This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

RACIAL BIAS OF TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS IN THE ASSIGNMENT OF INCOMING SEVENTH GRADERS TO ABILITY GROUPS WITHIN A DESEGREGATED SCHOOL DISTRICT

presented by

Cassandra Anae Simmons

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

PhD degree in Counseling

Norman E. Stewart

Major professor

Date 11/9/79

RACIAL BIAS OF TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS IN THE ASSIGNMENT OF INCOMING SEVENTH GRADERS TO ABILITY GROUPS WITHIN A DESEGREGATED SCHOOL DISTRICT

By

Cassandra Anae Simmons

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Counseling, Personnel Services
and Educational Psychology

1979

ABSTRACT

RACIAL BIAS OF TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS IN THE ASSIGNMENT OF INCOMING SEVENTH GRADERS TO ABILITY GROUPS WITHIN A DESEGREGATED SCHOOL DISTRICT

By

Cassandra Anae Simmons

The purpose of this study was to investigate if whether academic placement decisions made by sixth grade teachers and seventh grade counselors in a desegregated school district are influenced by the race of the student. This study also sought to determine the importance of factors considered in making the academic placement decisions of students and the level of confidence in the placement decisions made.

A review of the literature provided the foundation for this investigation that teachers and counselors who make educational placement decisions are not immune to the racial bias that exists in the broader society, moreover, academic placement decisions are undergirded by the assumption that the ability and potential of students is related to their race, sex or socioeconomic status.

The existence of differential academic decision making as it relates to the race of the student was tested.

The instruments used in this study were four vignettes depicting hypothetical male sixth grade students. The vignettes were varied only by the race of the student for a total of eight cases. In addition, Placement and Rating Scales, Level of Confidence Scales, an Attitude Questionnaire, Personal Data Sheet, and Counselor-Teacher Questionnaire forms were administered.

This study was conducted in a desegregated school district in Western Michigan. The subjects in this study were 12 junior high school counselors and 18 sixth grade teachers who were responsible for making academic placement recommendations for sixth grade students in seventh grade language arts and mathematics courses required in the school system. These subjects were randomly selected from the total population of junior high school counselors and sixth grade teachers in the school district.

The four vignettes, varied only by the race of the students, were randomly assigned to the 30 subjects. Each of the subjects received a total of four vignettes depicting sixth grade male students (ten Black and two White). They were instructed to place each of the four students in one of two levels of language arts and one of three levels of mathematic courses. There were noteworthy variations in the required course areas as each course presupposes different levels of student skills. The respondents then weighted the importance of six factors considered in making the academic placement decision and further, indicated their level

of confidence in the decision made. Finally, the subjects in the study completed questionnaire and background information forms which were developed to obtain personal background information, attitudes toward desegregation, and race related issues. The chi-square analyses was used to test the hypotheses to determine if academic assignments were made resulting in significantly different frequencies related to the race of the student. The .05 level of signifiance was established for the purpose of this investigation.

The results of this investigation did not support the hypotheses that the race of the students affects the academic placement decisions of sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors. The students' race did not appear to influence significantly the level of placement in language arts and mathematic courses as determined by teachers and counselors. The frequency of academic placement in both language arts and mathematics was comparable for the students when they were depicted as either Black or White.

In addition, the race of the student did not affect the degree of importance assigned to the six factors (I.Q. Test Scores, Standardized Achievement Test Scores, Student Motivation, Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation, Student Background Information, and Parental Recommendation) which were considered in making the language arts and mathematics placement recommendations. The null

null hypothesis was not rejected, however, Factor 4, Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation was significant at the .05 level for one of the cases (Timothy) when portrayed as a White student in both language arts and mathematic placement decisions. Finally, the reported level of confidence in the placement decisions made by the teachers and counselors did not appear to vary based on the race of the student.

DEDICATION

To my mother, Margaret L. Latham, for her love, support and understanding.

To my nine year old son, David, who remained a constant remainder of the practical realities in life throughout graduate school.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Norman Stewart, chairperson of my guidance committee, for his continued support and encouragement throughout my graduate program. Dr. Larry Lezotte, an intense scholar who unselfishly gave of his time in the development of the instruments and design and was an invaluable source of inspiration.

Dr. Thomas Gunnings who sparked my interest in Counseling and Guidance and encouraged me to persue a career in the field of Urban Counseling. To Dr. Robert Green, I am extremely thankful for his continued interest and support in my academic career since my sophomore year in college. His numerous contributions in the field of Education and School Desegregation provided the basis for this study. I am thankful for his friendship, and for the educational experiences we have shared over the years. His capacity to conceptualize problems and set forth sound and equitable solutions is unsurpassed. This study would not have been possible without Dr. Green's assistance.

I would also like to thank Roberta Grange and Carol Crawford who spent many hours typing and editing this study.

It was a continued struggle to produce written material at a pace commensurate with their excellent secretarial skills. An additional note of appreciation for Mrs. Grange's friendship over the years.

Also I thank my talented friends who have achieved recognition in their respective fields, for their input and assistance in the completion of this study. To Dr. Karen Maroda, Jill Hirt, Nelvia Brady, and Brenda White, and Dr. Martha Warfield, my sincere appreciation for your help and encouragement.

A special thanks to my sister Barbara, my brother Gerald, my grandfather Mr. Elston and my uncles, aunts and cousins for their love, support, and encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This study is designed to examine how racial bias in classroom teachers and counselors affects the placement decisions these individuals make in grouping students by ability in educational programs. It is the contention of this researcher, and others who are examining the efficacy of school desegregation programs, that ability grouping, or educational tracking, leads to the resegregation of students in academic programs within a district, even though a racial mix has been achieved within building. Many educators (Green, Griffore, and Simmons, 1977; and Williams, 1974) argue that standardized tests, with strong middle-class biases, are partially to blame for differential placement. However, there are other important elements in the ability grouping process, such as the expectations of teachers and the biased attitudes held by counselors, that affect their decision making and the consequent placement of students.

In this chapter, the background of the problem will be presented, as well as the need for and purpose of the study. The nature of racial bias will be defined and examined as the theoretical basis for the study. The hypotheses

for the study will be presented and some important terms, as used in the context of this study, will be defined.

Background Statement

American society has been fragmented along racial lines since the first slaves of color were brought here in 1619 (Franklin, 1967). No American institution has escaped the negative impact of racial bias and injustice. Racial bias has taken a firm and agonzing hold on all aspects of American life. Religious institutions and institutions of employment, housing and education have had their roots firmly entrenched in racial segregation and discrimination. The most important of all American institutions are school systems and they have historically reflected racial separation and distinctions based upon race, as they exist in the greater society.

School desegregation research strongly documents the process by which school districts have served to reinforce stereotypes, negative attitudes, and biases that are associated with racial distinctions, either real or contrived (Green, 1977). The segregation of school districts, both de facto and de jure, in the North and South have resulted in a dual system of education, leading to differential treatment of American public school children based on their racial background. Blacks and other minorities have been the victims of this educational bias and discrimination.

The historical record categorically demonstrates that school districts have not moved to voluntarily desegregate their staffs and student bodies (NIE, 1977). In 1954 in Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, the United States Supreme Court ruling initiated one of the most important institutional changes of our time. The legal desegregation of our nation's schools was mandated "with all deliberate speed." Twenty-five years of "deliberate speed" has resulted in some desegregation but also increasing resistance toward educational desegregation in our schools.

Many school districts have used the legal process to reinforce and maintain segregation along racial lines. Since Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, more than 1600 school desegregation cases have been before the courts (Green, 1976). Desegregation litigation has been a costly battle involving millions of dollars and hours spent by school boards to maintain systems that are admittedly biased and unfair to school children.

School administrators, school boards, and educators have demonstrated little leadership in the establishment of a unitary, non-racial or non-discriminatory system in this country; hence the necessity for court involvement in school desegregation to render decisions and remedies that are both constitutionally and educationally sound. The structural underpinnings of school desegregation litigation, (Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka) was an authoritative decision that guided later court mandates which have had a

tremendous impact on school systems in this country. The Brown decision overruled the "separate but equal" doctrine, which had permitted dual school systems to exist in the South. This landmark decision also extended to students the equal protection and due process provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment. It further sought to "eliminate all vestiges of segregation, both root and branch." Yet another important aspect of Brown held that the courts should retain jurisdiction of cases until desegregation is achieved. The determination of whether or not the decisions rendered by the court do, in fact, change the policies and behaviors of those to whom they are directed is the ultimate test of the judiciary branch of government as a policy maker (Nystrand and Staub, 1978).

School desegregation is accomplished by establishing a racial mix of students within the schools based on a proportional figure derived from the total of majority and minority group children enrolled in the school district (Green, 1977). Busing of students either one way or two way, is used as a legitimate procedure by which the actual racial mix is accomplished within schools in accordance with a desegregation plan mandated by the court for the school district (Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg, 1971). However, many desegregated school districts have become resegregated through other processes (Green and Cohen, 1979).

Within-school resegregation in desegregated school districts is a result of the identification, evaluation, and placement of students in particular educational classes and programs. Tests used in the classification process have been ruled to be culturally biased and prejudicial (Larry P. v. Riles, 1972; Diana v. State board of Education, 1970). Moreover, the court has upheld plaintiffs' charges that their misplacement in Special Education carried with it a stigma that often remains with the students throughout their educational careers.

Second generation problems, those of resegregation, have been the basis for additional litigation and legislation regarding the labeling, classification, and placement of students. Students are often misplaced and mis-classified, not only as a result of inappropriate evaluation instruments and/or procedures, but also because of arbitrary and capricious decision making on the part of school personnel (Zettel and Abeson, 1978).

The problem of educational segregation is not limited to any geographical section of the United States. During the pre-Brown days, de jure school segregation was seen as a Southern problem. Brown v. Board of Education, spoke of school segregation in the context of the South. Recent reports from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Southern Regional Council indicate that substantial progress has been made in Southern school desegregation (Findley and Bryan, 1975). Recently, the

most intensive and active opposition to desegregation has occurred in Northern urban school districts. William Grant, a journalist who has written more than 1500 articles on school desegregation, stated that Michigan was a leading state in resisting school desegregation (Grant, 1979). There are more school desegregation cases currently before the courts in Michigan than in any other state. Furthermore, the North has surpassed the South in active school desegregation litigation. The subject district, an urban public school system in midwestern Michigan, is one of several districts in the state under court-ordered desegregation (Oliver v. Michigan State Board of Education, 1971). Considering the status of this district's school desegregation effort, it is an ideal one in which to assess counselor and teacher attitudes toward students in educational decision making, for the following reasons. (a) It is similar in size and population to several other districts in the Middle Cities School Association; (b) Desegregation has been operative for seven years; (c) Counselors and teachers play an important role in the education placement of students, and (d) There are sufficient numbers of Black and White males at the sixth grade level to provide the background for the development of teacher attitudes toward students by race, if indeed such attitudes have crystallized.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to determine if counselors and/or teachers, due to their personal systems of racial bias operating either consciously or subconsciously, will make differential decisions about students based on the race of the student. Secondly, an attempt will be made to determine if there are specific factors which might prompt counselor and teachers to narrow the range of academic options of Black as, opposed to White, students. Although there has been an increase in the amount of school desegregation research in the past decade, very few research or evaluative studies have been conducted to determine if racial bias is a factor in counselor and teacher decision making which impacts upon students in desegregating or desegregated school districts.

Therefore, it is felt that the results of this study will assist in the development of a new counselor training model in an effort to minimize the possibility of racial bias as a contaminating factor in the decision making process.

