academic ability, perceived teacher achievement preferences, achievement aspirations, and grade-point average.

The data was collected through the administration of questionnaires and from the students' school records. The analysis of the data involved the use of product moment correlations, Kendall-Tau correlations, Student's "t" tests, and z tests.

Summary of Research FindingsRacial Composition of the School
and Its Effect On Major Indices
of Teacher Influence

- A. As anticipated the association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was found to be greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools. (Table 4.1)
- B. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- C. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was not found to be greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- D. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability was greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

- E. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was not greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.
- F. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- G. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- H. The association between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average was greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- I. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

- J. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was lesser for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- K. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- L. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was lesser for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- M. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average aspirations was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed inner-city schools.
- N. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

- O. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly white inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.
- P. The association between perceived teacher achievement preferences and grade-point average was greater for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in racially-mixed inner-city schools than in predominantly Negro inner-city schools.

Discussion of Findings

Conclusions

Following the Supreme Court decision of 1954 school racial composition and the attendant problem of school desegregation have become major educational issues throughout the nation. These issues have become the subject of much rhetoric but little research. The most definitive research in this area, the Coleman report, Equality of Educational Opportunity and the subsequent U. S. Civil Rights Commission report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, were not consistent regarding the effect of school racial composition and student achievement. While both attributed major effects on student achievement to the social class level of the school, the latter report found evidence of a greater independent residual relationship between racial composition of the classroom and achievement than did the Coleman report.

The major purpose of this exploratory study was to determine if the contextual variable, racial composition of the school, differentially affected the relationship between perceived teacher expectancies and student characteristics (defined in the study as teacher influence) for Negro and Caucasian lower-class students.

This investigation examined the effects of racial composition only in lower-class inner-city schools; hence school social class composition was held constant.

Because of the limitations, which will be discussed later, all conclusions reported here must be regarded as tentative. Indeed, many of the inconsistent findings make it difficult to make generalizations about such a sensitive and debatable school issue.

From the findings presented in this chapter it can be discerned that the major hypothesis of this research was not fully supported. One conclusion, however, is that the racial composition of the school does have an effect on teacher influence which is distinct from that of the social class composition of the school. With the social class composition of the school controlled, teacher influence varied according to schools categorized as predominantly Negro, racially-mixed, and predominantly white although the hypothesized differences in relationships between dependent variables were not always in the predicted direction.

In this study it was shown that the magnitude of teacher influence was generally greater in predominantly white inner-city schools than in racially-mixed or predominantly Negro inner-city schools. However, the relationships between two indices of teacher influence, perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of academic ability and perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations, were greater for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Negro

schools than in racially-mixed schools. This unanticipated finding may be possibly explained by the tendency of Caucasian teachers to strongly identify with Caucasian students in a predominantly Negro school.

Also the relationship between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations was higher for Negro students with Caucasian teachers in predominantly Negro schools than in racially-mixed schools. Reading down the rows in Table 4.3 it can also be seen that the relationships between perceived teacher achievement preferences and achievement aspirations were higher for Negro students than Caucasian students in predominantly Negro and racially-mixed inner-city schools.

Moreover, lower class Negro students in predominantly Negro and racially-mixed inner-city schools had higher mean self conceptions of ability than lower class Caucasian students. This observation is congruent with numerous studies of aspirations and self concept in which Negro and Caucasian students of similar socio-economic status are compared.¹

These serendipity findings are somewhat inconsistent with the prevailing notion that predominantly Negro schools have a negative effect on teacher expectations. Also these findings challenge somewhat the "self-fulfilling prophecy" idea as espoused by Kenneth Clark² and

¹For example, see Alan Wilson, op. cit., p. 194.

²Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power. New York: Harper and Row (1965), p. 127.

others. Caucasian teachers in this limited study may or may not have negative expectations for Negro and Caucasian students but these expectations were not perceived negatively by these students in predominantly Negro inner-city schools. Although this finding must be regarded as tentative it may be taken as evidence that the "self fulfilling prophecy" does not always prevail in a lower-class predominantly Negro school.

With these exceptions, however, teacher influence was generally greater in predominantly white schools (with a much larger population) and racially-mixed schools than in predominantly Negro schools. This is a confirmation and extension of the United States Civil Rights Commission finding that there is a residual relationship between racial composition of the class and achievement.³

In other studies, however, School Race was examined differently. Usually these studies have involved large representative samples of students from various socio-economic levels. In these kinds of studies attempts were made to hold the social class composition of the school constant while examining the effects of school racial mix. Such attempts have usually resulted in breaking down large samples into representative sub-samples.⁴ Because of the segregated nature of our school system Negro and Caucasian students are

³Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴Ibid.

clustered in segregated situations. The few Negro students found attending desegregated or racially-mixed schools are usually upwardly mobile and of a generally higher social class level than Negro students in segregated school situations. This usually means that the desegregated or racially-mixed schools examined in such massive studies are of higher social class level. School racial mix then becomes confounded with school social class composition. In this study only lower class schools were examined separately and the confounding effect of social class did not take place. Thus, from the limited perspective of this study it is apparent that although school racial composition and school social class composition are highly intertwined (as evidenced from the strikingly similar mean scores on dependent variables in this study) they are different contextual variables.