Need for Study

This study was conducted in an urban midwest community with a population of 85,661, of which 8,500 are Black persons and 1,580 are Hispanic persons, according to the 1970 census. The 1970 census further indicates that the Black population was 10 percent of the total, with 75 percent of the Black population residing in two census

tracts. In the 1970-71 school year, three elementary schools located in the section of town where Blacks resided had Black enrollments of 92.7 percent, 86 percent, and 47.3 percent. In other parts of the city, nine schools had less than 10 percent Black students enrolled, and five other schools had less than two percent Black students enrolled. The racial imbalance in pupil enrollment and the small numbers of Black teachers and administrators became a concern of the community resulting in a petition by some citizens to the school board, requesting that the board adopt a plan of redistricting students who would attend the 10th grade in September 1968. The implementation of this request, according to the petition, would establish equal representation of ethnic, cultural, and racial student groups in the two high schools.

In April of 1969, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission conducted a study based on the knowledge that minority citizens of the city were faced with problems of discrimination. The study, which cited the previously mentioned school imbalance, covered the areas of employment, education, housing, and law enforcement. The Commission found that problems did exist in the latter areas and that there was a willingness by some locally-elected officials, to do something about the situation.

There was also some community resistance to change. Education recommendations of the Commission included desegregating the schools, recruiting and training of

minority teachers, promoting minority teachers and administrators, and adopting fair disciplinary guidelines for the schools. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the community was confronted with racial tension and disruptions in the schools, and organizations opposing the school integration movement were formed to erect barriers to plans designed to bring about education desegregation.

Appointed by the Board of Education an ad hoc Racial Balance Committee presented a plan to the Board for implementing desegregation in the community schools. Quoting from the report, the principal policy was twofold: (a) Legal--"in the field of public education a doctrine of separate but equal has no place . . . separate but equal facilities are inherently unequal"; (b) Moral--"to assure quality education for all children attending the public schools." The committee recommendations were presented as preparatory steps to desegregation, and in September 1969 the school board adopted the recommendations. In December 1970, a separate proposal for racial balance in the schools was presented and accepted by the board. This proposal called for boundary changes to balance the schools racially. One month later a proposal for the junior high districts was presented. During this time there was growing interest from the citizens of the city, both for and against the plans to be implemented. Feelings against desegregation ran so high that an election was held in which school board candidates who supported school

desegregation were defeated. This clearly reflected the antidesegregation sentiment from the White community. The first action of the new board in July of 1971 was to postpone the racial balance plan for one year at the junior high and elementary levels. A substitute plan for the voluntary integration of the elementary and junior high schools was adopted. However, in August 1971 the NAACP filed suit against the Board of Education to prevent the open enrollment policy of the "new" board and to reinstate a decision for mandatory racial balance.

Later that month, United States District Judge Noel Fox ruled in favor of the NAACP and ordered that the schools be desegregated when they opened in September 1971 (Oliver v. Michigan State Board of Education, 1971).

That fall, busing began and continued with relatively few problems. However, efforts by the school board to appeal the order and reverse a decision made permanent by Judge Fox in October 1973 were continued. An appeal to the U. S. Sixth Courth of Appeals in December 1974, ruled two to one to uphold Judge Fox's order and, despite overwhelming odds, the board sought a U. S. Supreme Court review of the Appeals Court decision. In May 1975, the U. S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case. The refusal of the U. S. Supreme Court to hear the case ended the actions of the defendants to prevent court-ordered desegregation. In December of 1977, Judge Fox directed that an evaluation be made by his court-ordered

desegreation plan with Robert L. Green, Dean of the College of Urban Development at Michigan State University, and Wilbur Cohen, Dean Emeritus of the School of Education at the University of Michigan, directing the effort.

The school district currently has a minority enrollment of 27 percent and is in the seventh year of the court-ordered desegregation program. Minority enrollment ranges from 8.3 percent at the school with the lowest minority representation to 49.3 percent at the school with the highest minority representation.

This detailed desegregation information is important to this study for several reasons. First, it will provide the reader with a more accurate picture of this "desegregated" school district for comparative purposes. Secondly, while the desegregation order refers to racial imbalance in the schools, current observations suggest that, while the schools have been desegregated for the purposes of racial balance, classes within those schools show a decided imbalance in racial composition (Green and Cohen, 1979). The factors associated with this imbalance are of particular concern to this study as it relates to the function of counselors and teachers in their decision making capacities.

Brown v. Board of Education, and more than 1600 court cases since 1954 are constant reminders which highlight the educational institution as a continuing

centerstage where racial bias plays a major role in the education of American school children.

Judge Fox, in an October 1973 decision in the case regarding the subject district, held that the district:

> . . . was in fact racially segregated, that defendants had followed a purposeful pattern of racial discrimination by intention acts of Commission or omission as regards drawing of attendance boundaries, site locations school construction policies, additions of permanent portable classrooms and teacher assignment policies, that policy of assigning most black teachers to disproportionately black schools was itself unconstitutional discrimination and that desegregation plan voluntarily adopted by local school board was constitutionally mandated, its recission by the board was an act of de jure segregation (p. 143).

The above legal findings by Judge Noel Fox are aspects of educational practices that can be found in numerous school districts throughout the country. Teachers and counselors have played important roles in facilitating and reinforcing the biased decisions and practices of school administrators as described above. Since it is the contention of this study that racial bias, of a conscious and unconscious nature, underlies and reinforces the decisions that counselors and teachers make, it is important to more clearly and precisely isolate the role that they play in determining the educational placement of school children.

Theory: The Nature of Bias

Basic to any discussion of bias is an understanding of Allport's (1954) classic work. It is noteworthy that

Allport's book, The Nature of Prejudice, was published 25 years ago, coinciding with the Brown decision. Although the concept of prejudice has no consensual meaning, Allport sought to define prejudice within the context of interracial contact. The work of Allport illustrates that ethnic prejudice is based upon faulty and inflexible generalizations and stereotypes which place a group or object of prejudice at a particular disadvantage. He further argues that intergroup contact may serve to reinforce those previously held stereotypes unless such contact is structured so as to reduce rather than reinforce those attitudes.

Klineberg (1954) emphasized that prejudicial feelings or responses toward a person, group, or object are attitudes often formulated prior to actual experience with the person(s) or things toward which these attitudes are held. Krech, Crutchfield and Ballechey (1962) concluded that prejudicial attitudes tend to be stereotypical in nature, emotionally charged, and difficult to change, even with reliable information contrary to one's belief. Amir (1969), like Allport, emphasized that prejudicial attitudes and beliefs can be strengthened with contact. He held this to be true especially under circumstances in which contact between majority and minority group members takes place when a criterion of equal status is not met. Rose (1965) asserted that prejudice is an attitude that categorizes people in terms of negative

stereotypes. He further stated that these attitudes are usually held for the purpose, either conscious or unconscious, of perceived advantage to the person holding the prejudicial attitude. According to Rose, prejudice is usually referred to as a negative attitude or bias toward a racial, religious, or ethnic group.

Karl Marx defined prejudice from an economic perspective. In his theory of exploitation, Marx held that prejudice is an attitude propagated and perpetuated by the exploiting class in an effort to justify the limitation of resources to the groups that have been labeled inferior. In the Marxist analysis, discrimination against groups is practiced for the economic gain of power elitist groups (Cox, 1948, p. 393).

Although there are several categories of theories of prejudice to be considered (economic theories, historical theories, social-cultural theories, and psychological theories), a common theme emerges as theoreticians seek to define the dimensions of prejudice. First, the out-group or person toward whom prejudice is directed is derrogated by the in-group. Secondly, the basis on which these attitudes and biases are formulated is interwoven with the adoption of preconceived societal norms and social pressures for the purpose of maintaining a belief in the superiority of the persons or in-group who commonly share the prejudicial beliefs and to enforce the subordinate status of the out-group. Allport (1954)

states, "Those children who learn the prejudices of our society are also being taught to gain personal status in an unrealistic and non-adaptive way . . . (by) comparing themselves to members of the minority group. . . . The culture permits and at time encourages them to direct their feelings of hostility and aggression against . . . minority groups" (pp. 430-434).

Furthermore, prejudice is viewed as a complex attitude (Ehrlich, 1973; Lewis, 1975). An attitude is defined as an interrelated set of propositions or a response tendency about or directed toward an object or class of objects. The three components around which attitudes are organized are: (a) cognitive--an organized set of negative beliefs about a group; (b) affective--negative feelings about a group; and (c) conative--negative behavioral intentions toward a group.

Thus, prejudice may also be understood as multi-faceted negative attitudes toward a group or its individual members for the purpose of maintaining the subordinate status of its particular members.

A strategy toward the reduction of prejudicial attitudes is the promotion of contact between the groups. However, Allport's "contact theory" suggests that contact alone is not sufficient to reduce racial prejudice:

> It has sometimes been held that merely by assembling people without regard for race, color, religion, or national origin, we can thereby destroy stereotypes and develop friendly attitudes. This is simply not the case. (p. 261)

Allport's basic theory of contact provides: (a) that the contact situation should be structured in such a way as to promote equal status for minority and majority group members, (b) the necessity of cooperative interaction directed toward the achievement of shared or common goals, and (c) that the presence of strong institutional sanctions for positive relations is influential in determining the outcome of interracial contact. According to Allport, improvement in intergroup relations is unlikely to result unless these conditions are met.

Conversely, if the existing social climate and significant reference groups define the contact as being undesirable within the existing normative structure, then the contact and resultant attitudes of participants are likely to develop in an unfavorable direction (Amir, 1969). Research studies undertaken that have met contact theory criterion have produced favorable outcomes in many instances.

Cook's (1969) study was carefully constructed to meet Allport's criterion for contact in addition to two other items Cook felt were crucial, based on his review of literature concerning intergroup relations. The two additional factors were that:

1. The disliked group members in the contact situation must have attributes which are contradictory to prevailing stereotyped beliefs, and

2. The contact situation should be structured such that personal information about the disliked group members can be revealed so that others are encouraged to perceive them as individuals.

Highly prejudiced White college students were selected to participate in the study. They were exposed to a Black colleague daily in an experimental situation, which the students believed to be a part-time job, over a period of four weeks. White subjects were then retested to measure attitude change approximately two months after the experimental situation. In comparison to the control group, which consisted of other highly prejudiced college students who were not exposed to any treatment, there were significant positive changes. Cook, in a 1971 replication of this study, supported the results of his initial research.

Rakenson and Preston (1976) conducted a study of 350 teachers in the Houston School System to determine if prejudice was reduced among faculty after desegregation of schools had taken place. One hundred eighty teachers had participated in intensive inservice workshops designed to facilitate successful school desegregation by emphasizing the role of the teacher in the process of school desegregation and to promote positive interracial attitudes. Cultural differences, values, attitudes, and life styles of minority and majority group members were major topics

of the program. Pre-and post test measures were taken during the first and final weeks of the inservice training program. The findings revealed that the attitudes of White teachers who participated in the inservice workshops were significantly more positive than Black participants. In a follow-up study a questionnaire was administered to 152 of the 180 workshop participants and 198 randomly selected teachers who had not experienced inservice training. Significant differences were found between the two groups on six of seven scales. The workshop participants were significantly less prejudiced. They were more likely to hold favorable attitudes regarding previous contact with persons of another race, exhibit positive behavior in hypothetical situations with Blacks and Whites, have positive attitudes toward integration, and participate in integrated social functions.

Meer and Freedman (1966) tested the hypothesis that equal status contact in a predominately upper status integrated neighborhood would lead to a reduction of prejudice. The control group consisted of 10 Black home owners, and the experimental group was composed of 50 White home owners who were immediate neighbors to the Blacks selected and 50 White home owners randomly selected who were dispersed throughout the general residential area. The conditions of equal status, lacking competiveness and antagonism, prevailed. A Negro Social Distance Scale was constructed to measure the degree of acceptance in Negro

and White interpersonal relationships. The results suggested that Whites who had Blacks as immediate neighbors had developed more respect for Blacks and were more accepting of Blacks as neighbors than those Whites who had less immediate and more infrequent contact with Blacks. Further, it was suggested that this condition of respect and acceptance could lead to more personal interactions and a reduction in the level of prejudice.

These results indicate the importance of carefully planning the conditions under which the interracial interaction will take place so that the contact theory criteria are met.

The preceeding summary of the racial bias literature has emphasized several major points related to the theoretical basis of this study.

1. Contact between different racial groups can have a direct impact on both group and individual racial attitudes.
2. Both racial attitudes and behavior can be affected, either positively or negatively, through group or individual contact.
3. Such conditions as equal status, strong institutional sanctions for positive relations, cooperative interaction, non-competitiveness and the ability to work toward shared goals all relate to the development of positive racial attitudes.

4. The background, training, and experiences of individuals, together with societal mores, shape and direct the racial attitudes and behaviors of members in a particular racial group toward members of another racial group.
5. Finally, prejudicial attitudes can and often do lead to prejudicial behavior and differential decision making when the race of a person or group is a factor.

Therefore, the review of the literature formed on the above theoretical assumptions clearly indicates that one's total past experiential background is a factor in determining both racial attitudes and behavior. More specifically, teachers and counselors are all a part of the American system of racial bias and are not immune to its effects.

Hypotheses

In carrying out this study, the following hypotheses have been tested:

1. Sixth grade teachers will make differential placement decisions resulting in the placement of Black male students in reading and the placement of White male students in English, when presented with identical case study material, varied only by the race of the student.

2. Sixth grade teachers will make differential placement decisions resulting in the placement of Black male students in lower level mathematics courses, when presented with identical case study material, varied only by the race of the student.
3. Junior high school counselors will make differential placement decisions about the case study subjects, resulting in the placement of Black male students in reading and White male students in English, when presented with identical case study material, varied only by the race of the student.
4. Junior high school counselors will make differential placement decisions about the case study subjects, resulting in the placement of Black male students in lower level mathematics courses, when presented with identical case study material, varied only by the race of the student.
5. The level of importance assigned to the criteria in making placement decisions will vary according to the decision made about the students by race, as designated in the vignettes.

6. Sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors will not differ in their level of confidence in the placement decisions made about the students.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms are defined as indicated below.

Ancillary Relief -- The academic support system that serves to enhance the probability of achieving integration by attempting to rectify the educational consequences of segregation.

Desegregation -- The racial mixing of students within a school district based upon a ratio of the minority and majority population within the community at large or students enrolled in the school district. This racial mix definition includes administrators, faculty, support staff and students.

Differential Decision Making -- The process of selecting a course of action or alternatives under the influence, either directly or indirectly, of factors which will affect the outcome of the process. Factors which can bias decision making are:

1. projection of attitudes and values
2. identification with outside reference groups
3. dichotomized thinking
4. cognitive nearsightedness
5. oversimplified motives of causation (Katz and Kohn, 1966)

De facto -- Customs, actions and behaviors of authorities which resulted in racial separation in both public and private educational systems. De facto school segregation existed primarily in Northern, Eastern and Western states.

De jure -- Laws and procedures reinforced by legal decisions which mandated and supported racial separation in both public and private education. De jure school segregation existed primarily in Southern and border states.

Overview

In this chapter, the background of a specific desegregation problem has been described. As the theoretical basis for this study, the nature of bias has been investigated through a review of the racial bias literature. The need for and purpose of the study has been defined and the hypotheses to be tested have been presented.

In the discussion to follow it will become evident, through a review of pertinent literature, how racial bias can operate to influence and reinforce resegregation of classrooms through educational ability grouping, teacher expectations and counselor bias.

CHAPTER II

SUPPORTIVE RESEARCH

Introduction

In exploring the literature pertinent to a study of racial prejudice among counselors and teachers and its effects on educational ability grouping, it has been appropriate to examine the nature of racial bias, the rationale of its existence, how it manifests itself in majority group members, and conditions under which it may be reduced or alleviated. This has been an emphasis in the opening chapter of this study. The second chapter will be used to examine historically and philosophically the practice of ability grouping or educational tracking in the United States. Closely related to ability grouping are the counselor attitudes and teacher expectations that form the bases for placing children in differential ability groups. Literature concerning counselor bias and teacher expectation will be viewed in the second and third sections of this chapter.

Ability Grouping

"A child miseducated is a child lost." President John F. Kennedy in a message to Congress, January 11, 1962.

In the following paragraphs, the historical perspectives, rationale and inherent dangers of miseducation by ability grouping (or educational tracking) are examined.

Historical Perspective

Homogeneous grouping, as defined by the Dictionary of Education, is "the classification of pupils for the purpose of forming instructional groups having a relatively high degree of similarity in regards to certain factors that effect learning."

The origins of grouping can be traced back as far as 1867 in St. Louis, Missouri, where talented students were selected on the basis of achievement, as determined by teachers, and promoted rapidly through the elementary grades. In 1891 Cambridge, Massachusetts established ability grouping whereby the brightest students were expected to complete grades 4 through 9 in four years as compared to eight years permitted for completion by slower students (Goldberg, 1966). Another form of grouping was the Santa Barbara Concentric Plan which systematically divided each grade level into A, B and C sections in the early 1900s. Each of the sections was taught the basic concepts for all subjects, but section A was clearly more advanced than section B, and section C was the lowest of the groups in the subject area. Thus, students were homogeneously grouped on the basis of ability.

Cook (1958) points out that the McGuffey Readers, which were introduced in 1837, were the first graded textbooks to allocate students by reading levels in the one room rural schools relevant in those days. The basis for ability grouping was an economic one, allegedly providing for instructional opportunities for large numbers of pupils (Ryan 1927). Grouping plans that were used in the mid 1800s through the 1920s may be listed as follows:

1. A plan providing short units, to facilitate "skipping": The St. Louis Plan, 1867.
2. A plan for providing deliberately for the slower pupils to repeat work: The Double Tillage Plan, 1894-1903.
3. A plan providing for extra teacher help--coaching: The Batavia Plan.
4. Plans providing ability grouping for enrichment: The North Denver: 1895: and Baltimore Plans, 1902.
5. Multiple Track Plans: The Elizabeth, 1887: Cambridge, 1891: Lemars, Portland, Odeholt, Santa Barbara, 1900: and "Large School" Plans.
6. Plans providing loose grouping for purposes of enrichment: The Pueblo, 1901: Newton, 1904: San Francisco, 1913: Winetka and Dolton Plans, 1919 (Ryan p. 30).

By the 1920s and throughout the 1930s ability grouping gained acceptance among educators and was widely

practiced in American school systems (Findley, 1971), however, experimental studies conducted on homogeneous grouping at that time

> . . . failed to show consistent, statistically or educationally significant differences between the achievement of students in homogeneous groups. Under our present system there are large numbers of children who are destined to live of failure. We know them in the schools as the children who are a little behind physically . . . intellectually . . . and in the power to do (Rock, 1929, p. 125).

Rock determined that to make the schools responsive to the needs of the growing number of immigrants and ethnic Americans, whose problems were decidely different, courses of study should be developed as suited for the average and retarded pupils of the system. He further noted that the schools were geared basically for the "bright pupils," (a practice which presented problems to average pupils who could not advance as rapidly). The author concludes by stating that ". . . a boy may owe his peculiarity not to physical immaturity or debility but to racial, regional, or family characteristics" (p. 139).

Rationale and Methods for Grouping

In the courses of study suited for average and retarded pupils as defined by Rock, ethnic minority students comprised the bulk of students allocated to lower ability groups. A rationale for ability grouping by family characteristics or income was also established. Since education was based upon the theory of innate differences and, moreover, that educational theory accepts the belief that

individuals differ in numerous ways, then these differences must be taken into account and educational offerings be adjusted to the differences that exist in individual pupils (Ryan, 1927).

Schools have traditionally used two processes to group students for instruction: by prior subjective expectations of student ability, and by the use of intelligence tests. Intelligence testing and ability grouping are two independent concepts, although they are often used in conjunction with each other.

The merits of testing, as an educational tool, are beyond the scope of this study. However, it is important for the reader to distinguish between the two methods as they relate to pupil placement.

Standardized testing has lent a patina of legitimacy to the practice of classifying and labeling students. The primary instruments for sorting and classifying students are IQ tests and ability tests. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the practice of testing in American schools has been criticized by many scholars. Standardized instruments have been carefully assessed and have been found to contain content bias which in turn produces prediction bias (Green, 1975). Green asserts that tests fail to measure the broad range of experiences that contribute to all intellectual functions and furthermore are frequently based on middle class values and experiences.

In addition, most tests have not been standardized or validated on a substantial or proportionate racial minority sample.

Since criticism often accompanies the practice of standardized testing, many educators are opposed to the separation and classification of students based on test results. Although Ebel (1974) advocates the use of standardized tests, he does acknowledge that some tests "are imperfect and that some are seriously flawed." School systems place too much emphasis on testing and most educators are not adequately trained in the interpretation or meaning of test results. Ebel further states that tests should be designed to be educationally helpful in understanding the needs of students when properly used and are not constructed to penalize students.

Racial and ethnic minorities, however, have been the victims of test misuse and abuse. Testing for the purpose of academic sorting and placement has led to rigid educational tracking of many minority students. Lower tracks have become permanent placement for disproportionate numbers of ethnic and racial minority students. Furthermore, the abuse of standardized tests has resulted in school imposed stigmas and labeling of students since many are used to differentiate between various levels of ability and intelligence.

Hambly (1972) has summed up the attitudes of many who are opposed to the use of standardized testing to

determine allegedly superior and inferior abilities and to separate children based upon assumed ability levels for educational experiences.

"The poverty implicit in an approach wherein a measurement . . . determines the subsequent parcelling out of appropriate educational experience drawn from a few alternatives does not do us proud" (p. 126).

Since its inception, ability grouping has contributed to homogeneous classrooms and differentiation of instruction. Despite its widespread popularity among many educators, this onerous practice has not enjoyed consistent empirical support concerning positive measurable educational outcomes. The goal of ability grouping is to sort students based on ability in order to ease the instructional tasks of the teacher. It is also felt that this educational method will increase the achievement level of all students.

Research studies conducted on the educational tracking are numerous. However, a selection of those which appear to be most closely related to the present study are reviewed. Hartell (1936) used a counterbalanced design to investigate the advantages of ability grouping. One-half of his 1,374 students were homogeneously grouped into three levels of ability while the other students were assigned to heterogeneous groups. The homogeneously grouped students received a differentiated curriculum. However, a regular curriculum was used for the heterogeneous group. Students remained in the groups for one-half of the school year and

were tested for achievement at the end of the year. During the following school year the students were regrouped; those previously grouped homogeneously were heterogeneously grouped and vice versa for the school year, then administered an achievement test. An analysis of the achievement test results indicated there were no significant differences between the two groups in academic achievement. Earlier researchers were also unable to support statistically significant differences between homogenous groups and heterogeneous groups (Jones, McCall, 1926; Worlton, 1926).

Borg (1964) conducted a four year longitudinal study of 4,000 students to determine the effects of ability grouping and random assignment in adjacent school systems in Utah. The research concluded that neither method was significantly more effective, although ability grouping slightly favored superior students.

According to Hogan (1974) in the case of Hobson v. Hansen, Judge Wright declared in his summary:

> The track system as used in the district's public schools is a form of ability grouping in which students are divided in separate, self-contained curricula or tracks ranging from "basic" for the slow student to honors for the gifted. The aptitude tests used to assign children to the various tracks are standardized primarily on white middle class children. Since these tests do not relate to the (Black and) disadvantaged child, track assignments based on such tests relegate (Black and) disadvantaged children to the lower tracks from which, because of the reduced curricula . . . as well as continued inappropriate testing, the chance of escape is remote (p. 120).