Also it can be concluded from this study that racially-mixing a school does not impair or weaken the magnitude of teacher influence or the achievement level of Negro or Caucasian students. Indeed in one case, the relationship between perceived teacher evaluations and grade-point average for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers was greater in racially-mixed schools than this relationship in all of the other racial categories.

While this finding disconfirms to some extent one directional hypothesis it affords ample defense for educators who are bent on

desegregating their schools. Contrary to popular belief, at least in this one study it was generally found that racially-mixed schools did not differ too greatly from predominantly white inner-city schools as far as their effects on student achievement and teacher influence. This finding also disconfirms the popular belief, held by some Caucasian parents, that the attitudes and achievement of their children will be negatively affected by desegregating the schools. Controlling for social class composition of the school there was no significant difference in the total mean grade-point average of students in racially-mixed schools and students in other racial categories. Moreover, there was no significant difference between the total mean grade-point average of Negro and Caucasian students in racially-mixed inner-city schools.

Also it can be generally concluded that the findings of this exploratory research substantiate the theory in which it was couched. It corroborates the theory advanced by Mead and articulated by Brookover that the individual incorporates the "generalized other" which represents society, and comes to view himself from the perspective of society within himself. It was generally found in this investigation that the racial composition of the school did affect the ways in which students view themselves and their teachers. Although the total environment affects the ways in which students evaluate themselves as learners and how they perceive that others evaluate them, the contextual

variable, school racial composition represents an important social condition which also affects the attitudes and performance of students and the influence of teachers.

Implications

School racial composition which has been typically treated in sociological research as a demographic variable was found in this study to be a separate contextual phenomenon which may independently affect teacher influence of students. A major implication of the findings of this study is that teacher influence of lower class Negro and Caucasian students might be enhanced by changing the racial make-up of a school. However, this inference needs further verification through experimental programs.

Educators, especially school administrators and teachers, might well focus on programs designed to correct conditions of racial isolation. While this may mean drastic changes in school policy, organization and planning it must also mean attitudinal change on the part of school personnel who are prone to stereotype schools and students on the basis of race. Thus, it is implied that teachers and school personnel need extensive in-service teacher education programs designed to help them understand the needs and values of these students and to modify their expectations of them.

However, the relevance of the unanticipated finding that the correlation between perceived teacher evaluations and self concept of

ability was significantly higher for Caucasian students with Caucasian teachers in Negro schools than in racially-mixed schools suggests that merely racially-mixing a school will not insure greater teacher influence.

There are many other factors than school racial mix which may affect teachers' influence and student-teacher relationships.

Desegregating a school to achieve some semblance of racial balance is a mere first step in enhancing teacher influence. Indeed, as found in this study, there are racially-mixed schools in which the magnitude of teacher influence is less than the magnitude of teacher influence in a predominantly Negro school.

Limitations

One of the major limitations of this study was the inadequate sample. Although there were more than seven-hundred sixth grade students tested only four-hundred thirty-eight were included in this study. There were no Negro teachers in the seven predominantly white inner-city schools and no Caucasian students with Negro teachers in predominantly Negro schools. Therefore students with Negro teachers had to be eliminated from this analysis. Also there were only five Negro sixth grade students in predominantly white schools. Moreover, there were such small numbers in other categories that it was meaningless to take random samples of students in various categories.

Another limitation of this study was the large number of separate one-item instruments designed to measure aspects of teacher

influence. The similarity in the structure of these questions may have resulted in response sets for many of these inner-city sixth grade students who read below grade level.

Another limitation was the difficulty in controlling for teacher characteristics, such as teacher quality, teacher social class, teacher job satisfaction and teacher morale.

Another limitation was the fact that in some schools, categorized as predominantly Negro, sixth grade students were grouped in such a way that they were in "racially-mixed" (as defined in this study) classrooms. This had somewhat of a confounding effect on the results in this study.

Also the instruments employed in this study were not designed to pick up actual teacher expectations and actual teacher achievement preferences for students.

This is an exploratory study which raises a great number of questions regarding the effects of the racial composition of the school on teacher and pupil relationships. It is limited in depth and in scope. However, it gives credence to the notion that school social class and school racial composition are different kinds of variables.

Recommendations

1. This study should be replicated in a large school system or systems. Opportunity for selecting random samples of students in each racial category for a more thorough statistical analysis should be given.

2. The one-item instruments should be improved. Also reliability and validity tests should be made for these instruments.
3. A more sophisticated study should compare measures of actual teacher expectations and achievement preferences of students with perceived teacher evaluations and perceived teacher achievement preferences.
4. Further research should focus on the effects of School Race under conditions of middle-class schools.