> . . . rather than being classified according to their ability to learn, students are in reality being classified according to their socio-economic or racial status--or more precisely--according to environmental and psychological factors which have nothing to do with innate ability (p. 129).

It is evident that ability grouping both reinforces and produces more bias and differential education of children along racial lines. In examining the role of teacher expectations, as both a result of and a basis for biased educational grouping, the insidious nature of the practice will, perhaps, become more obvious.

Teacher Expectations

Parents, teachers, and peers are frequently identified as the "significant others" in influencing student behavior. Students' academic performance is related to the expectations, evaluations, and behavioral opinions that "significant others" hold of as learners.

Teachers play an important role in the sorting and labeling processes sanctioned by the school system and routinely make judgments about the ability of students. Their reasons for the sorting decisions are varied, as judgments about student ability are difficult to make with precision. Teacher expectations, valid and invalid, both result from and form the basis for much of the classification of students.

Green (1977) states that a student's image of himself can be damaged, not only by formal text material,

but also by attitudes of teachers and counselors who expect little achievement and much aberrant behavior from him or her. The literature includes many studies of teacher bias and its relationship to pupil race and social class; therefore, only selected major studies will be cited in the context of this study.

Paley, a white teacher, wrote in 1979 of her experiences in teaching minority children. The author discussed the differential treatment, quality of teacher-student interaction, and her expectations of Black students in the classroom. She examined and challenged her own prejudices which were reflected in the classroom and served to lay the foundations for differential treatment and expectations of her minority students. She so poignantly states:

". . . (I was) so acutely aware of color that I could see children as individuals only as they came close to being my color and using my speech. . . ." (p. 137). Paley sought to understand why she needed a "collective Black" reference point which she used to identify characteristics of minority children. Although the book was only one teacher's analysis of the effects of subtle racism and prejudicial feelings operating in the classroom, there is considerable evidence to document these practices throughout the school systems in America.

In the now classic and controversial Rosenthal and Jacobson study (1968) of the effects of teacher bias

in the classroom, the investigators chose an elementary school located in a predominantly lower-class neighborhood in San Francisco and selected, at random, approximately five students in each classroom. All of the students were administered tests purportedly designed to predict academic "blooming." Teachers were then led to believe that the results of the tests indicated that the selected students were very likely to "spurt rapidly ahead." However, unknown to the teachers, the selected students actually had no more potential for advanced achievement than did any other student in the school. The findings of the study were remarkable. The selected students did, in fact, make substantial academic gains in comparison to both a control group and total school student population. These gains were attributed to teacher expectations. The authors concluded that teacher expectations regarding a student's academic performance have a strong influence on the actual performance of that student.

Rosenthal (1973) in several other research efforts has demonstrated that teacher attitudes and behavior do play a major role in either facilitating or inhibiting the achievement of school children. He found that factors attributed to social class, past achievement, and race determine how teachers view students and that teacher behavior toward students is indeed affected by those factors. His data suggests that teachers who believe that

a particular group of students can learn will elicit from those children responses consistent with their level of expectations. Moreover, in subsequent research studies, the author maintains that teachers do not favor those students who violate their expectations. Whether the expectations are negative or positive, once a student's role has been cast by the teachers, he is expected to play out the role.

Palardy (1969) in an earlier study, supported the findings of Rosenthal and others regarding the role played by teacher expectations in the academic success of students. Palardy investigated the long-held assumptions that girls can learn to read more quickly than boys. Surveying more than 62 first grade teachers, he found that there were some who believed boys could learn to read as quickly as girls. Equating the two groups of teachers in terms of age, sex, and classroom teaching experience, he paired the "believers" with the "non-believers," i.e., those who did not believe that boys could learn to read as quickly as girls. Palardy found that boys did learn to read as rapidly as girls if their teachers believed they could. When teachers believed girls could learn faster, girls in their groups indeed achieved significantly higher levels than boys in reading achievement at the end of a one-year period. These studies clearly suggest that teacher expectations, behavior, and

decision making profoundly affect the educational careers of all school children.

In a study by Miller et al. (1969), teachers were asked to predict the future academic succes of four hypothetical first grade students after reviewing case history reports. The four students were depicted in vignettes and matched on I.Q., grades, and classroom behavior. Teachers were informed that two of the students were from middle-income familes and two were from low-income homes. The results of the study indicated that, although the students were matched on relevant variables, teachers rated middle-class students higher on ten of the twelve scales for academic success.

Goodwin and Sanders (1969) attempted to ascertain the importance of seven variables as predictors of academic success for first and sixth grade students. Teachers ranked the socio-economic status of the student as being the most important predictor of student success. The other factors, listed by importance as determined by the teachers in the study, were: I.Q., standardized test scores, age, sex, anecdotal notes and grade point average. Standardized test scores were followed by grade point average for the sixth graders.

The race and socio-economic class of students are also critical variables in the quality of student-teacher interaction and teacher reinforcement. Friedman and

Friedman (1973) studied the relationship between teacher reinforcing behavior and student social class. The researchers found that in 24 fifth and sixth grade classrooms middle class children received significantly more total reinforcement than their lower income classmates. These findings were consistent with earlier studies which found a significant relationship between the social status of a student and teacher reinforcement.

Byers and Byers (1972) videotaped a classroom in their investigation of interactions between a teacher and her Black and White students. Their findings suggest that teacher discrimination is not necessarily a deliberate or conscious act. In their assessment, they determined that Black students made eye contact with the teacher as frequently as White children. However, White children attempted contact at times when the teacher was available to reciprocate. The authors concluded that less frequent teacher interaction with Black children could not be attributed solely to the teacher since there appeared to be a difference in the perceptions of Black and White children based on their interpretations of gestures and their understanding of interaction.

The findings of Byers and Byers are somewhat different from those of Aspy (1973). His study of "interchangeable responses" between students and teachers, a concept adopted from Carl Rodgers, related to empathy

training. Aspy operationally defined "interchangeable responses" as the teacher's summations of students' statements which reflect the accuracy of the teacher's understanding of what the student has said. Teacher responses were coded and a percentage was computed for interchangeable statements. It was found that the standardized achievement scores of 120 third graders were positively related to teachers' interchangeable response scores. In a follow-up study, reading teachers who were trained in making interchangeable responses were more successful in increasing student reading achievement scores than were untrained teachers who participated in the study. The findings are significant to this study for the following reasons: Byers seemingly attributed the responsibility for differential responses by teachers to the Black students' inability to determine the appropriateness of interaction. However, Aspy suggests that the quality of teacher-student interaction can be determined by the teacher. Furthermore, his research highlights the importance of the ability of teachers to make interchangeable responses since these responses imply to students that teachers are attentive and interested in what students have to say and that what students say is important and worthy of teachers' attention. Jackson and Casco (1974), in their research, directly relevant to the quality of teacher-student interactions, studied 500

classrooms in the southwestern states. The researchers concluded that there were major disparities in the treatment by teachers of White and minority students. Teachers gave positive feedback, praise, and encouragement, and were more accepting and less critical of their White students as compared to the minority students in the classroom.

The research of Leacock (1969) supports findings of racial and social class bias reflected in teacher attitude. Leacock looked in depth at two low-income and two middle-income New York City schools. One school was predominantly Black and one predominalty White at each income level. Leacock's findings, based on classroom observation and on the analysis of teacher and student interview data, were two-fold. Teachers were found to have more negative attitudes toward Black children than White and to favor middle-income children over low-income children. More specifically, teachers in the low-income all-Black schools "both reflect and create the expectation of defeat for the Black students in the classroom." In addition, Black students received negative responses twice as often as positive responses from their teachers.

> The teachers of the fifth and second grades in the lower-income Negro school, at first impression did not seem unsupportive of the children. . . . Both, however, shared a derogatory attitude toward the children and their potentialities as groups. The second-grade teacher denied much of what the children

> offered from their own experience. . . . The fifth-grade teacher . . . continually derogated and undermined the children's academic contributions. In both classrooms, the children were constantly receiving the message, "You are not going to do very much." The researchers were struck by the fact that standards in the low-income Negro classrooms were low for both achievement and behavior (p. 155).

Rubovitz and Maehr (1973) in their study of teacher-student interaction found significant racial differences on six of the eight measures used. Sixty-six teachers, who each taught a lesson to a small group consisting of two White and two Black seventh and eighth grade students, were found to: be less attentive to the Black students, request fewer responses from them, less frequently encourage Black students to express ideas, ignore a greater percentage of Black student responses, praise White students more frequently, and be more critical of Black students.

Racial and Social Class Determinants of Teacher-student Interaction

Dusek (1975) suggests that teachers and students are continually interacting in the context of the classroom. He further states that there is considerable evidence supporting the contention that teachers do treat groups of students differently. Moreover, this differential treatment can influence student self concept and student performance.

Rist (1970), in one of the most signigicant studies in the field of teacher racial bias, found that

teachers do form low expectations which impact on the achievement level of students. The study is of particular note since Rist found that teacher expectations were founded on subjective attributes, impressions, criteria, and characteristics of students. He further concluded that the expectation of differential academic ability and potential formed the basis for the placement of students in ability groups. Rist found in his study that kindergarten teachers had effectively sorted their students into one of three "ability" reading groups within eight days after school had started. He noted that although the teachers had several sources of information available for making decisions about individual students, none of the available information was related to the actual academic potential of the incoming kindergarten students. The researcher further described the composition of the student groups. He observed students in reading group one interacting more frequently with the teacher and with each other. Furthermore, the students were clean, well-dressed, and located in close proximity to the teacher. Group two students were less neat in physical appearance. Their clothing was not as "nice," they were viewed as being less verbal, and used more non-standard English as compared to group one. Group three students had the darkest complexions, shabbiest clothing, interacted less frequently with the teacher, and almost always responsed in "Black

English." Information available to the kindergarten teachers for putting students into these groups, other than the visually obvious, was

> . . . (the) financial status of certain families, medical care of the child, presence or absence of a telephone in the home, as well as the structure of the family in which the child lived, i.e., number of siblings, whether the child lived with both, one or neither of his natural parents (Rist, 1970, p. 418).

The teachers further revealed that Group 1 consisted of the "fast learners" while students in the remaining two groups, "had no idea of what was going on in the classroom." According to Rist, teachers used objective criteria to make evaluative academic judgements which became the basis for differential treatment of the students. Furthermore, Rist noted that once a student was placed in a low group, upward mobility was virtually impossible. Elaborating on this finding, Rist stated that the expectations of the kindergarten teachers were fulfilled and further sanctioned by the first grade teacher who grouped the students based on past performance. There appeared to be no mobility between the groups, even by the time students had reached the second grade. Rist, who conducted the study over a two and one-half year period, concluded that not only did teacher expectations of student ability rest on subjective "irrational" criteria, but once students were allocated to various ability groups they (the students) received differential

treatment and these groups were maintained by first and second grade teachers. The teacher expectations became self-fulfilling prophecies.

It is evident from these studies that negative and positive teacher expectations exert considerable influence on student performance. These expectations and attitudes are often formed on the basis of irrational or inappropriate criteria having little to do with the actual ability of the students. Such criteria include race and socio-economic class and are critical variables in teacher-student interaction. Teachers' judgments of student potential become particularly critical when these judgments are translated into placements in a system of educational tracking.

One other professional educator, influential in the educational placement process and in helping students to determine educational and lifetime career choices, is the school counselor. The importance of the counselor's role increases as a student progresses from elementary into junior high or middle school and on into high school. It is during these years that counselors present to students a range of educational and eventually career options. Counselors also assist students in shaping thier lives toward the goals the counselors (and teachers) believe are most suitable for them. It is obvious that a counselor's attitude toward each individual student will

be highly influential in determining the level of academic study to which that student is assigned and the educational and career options that they are offered.

In the section to follow, counselor bias, based upon the criteria of race and socio-economic status will be examined for its effects on student placement and academic achievement.

Counselor Attitudes and Bias

The Need for Counseling Services

Counselors were first included as an integral part of a school system as early as 1895. The first organized guidance program emerged in the Cincinnati, Ohio Public Schools in 1911 (Hollis, 1977). However, guidance and counseling services spread throughout public education from 1920-1945 due to the increased demands of labor and industry in the society at large. Counselors were primarily expected to assist in planning educational programs for students consistent with the labor needs of a rapidly expanding industrial society (Spring, 1976; Rosenbaum, 1976). In an effort to more efficiently assist students in determining their vocational direction, counselors began using a system of testing, tracking, and ability grouping. The focus of guidance counseling services has broadened with the advancement of counseling theories and procedures, the refinement of existing tests, and the

development of additional assessment tools. The overall general welfare and development of the individual became the primary focus of many counselors. However, a major aspect in the development of individual potential is related to the success of counselors to assist clients in leading lives that fulfill individual needs and are socially effective. While the growth of sociological theory contributed to the concern for self-awareness and self-actualization in the field of counseling, the principles and methods of guidance are embedded in psychology. Although psychology is primarily the study of human behavior and learning, individual differences and abilities were also stressed and incorporated in counseling and guidance services. However, the role of the counselor has been defined by complex and changing societal needs and developments, coupled with the disciplines of sociology, philosophy, and psychology.

Ryan and Zeran (1972) noted that institutions are a "bounded organization of interdependent and interrelated components maintained in a stable state of relatedness to each other, and to the total system and its environment, by standard modes of operation and feedback for the purpose of accomplishing stated goals." (p. 2). These modes of operation and stated goals have not always benefited minorities. For example, counselors have had minimal impact in helping minorities deal effectively with

an oppressive system. Instead, according to Gunnings and Tucker (1974), counselors can be viewed as a force working against fundamental change in the status of minorities. Furthermore, research has shown that the race of a client does affect the process and outcome of counseling. Therefore, even though a need for counseling does exist, counselors have not always acted in the best interest of racial and other minorities. In the context of education, counselor bias has made an impact on the treatment of children.

Counselor Bias and Stereotyping

The American Personnel and Guidance Association, American Psychological Association, and American School Counselors Association codes of ethics maintain that counselors should treat all clients with equality, respect and understanding. However, Banks (1972a); Yamamoto et al (1967); and Rosenthal and Frank (1958), assert that the racial attitudes and biases of white counselors are consistent with those held by the American population at large. Counselors are not immune to the negative attitudes and racially prejudiced beliefs held by the general culture of which they are a part. In the view of Ayers (1970), "to assume that counselors are immune to racism would be naive and even absurd" (p. 21).

Halleck (1971) refers to counselors as "the handmaidens of the status quo." Sue (1978); Smith (1977); and Ruiz and Padilla (1977), concur that counseling and psychotherapy are transmitters of society's values and instruments of oppression. Sue (1978) maintains that cultural and racial oppression occur because counselors tend to respond to minorities according to their own conditioned values and stereotypes.

Counselor bias has been well documented throughout the literature and come as no surprise to researchers in the field of education and psychology. Generally, the only preparation counselors receive in techniques for assessing and working more effectively with ethnic minority groups is provided on a limited basis through conference workshops and inservice training programs. Few formal courses in working with ethnic and minority clients exist in counselor education departments throughout the country (McDavis and Parker, 1977). Moreover, research conducted in the field of counseling and psychology has failed to promote a better understanding of the psychological and counseling needs of minority groups. Instead, research often conducted in the field of counseling serves to illuminate the stereotypes held by White society and further distort the realities of the "Black experience."

Jones (1972) demonstrated that counselors have negative stereotypes about the characteristics and attitudes of students labeled "culturally deprived." Counselors were divided into two groups and asked to respond to questions on the School Morale Inventory (Wrightsman, 1968) as they thought a 12-year-old sixth grade male student would. The experimental group was further instructed that the boy was "culturally deprived" and their responses should reflect the way in which they predicted a "culturally deprived" student might respond. Counselors in the experimental group, who responded as "culturally deprived" students, predicted lower morale on all subscales of the inventory than counselors in the control group who were not designated to respond as culturally deprived students. This study reinforces the negative expectations of "culturally deprived" students held by counselors. The following studies will illustrate the impact of race on counselor research and counselor behavior.

Blacks have been depicted as nonverbal, untrusting, with severe and permanent character disorders (Pinderhughes, 1973). They are also described as disadvantaged, culturally deprived, and products of broken homes with matriarchal family structures (Amos, 1968; Haettenschwiller, 1971; Moynihan, 1965). Blacks are portrayed as culturally deficient and possessing those negative attributes and

characteristics which are equated with social pathology, which serve as barriers to positive educational and psychological growth and development. With respect to Minority clients, research paints a dismal picture which counselors use in preparation for providing services to this particular group. The stereotypes held by counselors and psychologists are supported by researchers and their research. Tolson (1972) states that, "Some of these adjectives (used to describe Blacks) have become so culturally powerful that they control our perceptions and thereby limit our ability to apply what we know to be good counseling techniques" (p. 735).

Cultural differences are a reality among majority and minority populations. The experiences of Black and other ethnic minority group members sometimes bear little resemblance to those of the White majority. Blacks have not been afforded the privilege of equal opportunity or the potential for equal status in this country. Furthermore, Blacks occupy a position of inequality within the socioeconomic system. However, societal racism, discrimination, and cultural isolation of Blacks and Whites should not connote "cultural deficiencies." Cultural differences are not synonymous with cultural deficiencies. Black cultural disadvantagement is based on the premise of the superiority of the White middle class culture. Clark (1965) satirically points out that to label a Black client

as culturally disadvantaged is to make the assumption that the White counselor is advantaged.

Counseling literature has also documented the practice of sex role bias and stereotyping. Fidell (1970) investigated the hiring practices in the psychology departments of 228 universities. Letters of application were developed for prospective faculty members, using identical qualifications, varied only by the sex of the applicant. Female applicants were rated "less desirable" more often than the male applicants. In addition, when women were offered positions at the university, they were lower-level appointments. Thomas and Stewart (1971) also examined the problem of sex bias in counseling. The study was conducted in St. Paul, Minnesota with a sample of 62 volunteer school counselors. After viewing three video-tapes of female clients an introductory tape, a tape of a client who selected deviate career goals, and a tape of a client who chose a conforming career goal, participants were asked to rate the females, using the Gough Adjective Check List and response scales on "Appropriateness of Career Choice, and "Need of Further Counseling." Counselors were also instructed to list two other career choices they deemed appropriate for the client. The findings suggested that female counselors were more accepting of both deviate and conforming clients than were male counselors. Secondly, both male and female counselors

were more approving of the female clients with "female" conforming career goals. The findings also indicated that experienced male counselors showed increased acceptance of non-conforming career goals as opposed to female counselors. Finally, the study determined that both male and female counselors rated female clients with deviate career goals in need of further counseling.

Donahue and Costar (1977) reaffirmed the findings of sex bias indicated by Stewart and Thomas. A random sample of 300 senior high school counselors in Michigan were asked to select the most appropriate occupation for three hypothetical male and female case study subjects from a list of 28 occupations provided by the researcher. The sex of the subjects was varied on an alternate form of the vignettes. Half of the sample received form A and the remaining half received form B. The results showed that counselors selected lower-paying occupations requiring more supervision for female subjects than they did for the same subjects when depicted as males.

Additional studies investigating sex role bias have determined that females are viewed by counselors as unhealthy and immature (Braverman, 1970; Maslin and Davis, 1975), psychologically unstable (Abramswitz, 1975), and more passive and dependent than their male counterparts (Donahue, 1978). The previously cited research suggests that counselors are biased and that these biases may

affect the educational and vocational development of their clients. Thomas and Stewart (1971) suggested that personal biases held by counselors are communicated to the client either openly or covertly. Furthermore, if the client's goals are viewed as nontraditional or nonconforming to those stereotypes held by counselors, then the outcome of counseling may result in clients being placed in more "untenable positions rather than having obtained actual help in working out (the) concerns" (p. 357). Kincaid (1969) emphasizes, however, that counselors who encourage and support their clients in making choices that are non-traditional promote independent and healthy decision making.

Although sex bias and attitudes related to gender are not the main thrust of this study, it is important to note that such biases do exist. Literature and research efforts related to the issue of sex role stereotyping have gained momentum in the field of counseling. Since sex bias operates to maintain individuals in a subordinate position, its dynamics are similar to racial bias and it stems from similar stereotypes. In counselors, such bias results in school placements and client guidance that subtly reinforce sexist or racist attitudes

Bloombaum, Yamamoto, and James (1967) conducted a study in which psychotherapists were interviewed to determine their attitudes toward Mexican-Americans,

African-Americans, Japanese-Americans, Chinese-Americans and Jews. Of all the responses, 22.6 percent were culturally stereotypic in terms of imputations of superstitiousness, changeability, impulsiveness, grasp of abstract ideas, and distinction made between illusions and facts. Furthermore, 79.2 percent of the psychotherapists were found to have subtle stereotypic attitudes. Banks, Berenson and Carkhuff (1967); and Carkhuff and Pierce (1967), assert that a difference in values between counselors and clients strongly influences decision making, goal setting, and the outcome of counseling.

Counselors who are more different from their clients in terms of cultural background, race, or sex are more likely to experience difficulty in "communicating empathy, respect, congruence, and general assistance," than those counselors who are less different and who share and understand the cultural background of their clients (Maslin and Davis, 1975; Pedersen, 1976). Supporting these findings, Gordon and Grantham (1979) assert that perceived similarity in social class background is also a critical variable in the counseling dyad. Considerable research lends support to findings of increased effectiveness with clients and respect for clients who are similar to the counselor in social-economic status and background (Carkhuff and Pierce, 1967; Jackson and Kirschner, 1973; Walkon, et al, 1973; Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958).

When studies demonstrating the importance of perceived homogeneous social class background on counselor effectiveness are combined with previously cited studies which stress the impact of race in the counseling dyad, then the merging pattern suggests that cultural, racial, social class, and SES are important factors in determining how counselors differentially respond to certain clients. This differential response affects the range of decisions, goals and options the counselor may make available to Black and other minority clients.

Differential Classification and Treatment of Minorities

Counselor effectiveness is related to accurate identification and classification of the client's strength, weaknesses, and problems.

Szasz (1971) suggests that in the United States, where specific social customs and policy prevail, the Negro race is systematically subjugated, and psychiatry and psychoanalysis lend their specialized jargons to justify this subjugation. According to Hollingshead and Redlich (1958), diagnosis and therapist expectations are significantly related to the socioeconomic status of the client. More specifically in their research, Blacks and lower status clients were less likely to receive favorable classification and to benefit from therapy, as compared to Whites and higher status clients. Rosenthal and Frank

(1958) supported the findings of Hollingshead and Reddick by demonstrating that Blacks and lower status clients received less therapy than White clients, once they were accepted for therapy.

Strupp (1960) identifies six variables which influence the process and outcome of counseling. These variables--the client's station in life, socioeconomic status, intellect, sex, age, and race--will most likely determine the diagnosis made by the counselor regarding the attitudes and behaviors of the client.