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APPENDIX A

TABLES INDICATING RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS IN THIS STUDY

Final Report of Citizens Committee Studying
Racial Imbalance in the School System

PERCENT NON-WHITE PUPIL ENROLLMENT
IN SELECTED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
(1950-65)

<u>School</u>	<u>1950-51</u>	<u>1955-56</u>	<u>1960-61</u>	<u>1964-65</u>	<u>1965-66</u>
01	1%	2%	12%	37%	59%
02	—	—	93	93	93
05	74	81	91	79	78
07	69	81	82	88	89
08	2	29	36	58	75
11	2	26	73	90	94
12	43	80	88	96	96
13	4	18	41	57	63
16	22	47	79	84	82
Total Enrollment in Elementary Schools	12,372	15,657	16,996	20,017	19,830
Total Non-White Enrollment in Elementary Schools	888	1,930	3,059	3,888	4,007
Total White Enrollment in Elementary Schools	11,484	13,727	13,937	16,129	15,823
Average of all Elementary Schools	7%	12%	18%	19%	20.2%

INNER-CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
PERCENT NON-WHITE ENROLLMENT

<u>School</u>	<u>Racial Status</u>	<u>Percent Non-White in Grade 6</u>	<u>Percent Non-White in School</u>
01	3	62	64
02	1	77	89
03	2	0	0
04	2	9	10
*05	1	74	69
06	2	6	6
07	1	81	92
08	3	75	74
09	2	0	0
10	2	0	0
11	1	95	95
12	1	100	99
13	3	71	67
14	2	0	0
15	2	0	0
16	3	79	79

1 - Predominantly Negro
2 - Predominantly White
3 - Racially-Mixed

*Because of recent boundary changes this school's racial composition was changed. School still categorized by people in community as "predominantly Negro".

APPENDIX B

INSTRUMENT: SELF CONCEPT OF ACADEMIC ABILITY
FORM D

Pick one. Circle the letter for your answer.

1. Think of your friends. Do you think you can do school work better, the same, or poorer than your friends?
 - a. better
 - b. the same
 - c. poorer
2. Think of the students in your class. Do you think you can do school work better, the same, or poorer than the students in your class?
 - a. better
 - b. the same
 - c. poorer
3. When you graduate from high school, do you think you will be with the best students, average students, or below average students?
 - a. the best
 - b. average
 - c. below average
4. Do you think you could graduate from college?
 - a. yes
 - b. maybe
 - c. no
5. If you went to college, do you think you would be one of the best, average, or poorest students?
 - a. the best
 - b. average
 - c. poorest
6. If you want to be a doctor or a teacher, you need more than four years of college. Do you think you could do that?
 - a. yes
 - b. maybe
 - c. no
7. Forget how your teachers mark your work. How good do you think your own work is?
 - a. excellent
 - b. average
 - c. below average
8. What marks do you think you really can get if you try?
 - a. A's and B's
 - b. B's and C's
 - c. D's and E's

APPENDIX C

INSTRUMENT: PERCEIVED TEACHER EVALUATIONS

Pretend you are your teacher. Answer like he or she would. Pick one. Circle their answer.

1. Think of your teacher. Would your teacher say you can do school work better, the same, or poorer than other people your age?
 - a. better
 - b. the same
 - c. poorer
2. Would your teacher say you would be with the best, average, or below average students when you graduate from high school?
 - a. the best
 - b. average
 - c. below average
3. Does your teacher think you could graduate from college?
 - a. yes
 - b. maybe
 - c. no
4. Remember you need more than four years of college to be a teacher or doctor. Does your teacher think you could do that?
 - a. yes
 - b. maybe
 - c. no
5. What grades does your teacher think you can get?
 - a. A's and B's
 - b. B's and C's
 - c. D's and E's

APPENDIX D

INSTRUMENT: PERCEIVED TEACHER ACHIEVEMENT PREFERENCES

1. What would be the lowest grades you could get and still have your teacher satisfied with you?
 - a. Mostly A's
 - b. A's and B's
 - c. Mostly B's
 - d. B's and C's
 - e. Mostly C's
 - f. C's and D's
 - g. Mostly D's
 - h. D's and E's
 - i. Mostly E's
 - j. My grades do not make any difference to my teacher.

APPENDIX E

INSTRUMENT: ACHIEVEMENT ASPIRATIONS

1. What would be the lowest grades you could get and still be satisfied with yourself?
 - a. Mostly A's
 - b. A's and B's
 - c. Mostly B's
 - d. B's and C's
 - e. Mostly C's
 - f. C's and D's
 - g. Mostly D's
 - h. D's and E's
 - i. Mostly E's
 - j. My grades do not make any difference to me.

APPENDIX F

TABLE OF MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF MAJOR VARIABLES IN THIS STUDY

Means and Standard Deviations of Major
Variables in This Study*

	N		M		W	
Caucasian Students with Caucasian Teachers	(N=31)		(N=21)		(N=208)	
	S.D.		S.D.		S.D.	
SCA	17.97	2.96	18.57	1.86	17.56	2.29
GPA	1.89	5.31	1.78	4.05	1.85	4.42
PTEv	11.90	2.27	12.29	1.95	11.64	1.76
Negro Students with Caucasian Teachers	(N=127)		(N=51)			
SCA	18.59	2.43	19.02	2.36		
GPA	1.77	4.33	1.82	5.42		
PTEv	12.73	1.67	12.53	2.03		

*Applying the "t" test (one-tailed) of significance of difference between means it was found that there were no statistical differences between means in this table ($P > .05$).

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