Similar findings of the differential classification of clients were reported by Lane (1969). Therapists were asked to classify schizophrenic clients as either process schizophrenics or reactive schizophrenics. The first classification is based on organic factors, the latter on enviornmental causes. Race becomes a factor in this classification process in that Black male schizophrenics (n=50) were more often classified as reactive schizophrenics than their White counterparts. The latter findings supported the study of Kleiner, et al (1960), who investigated the etiology of mental disorders among high status Whites and lower status non-Whites. Non-Whites were found to have a higher incidence of process schizophrenia in comparison to the higher-income White patients, again demonstrating the importance of race in the classification process. Ellison (1952) maintains that counselors and psychologists have

failed to understand the prevailing cultural differences and experiences of Blacks. This lack of understanding limits the effectiveness of these professionals in accurately assessing the mental health and symptoms of minority clients. Ellison further advocates the formulation of new counseling models that would be more appropriate in diagnosing, classifying, and treating Black clients. Blacks have been superimposed on theories which were disigned to explain white middle class behavior (Calia, 1966). Gunnings and Tucker (1974) assert that counselors and psychologist are unable to correctly assess the symptoms of Black clients, since they fail to examine their clients' status in the context of a racially oppressive and discriminatory system. Ryan, 1971, and Gunnings, 1976, assert that therapists and counselors tend to engage in blaming the clients for their problems as opposed to exploring the influences of enviornmental variable on client dysfunction. Gunnings further contends that client behavior is a symptom of the negative impact of the social system on client's affective and cognitive function. Gunnings states that as therapists and counselors continue to make diagnostic judgments without considering the effects of the social system, not only will those appraisals likely be incorrect, but the strategies for therapy will also be inappropriate and symptoms will not be eliminated. Counselor and therapist ineffectiveness and client misclassification are attributed to denial of social system

variables. Hence, Gunnings focuses on the development of a systemic counseling model, which places emphasis on the role of the social system in determining the attitudes, values and behavior of individuals.

Summary

This review of the literature suggests that teachers and counselors who make educational placement decisions that affect school children are not immune to the racial bias that exists in the broader society. Counselor racial bias provides the background for biased standardized testing, racially oriented teacher expectations, and prejudicial counselor attitudes, resulting in the disproportionate placement of Black and minority children into low tracks with low academic standards. The literature also suggests a parallel between sex and race bias, in that counselors used both factors to make differential distinctions and placement decisions about their clients. Although different forms and methods of grouping exist in American education, they are all undergirded by the assumption that the ability and potential of young people are related to their race, sex, or socioeconomic status.

The studies cited in this review of the literature provided the foundation for this study in which the racial attitudes of sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors in a desegregated school district were examined

to determine their impact on the educational placement of White and Black sixth grade male students.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The primary purpose of this study was to determine if sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors make differential academic placement decisions about sixth grade students based on the race of the students. In this chapter, the setting, the characteristics of the population and sample, and the research design are presented. The instruments used to collect data for the study and the research procedures are also discussed.

The Setting

As indicated in Chapter I, this study was conducted in a midwestern city which had undergone court ordered school desegregation when the schools opened in September 1972. This school district is similar to many medium size school systems throughout the country in terms of racial composition, financial stability, and the academic achievement levels of Black, Hispanic, and White students.

A detailed description of the school district in which the study was conducted will follow. The reader will be provided with enrollment data for the year prior to school desegregation (1970-71) and for the 1978-79 school

year, showing the racial composition of the student population and the number of sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors employed in the district during that period.

The subject district was undergoing study and evaluation of the effects and progress of court-ordered desegregation at the time of this study. The court order for this evaluation is discussed in the following paragraphs and a breakdown of the student population will follow. This information is designed to provide necessary background for the reader before proceeding to an examination of the research population.

Order for Desegregation Progress Report and Evaluation

On August 15, 1977, the judge presiding over the desegregation case ordered the Board of Education to prepare a full report "on the present situation within the school as it relates to the implementation of this Court's desegregation order of October 4, 1973." The Board was instructed to detail "the progress that had been made to date in eliminating the effects of prior segregation and what further efforts the defendent Board deems necessary to cure the condition found to offend the Constitution." (Court Order: Judge Noel Fox, August 15, 1977).

The Desegregation Progress Report prepared by the school district was submitted to the Court on September 5, 1977. On December 5, 1977, Professor Robert L. Green,

Michigan State University, and Professor Wilbur, J. Cohen, University of Michigan, were appointed as "experts for and on behalf of the Court." They were ordered to "assist in the study and evaluation of said desegregation report and perform such other service as said experts deem advisable or as the Court may, from time to time, direct." (K88-71 CA., December 7, 1977). This current study related to the court-ordered evaluation of the school district (Green and Cohen 1979). Academic selection processes were evaluated to determine how students were assigned to various academic programs offered by the district. The academic placement procedure analyzed in this study is only one of several policies, procedures, and practices evaluated by the court-appointed research team.

Student Population

Prior to the 1972 court-ordered desegregation plan, the school district was comprised of twenty-nine elementary schools, five junior, and two senior high schools. In 1970-71, the school year prior to desegregation, there were 2,541 (15.9 percent) Black students and 13,412 (84.1 percent) White and other students enrolled in the public schools. Four of the twenty-nine elementary schools had Black enrollments as high as 93.7 percent, 82.7 percent, 49.0 percent, and 57.3 percent. Thirteen of the twenty-nine schools had less than 1.0 percent Black enrollment. At the junior high level, two buildings had a Black enrollment less than 2 percent, while the remaining three

buildings housed 95 percent of the Black junior high students. Finally, over 90 percent of the Black students of high school age attended one of the two schools which had a 20 percent Black enrollment (368 F. Supp. at 153).

From at least the middle 1950s until the early 1970s the Board of Education followed a purposeful pattern of racial discrimination by intentionally creating and maintaining segregated schools in this district (368 F. Supp. at 202).

Under the desegregation plan ordered by Judge Noel Fox, 5 of the 29 elementary schools in the district were closed; 15 became grades K-3 buildings and 10 were converted to grades K, 4-5-6 buildings, of which 9 are currently in operation. All schools in the district were involved in court-ordered busing; however, kindergarten students were excluded from the plan and could attend their neighborhood schools.

In 1978-79 the public schools enrolled 14,937 students of whom 4,577 or 30.6 percent were Black. Although the district has experienced a decline in total enrollment, the number and percentage of Black students had increased. The number and percentage of Black enrollment in the district is reported in Table 3.1 to provide the reader with a contextual basis for analyzing the distribution of students within the school system. The racial composition of the student population by individual buildings in the district during 1978-79 when this study was undertaken is reflected in Table 3.2.

Table 3.1--District-Wide Racial Ethnic Census Data of Student Enrollment During 1970-79.

	Total Students Enrolled	#White Students	#Black Students	%Black Students
1970-71	17,835	14,686	2947	16.5%
1972-73	15,915	12,534	3127	19.6%
1975-76	15,231	11,326	3580	23.5%
1978-79	14,937	9,844	4577	30.6%
NET CHANGE	(2898)	(4842)	1630	14.1%
Percent Net Change	(16.2)	(33.0)	55.3	85.5%

Note: Data include all enrolled students.

SOURCE: Racial Ethnic Census Data, Fourth Friday Counts, State Department of Education.

Table 3.2--Enrollment in Upper-Elementary Buildings K, 4, 5, 6, 1970-71 through 1978-79.

	70-71		71-72		72-73		73-74		74-75		75-76		76-77		77-78		78-79	
	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B	Total	#B
SCHOOL 1	169	0	222	36	235	29	243	44	224	50	205	52	172	48	186	59	205	77
SCHOOL 2	413	74	471	54	423	56	391	56	318	38	492	80	466	95	480	96	489	97
SCHOOL 3	473	443	417	99	417	108	379	123	410	135	391	146	365	127	349	126	333	108
SCHOOL 4	296	2	362	43	346	37	332	47	292	44	291	43	297	50	318	47	277	41
SCHOOL 5	278	12	337	76	302	76	281	55	264	64	252	65	242	63	261	62	275	70
SCHOOL 6	517	14	483	81	463	88	418	73	395	80	374	71	336	59	337	70	356	69
SCHOOL 7	290	42	329	94	321	89	314	99	255	77	258	73	264	68	288	75	257	55
SCHOOL 8	277	2	333	69	325	68	313	68	308	77	295	83	271	72	250	57	270	75
SCHOOL 9	492	282	510	106	411	105	357	126	337	126	360	146	332	140	336	152	320	150

SOURCE: Elementary Demographic Data; Corrected Elementary Student Demographic Data.

KEY: B=Black.

Since the study at hand focuses on teacher and counselor decisions to place sixth grade male students in one of two 7th grade English courses and one of three 7th grade mathematics courses, using "ability" as the major criterion variable, the 1978-79 enrollment in these courses is shown in Table 3.3 for each of the five junior high schools. For comparison purposes, the level of Black enrollment at each of the schools is shown. Criteria that educators are to use in making the placement decisions are presented later in the chapter.

Definition of the Research Population

According to data provided by the school district in 1970-71, the year prior to desegregation, the number of Black teachers was 63.5 or 6.5 percent of the total teaching staff (971.2). The teacher staff for the 1978-79 school year consisted of 867.9 teachers, of whom 101, or 11.6 percent, were Black. However, the population of primary interest in this study were sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors. In 1970-71 there was a total of 43 sixth grade teachers, 96 percent of whom were White and 4 percent Black. Of the 38 sixth grade teachers employed in the nine upper elementary schools during the 1978-79 school year, 18 percent were Black and 82 percent were White.

The racial composition of the 18 counselors employed in the five junior high schools during the 1970-71 academic

Table 3.3.--District-Wide Black Enrollment of Seventh Grade Courses in the Junior High Schools for 1978-79.

	JHS #1	JHS #2	JHS #3	JHS #4	JHS #5
% Black Enrollment	32%	19%	34%	41%	17%
% Black in Seventh Grade English	22%	16%	28%	25%	9%
% Black in Seventh Grade Reading	71%	31%	53%	68%	51%
%Black in Seventh Grade Select Math	11%	12%	N/D[a]	17%	6%
% Black in Seventh Grade Independent Math	39%	20%	23%	48%	25%
% Black in Seventh Grade Regular Math	65%	30%	43%	58%	24%

[a]N/D = data was not available.

year was 11 percent Black and 89 percent White. During the year 1978-79, there were 13 junior high school counselors, of whom 18 percent were Black and 82 percent White.

The total 1970-71 counseling staff, which included high school counselors, consisted of 31 counselors. The composition of the 1978-79 counseling staff (a total of 25 counselors) was six percent Black and 94 percent White.

Sample

The sample for this study consisted of 19 sixth grade teachers who were randomly selected from the total population of 38 teachers. At least one teacher from each of the nine upper elementary schools was included in the sample. Since the population of junior high counselors was small, all 13 junior high school counselors were included in the study. Demographic data for both the counselors and teachers is contained in Table 3.4.

The typical sixth grade teacher in the study was White, 41.4 years of age, with 11.8 years of teaching experience, and had a master's degree. The typical counselor, based on the demographic data, was White, 43.8 years old, with 17.8 years of experience, and more than likely had credits beyond a master's degree. Further, 83 percent of the subjects received their training at predominantly White colleges or universities.

Table 3.4--Demographic Data: Breakdown for Teachers and Counselors.

Variable	Total n=30 (Percent)	Teacher n=18 (Percent)	Counselor n=12 (Percent)
Sex			
Male	13 (43.3)	6 (33.3)	7 (58.3)
Female	17 (56.7)	12 (66.7)	5 (41.7)
Age			
20-30	2 (6.7)	2 (11.1)	4 (33.3)
31-40	10 (33.3)	6 (33.3)	6 (50.0)
41-50	12 (40.0)	6 (33.3)	2 (16.7)
51+	6 (20.0)	4 (22.2)	2 (16.7)
Race			
Black	5 (16.7)	3 (16.7)	2 (16.7)
White	25 (83.3)	15 (83.3)	10 (83.3)
Education			
Less than M.A. or M.S.	6 (20.0)	6 (33.3)	0 (0.0)
M.A.	14 (46.7)	8 (44.4)	6 (50.0)
Credits beyond M.A.	8 (26.7)	3 (16.7)	5 (41.7)
Ph.D or Ed.D.	2 (6.7)	1 (5.6)	1 (8.3)
Years Employed			
1-5	2 (6.7)	2 (11.1)	0 (0.0)
6-10	7 (23.3)	6 (33.3)	1 (8.3)
11-15	10 (33.3)	7 (38.9)	3 (25.0)
16-20	8 (26.7)	3 (16.7)	5 (41.7)
21+	3 (10.0)	0 (0.0)	3 (25.0)

The Teacher/Counselor Role in Academic Selection

In the subject school district, the role of the sixth grade teachers and junior high counselors is a crucial one since these educators determine the level at which each student will be placed as they complete elementary and begin secondary education. As indicated in the examination of bias in the first chapter of this study, a student's academic placement may result from a decision in which racial prejudice is a factor; that placement may affect the students' academic progress during the remainder of his/her educational career and beyond. To provide the reader with an accurate picture of how this placement is accomplished during the student's transition from elementary to junior high school, the details of the academic selection process are outlined below and the criteria for placement are presented in Exhibit A.

The discussion will then proceed to instruments developed to simulate and analyze the teachers' and counselors' placement decisions.

Academic Selection Process

As previously noted, nine elementary schools are comprised of grades K, 4-5-6. In addition, there are five junior high schools in the district with seventh, eighth, and ninth grade levels. Sixth grade teachers make the determination as to which seventh grade courses their sixth grade students will be placed in upon completion of the upper

elementary grades. The placement decision is made in June prior to the completion of the academic year. The teacher recommendation is forwarded to the receiving junior high school counselor who, in turn, reviews the placement recommendation and schedules the courses selected by the teacher for the student. The counselors may also intervene if they feel that the placement decision was incorrect. The counselor has the option to change the placement of the student after consultation with the parents and/or the student.

The transition from elementary to junior high school is critical in the academic career of students. In the district in which this study was conducted, students were formally placed in academic courses according to their "ability" and "interest."

More specifically, sixth grade teachers in the school district are responsible for placing students in seventh grade English or reading and math, at one of the three levels offered; Select (Pre-Algebra), Individualized, or Regular. The criteria for placement are given in Exhibit A.

The criteria are consistent for all sixth grade students and based on achievement scores for mathematics, the completion of mathematics and reading programs, and teacher/counselor judgments.

EXHIBIT A

DISTRICT SEVENTH GRADE PLACEMENT CRITERIA:

READING, ENGLISH, AND MATHEMATICS, 1978-79

Houghton Mifflin Reading

Sixth grade students who have not completed Magazine 5 in Level 10 of the Houghton Mifflin Reading Program are placed in a seventh grade Houghton Mifflin reading class.

A sixth grade student who has completed Magazine 5 in Level 10 of the Houghton Mifflin Reading Program by June and has obtained mastery(at or above the critical score on the Houghton Mifflin tests) of that magazine and previous magazines in Level 10 need not be placed in seventh grade reading and may be assigned to a seventh grade English class. However, if, in the best judgment of the principal and teacher, the student's success would be greater with continued reading instruction, it may be recommended that the student be placed in the seventh grade Houghton Mifflin Reading Program.

English

Sixth grade students who have not been assigned to Houghton Mifflin or Title I reading programs are placed in the seventh grade English program.

Select Mathematics

Sixth grade students are placed in seventh grade select mathematics class by the following criteria: sixth grade teacher recommendation, 1.5 years above grade level, based on MAT total mathematics score, and completion of Book 6 or above in the Holt School Mathematics Program.

Regular Mathematics

Sixth grade students who are not placed in seventh grade select mathematics but need a structured learning environment are placed in regular mathematics, based upon the sixth grade teacher recommendation.

Individualized Mathematics

Sixth grade students not recommended to select mathematics and who have the ability to work independently are recommended by the sixth grade teacher to be placed in the individualized mathematics program.

SOURCE: Seventh Grade Placement Criteria: Reading, English Mathematics

Instruments

The material specifically designed for this study included: four vignettes, Placement and Rating Scale, Level of Confidence Scale, Attitude Questionnaires, Personal Data Sheet, and Counselor-Teacher Questionnaire. College of Urban Development researchers involved in other desegregation studies assisted by commenting on the basic design of this study. The purpose of the instruments was to collect data that could be used to analyze the criteria used by teachers and counselors for making placement decisions about sixth grade students in seventh grade math and English or reading courses.

The instruments were developed with the help of professors, counseling students, teachers, and junior high school counselors. In addition, research in the areas of ability grouping, teacher expectations, and counselor bias provided direction for writing specific items considered in the placement decision process. Copies of all instruments are included in the Appendix.

Vignettes

Four hypothetical profiles were developed depicting sixth grade male students. These simulated case histories of male sixth graders briefly described the following:

1. parent(s)' occupation, which implied socio-economic status
2. student's previous academic performance

3. teachers' evaluation reports
4. age of the student
5. anecdotal remarks of teachers regarding student motivation and interests
6. current level of achievement
7. specific reference to racial identity

The four vignettes used for this study underwent several revisions in an effort to portray a male sixth grade student who could be depicted as either Black or White, based on identical background data presented to the counselor or teacher.

Three Lansing junior high school counselors, were consulted and they assisted in the construction of the case studies. In addition, they provided data related to achievement scores and actual anecdotal records of students in order to help the researcher develop a framework from which to construct the student profiles. Further, the names of actual businesses or industries located in the city were used for simulating typical parental employment. An attempt was made to develop the case histories as realistically as possible to approximate those sixth grade students currently enrolled in the district.

Placement and Rating Scale

After reviewing a vignette, teachers and counselors were asked to recommend placement of the student in either English or reading; select math, individualized math, or

regular math. The rating scale included six factors considered in making the placement decision for the student. In addition, teachers and counselors could specify "other" factors they considered important in making the placement decision. The six factors were weighted on a scale which ranged from 1 to 4 representing a rating of minimal importance to one of extreme importance. Factors 1 and 2 assessed the importance of test scores. Factors 3 and 4 were concerned with student performance and teacher perception and evaluation. Factors 5 and 6 dealt with student background information and parental recommendation. Subjects were asked to rate the same six factors for all four vignettes in making the English and math placement decisions. If a subject specified a seventh factor under "other," this factor was also rated and included in subsequent analyses. A list of the specific factors may be found in Appendix B.

The instructions for rating the factors on the scale were as follows:

> We have identified a possible list of factors that may be used as criteria for determining placement of students by 6th grade teachers and 7th grade counselors. Please rate the importance of each factor you may have considered in your evaluation and placement recommendation of the 6th grade students you have just reviewed. Where you are uncertain, make the best possible choice. Please do not leave any scale blank.

Attitude Questionnaire

The attitude questionnaire was constructed primarily to measure the attitudes of the teachers and counselors

toward school desegregation and the quality of education offered in the desegregated school. The questionnaire also contained items regarding attitudes toward open housing and level of personal skill in working with minority students. There were a total of eleven items, and subjects were instructed to respond to these items on a five-point scale which ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. (See Appendix C)

Personal Data Sheet

The Personal Data Sheet was developed to obtain demographic data on the subjects. The background variables listed on the form were age, sex, race, years of experience, professional organization affiliation, and racial attitudes. The form contained a total of fifteen items. The information from the Personal Data Sheet has been used to provide the researcher and the reader with a more detailed description of the sample in this study. (See Appendix D)

Counselor-Teacher Questionnaire

This instrument was primarily developed for use in the major court-ordered evaluation study to determine the role of the counselor and teacher in the desegregated school district. The questionnaire contained items related to discipline, suspension, student personal/social problems, and classroom goals and objectives. For the purpose of this study, only a portion of the data collected from the questionnaire will be included in Chapter V.

Experimental Procedures

The subjects (counselors and teachers) who were participants in this study were notified by the principal of their school one day prior to the scheduled appointment with the interviewer. The school principal made arrangements for substitute teachers when necessary so that the teachers could be relieved of classroom duties to participate in the study. Teachers and counselors had the option not to participate, however, only one teacher refused to take part.

The investigator interviewed the subjects individually with the exception of three participants, two of whom were not used in the analysis of the data. Each interview took approximately one hour to complete.

First, each subject was given four vignettes which were randomly varied by the race of the student, with an attached Placement Form and Rating Scale for each vignette. Two of the vignettes depicted Black students and two depicted White. Each subject was instructed to read each profile carefully and then make two placement decisions about each student. After reviewing a student profile, the subject then decided whether to place the student in English or reading. The subject then listed factors related to placement which were weighted for their relative influence in making the placement decision. Next, the

subject placed the student in one of the three levels of math: Select, Independent, or Regular. The factors considered for the placement of students in math were then rated. Finally, the subject was instructed to indicate how confident they were with the placement decisions made about the student on the Level of Confidence Scale. These instructions and procedures were repeated for all four vignettes. Upon completion, the vignettes and scales were placed into an envelope by the subject.

After the student placement decisions were made, each subject was individually interviewed by the examiner using the Teacher-Counselor Questionnaire. Next, the examiner gave instructions for filling out the Attitude Questionnaire and Personal Data Sheet and informed the subject to place the forms, when completed, in the envelope containing the vignettes and seal it. The examiner was not present in the room while subjects completed these forms. Subjects also had the option of randomly placing the sealed envelope in a larger stack of identical envelopes to prevent identification by the interviewer. Only two of the 32 subjects exercised the option. Precautions were taken to assure the subjects that their identity would not be known.

Limitations of the Study

Those limitations regarding validity and reliability of the instrument in studies using questionnaires

will apply to this study as well. It is further limited, as with similar research studies, by the veracity of the subjects' responses to the instruments. Since there were only four vignettes (varied by race for a total of eight), the author recognizes that these hypothetical cases are only a simulation of cumulative files used by teachers and counselors when making placement decisions about students. Therefore, vignettes cannot predict actual decision making behavior but merely infer it, since counselors and/or teachers might respond differently in the actual classroom setting.

Furthermore, the results from this study can be generalized to other populations only to the extent that other populations are similar in characteristics to the school district and population of teachers and counselors in this study.

Design and Analysis

The post-test--only control group designed as described by Campbell and Stanley (1963) was used for the experiment in this study. Although there are some limitations with respect to the external validity in the use of this design, it was appropriate for the purposes of this study. The experimental treatment was the four vignettes which were varied by the race of the students. A total of six combinations were generated from the four vignettes such that each teacher and counselor received four

vignettes depicting two Black and two White students. The experimental conditions were randomly assigned to the subjects. A schematic display of the random assignments is provided in Table 3.5. In all four cases (Matthew, Michael, Robert, and Timothy) one of the students was presented to the sample as either Black or White a total of 15 times.

To determine if academic assignments were made resulting in significantly different frequencies related to the race of the student, chi-square tests were conducted. Since the variables of concern were nominal data, and the hypothesis required the determination of whether the frequency of placement decisions was greater or less with respect to the race of the student, the chi-square analysis was appropriate.

In order to reject the null hypothesis of random assignment without respect to the race of the students, the .05 level of significance was used.

Summary

The study was conducted in a medium-sized midwestern school district which underwent desegregation in 1972 and had an enrollment, at the time of the study, of about 15,000 students, of whom 30.6 percent were Black. Study subjects included 19 sixth grade teachers, randomly selected from a total of 38, and all 13 junior high counselors.

Table 3.5.--Schematic Display of Randomly Assigned Vignettes for the Academic Placement Decisions of Students by Counselors and Teachers.

Cases	Black				White				
	Matthew	Michael	Robert	Timothy	Matthew	Michael	Robert	Timothy	
Counselors									
1,7	X	X					X	X	= 8
2,8		X	X		X			X	= 8
3,9			X	X	X	X			= 8
4,10	X		X			X		X	= 8
5,11	X			X			X	X	= 8
6,12		X		X	X		X		= 8
	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	=48

	Black				White				
	Matthew	Michael	Robert	Timothy	Matthew	Michael	Robert	Timothy	
Teachers									
1,7,13	X	X					X	X	=12
2,8,14		X	X		X			X	=12
3,9,15			X	X	X	X			=12
4,10,16	X		X		X	X			=12
5,11,17	X			X		X	X		=12
6,12,18		X		X	X		X		=12
	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	=72

Instruments specifically designed for this study included four vignettes which were varied by the race of the student, depicting specific characteristics of four hypothetical male sixth grade students. Also included were rating scales, attitude questionnaires, and personal data forms presented in the section included in the Appendix.

After reading the vignette, subjects placed the student described in one of two levels of English and one of three levels of math, and then rated the factors they had used in making their decisions. Subjects also rated the level of confidence they gave to their placement decisions. Finally, subjects were interviewed by the researcher and completed attitude and personal data questionnaires.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Introduction

In this chapter, the analyses and findings are presented in three major sections. The first section focuses on the placement decision for students depicted in the four vignettes where they were varied by race. The second section presents the results of the hypotheses tests conducted as part of the analysis. Finally, section three presents an analysis of the additional data which describes the respondents in terms of their background and attitudes.

Statistical tests for a relationship between the placement decisions of students as a function of race were calculated using a chi-square analysis. Initially, the students placement decisions were analyzed separately for counselors versus teachers. No significant differences were found between the teachers' and counselors' decisions. Since there were no significant differences between teachers and counselors in their academic placement decisions, they were combined into one group in order to test for significant differences in race related placement decisions. Following is an analysis of the data.

Academic Placement Decisions

One of the responsibilities of sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors in the district is to recommend students for placement in the required seventh grade language arts and mathematics courses. Language arts courses are reading and English, while mathematics courses are select mathematics, regular mathematics, and individualized mathematics. There are noteworthy variations in the required course areas. Each of these courses presupposes different levels of student skills. The reading course stresses basic level skills, as does the regular mathematics course. The individualized mathematics course is designated for students of variable competency levels; however, the student must demonstrate the ability to work independently. The latter courses are perceived as being "low level" in orientation. The other courses, English and select mathematics, are accelerated courses designed for students with perceived higher level skills in these areas.

As previously mentioned, thirty subjects (teachers and counselors) were used in this study. Each of the subjects received four vignettes and made academic placement decisions for each of the four students (2 White and 2 Black students). Each case (Matthew, Michael, Robert, and Timothy) was responded to as a Black student 15 times and a White student 15 times.

The results of student placement decisions made by the respondents (teachers and counselors combined) are presented in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4. The discussion to follow will summarize the placement decisions pertaining to each student--Matthew, Michael, Robert, and Timothy.

An examination of Table 4.1 reveals that Matthew was placed in Reading one additional time when he was portrayed as a Black student. When Matthew was White, respondents placed him in English 12 times, as opposed to 11 when he was Black. Matthew was placed in Select math twice, once as a Black student, and also as a White student. Placement in Individual math and General math varied slightly. He was placed in Individualized math more frequently as a White student and in General math more frequently as a Black student. However, the frequency of the placement decisions based upon the race of the student was not significant.

Respondents appeared to be more confident about the Language Arts placement of Matthew when he was portrayed as a Black student. However, the level of confidence was basically comparable regarding the placement of Matthew in the mathematics courses. The factors considered in making the language arts and mathematics placement recomendations were also comparable. I.Q. Test Scores and Parental Recommendations were of minimal importance, whereas Student Motivation and Teacher Perception and Evaluation

were very important factors in making the placement decisions. The Students Background Information was also a consideration and was rated slightly higher when Matthew was Black. Overall, there were only minor differences in the placement decisions regarding Matthew when depicted as either a Black or White student. The figures for Matthew are presented in Table 4.1.

The frequency of academic placement in both language arts and mathematics was comparable for Michael. There were no significant differences in the placement decisions made when the race of the student was varied. Also, teachers and counselors were more confident about their placement decisions of Michael. The race of the student did not appear to be an influence in the level of confidence. The factor considered of minimal importance was I.Q. Test Results, whereas Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation were decidedly more important in making the placement decision. Student Motivation was also considered an important factor. Parental Recommendation was minimally important to one-third of the respondents in making math recommendations for Michael. In summary, the placement recommendations for Michael when depicted as Black or White were comparable. Further, the race of the student did not have a significant effect on the level of confidence, the decisions made, or the factors considered in making the placement recommendations. The figures for Michael are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1.--Academic Placement Decisions for Matthew.

		Black n=15	White n=15
Decision I Language Arts Placement	English	11	12
	Reading	4	3
Decision II Mathematics Placement	Select	1	1
	Individualized	8	10
	Regular	6	4

	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident
Level of Confidence in Decision I Language Arts Placement	3	12	7	8
Level of Confidence in Decision II Mathematics Placement	7	3	6	9

			Minimally Important	Very Important	Minimally Important	Very Important
The importance of Factors Considered in Making the Language Arts Placement Decision	1.	IQ Test Scores	14	1	14	1
	2.	SAT Scores	12	3	7	8
	3.	Student Motivation	1	14	4	11
	4.	Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	1	14	3	12
	5.	Student Background Information	6	9	11	4
	6.	Parental Recommendation	12	3	11	4
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Mathematics Placement Decision	1.	IQ Test Scores	14	1	13	2
	2.	SAT Scores	12	3	6	9
	3.	Student Motivation	1	14	2	13
	4.	Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	1	14	1	14
	5.	Student Background Information	8	7	10	5
	6.	Parental Recommendation	10	5	12	3

Table 4.2.--Academic Placement Decisions for Michael.

			Black n=15	White n=15
Decision I Language Arts Placement		English	2	1
		Reading	13	14
Decision II Mathematics Placement		Select	0	0
		Individualized	9	10
		Regular	6	5

			Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident
Level of Confidence in Decision I Language Arts Placement			4	11	5	10
evel of Confidence in Decision II Mathematics Placement			4	11	5	10
			Minimally Important	Very Important	Minimally Important	Very Important
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Language Arts Placement Decision	1.	IQ Test Scores	15	0	12	3
	2.	SAT Scores	7	8	11	4
	3.	Student Motivation	3	12	2	13
	4.	Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	2	13	4	11
	5.	Student Background Information	6	9	7	8
	6.	Parental Recommendation	12	3	9	6
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Mathematics Placement Decision	1.	IQ Test Scores	13	2	12	3
	2.	SAT Scores	6	9	12	3
	3.	Student Motivation	2	13	0	15
	4.	Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	1	14	3	12
	5.	Student Background Information	6	9	8	7
	6.	Parental Recommendation	10	5	10	5

Robert, who was portrayed as an above-average student, was consistently placed in English by the respondents. However, Robert was recommended by the placement in the higher math level more frequently when he was designated as a Black student. The respondents were more confident with the language arts placement decisions in comparison to the math decisions. Although Robert was placed in Select math more frequently as a Black student, respondents were less confident in their recommendations for math placement. The factors which received the highest ratings in making the placement decisions were Student Motivation and Teacher Perception and Evaluation. Those factors considered to be of minimal importance were I.Q. Test Scores and Student Background Information. There were slight variations in the factors of SAT Test Scores and Parental Recommendations. These two factors were slightly less important for Robert when he was depicted as Black as compared to being depicted as White. The placement decisions regarding Robert were comparable with regard to race. The figures are contained in Table 4.3.

Timothy was the poorest student academically in comparison to the three other students in this study. There were no differences in the frequency of placement of the student in reading when Timothy was Black or White. However, Timothy was placed in English one time when his

Table 4.3.--Academic Placement Decision for Robert.

		Black n=15	White n=15
Decision I Language Arts Placement	English	15	15
	Reading		
Decision II Mathematics Placement	Select	10	7
	Individualized	5	7
	Regular	0	1

	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident
Level of Confidence in Decision I Language Arts Placement	2	13	1	14
Level of Confidence in Decision II Mathematics Placement	6	9	2	13

			Minimally Important	Very Important	Minimally Important	Very Important
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Language Arts Placement Decision	1.	IQ Test Scores	15	0	14	1
	2.	SAT Scores	10	5	8	7
	3.	Student Motivation	2	13	1	14
	4.	Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	2	13 1	14	
	5.	Student Background Information	10	5	10	5
	6.	Parental Recommendation	9	6	12	3
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Mathe-Placement Decision	1.	IQ Test Scores	13	2	15	0
	2.	SAT Scores	10	5	8	7
	3.	Student Motivation	0	15	1	14
	4.	Teacher Perception & Student Evaluation	1	14	1	14
	5.	Student Background Information	10	5	10	5
	6.	Parental Recommendation	9	6	13	2

racial designation was that of a Black student and was retained in the sixth grade when he was portrayed as a White student. Again, the math decisions were comparable for Timothy when portrayed as either a Black or White student. However, one of the respondents placed him as a Black student in Select math and when he was White one respondent placed him in Individualized math. The subjects were more confident in their placement decisions when Timothy was White. The factors of minimal importance were IQ. Test Scores, SAT Scores, and Parental Recommendations. These factors, however, were somewhat more important when Timothy was White, with the exception of I.Q. Test Scores. Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation was also an important factor when Timothy was a White student but was rated of minimal importance when he was Black. Another important factor considered in the placement decisions, when Timothy was Black or White, was Student Motivation. The level of importance varied, however, for the Student Background Information factor. The results of the placement decisions are reported in Table 4.4. This table shows that there were no significant differences in the academic placement recommendations concerning Timothy when varied by race. However, the Teacher Perception and Evaluation factor was significant at the .05 level for placement in both language arts and mathematics for Timothy. The results of these findings are reflected in

Table 4.4.--Academic Placement Decisions for Timothy.

		Black n=15	White n=15
Decision I Language Arts Placement	English	1	0*
	Reading	14	14
Decision II Mathematics Placement	Select	1	0
	Individualized	2	1
	Regular	12	13

	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident
Level of Confidence in Decision I Language Arts Placement	7	8	3	12
Level of Confidence in Decision II Mathematics Placement	7	8	3	12

		Minimally Important	Very Important	Minimally Important	Very Important
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Language Arts Placement Decision	1. IQ Test Scores	11	4	15	0
	2. SAT Scores	11	4	8	7
	3. Student Motivation	4	11	2	13
	4. Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	7	8	0	15
	5. Student Background Information	9	6	7	8
	6. Parental Recommendation	11	4	9	6
The Importance of Factors Considered in Making the Mathematics Placement Decision	1. IQ Test Scores	11	4	14	1
	2. SAT Scores	11	4	8	7
	3. Student Motivation	2	13	1	14
	4. Teacher Perception & Student Performance Evaluation	5	10	0	15
	5. Student Background Information				
	6. Parental Recommendation	12	3	9	6

*Timothy was retained in the sixth grade when portrayed as a White Student.

Hypotheses 3 and 4. In addition, a discussion of the significance of the latter factor is included in Chapter V.

Summary of Individual Placement Decisions

The four student profiles, which were varied by the race of the students for a total of eight cases, were randomly distributed to the sample of teachers and counselors. The results of decisions made regarding the level of academic placements of the students were presented in Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4.

In summarizing the data across the race of the four students (Matthew, Michael, Robert, and Timothy), some consistent patterns emerge. Although there were only slight variations in the level of academic placement, the variability in the level of confidence and in the six factors considered in the placement decisions made by the respondents was noteworthy. The subjects were more confident in the language arts placement decisions than they were in the level of mathematics placement decisions when students were Black. The reported levels of confidence were comparable for students, when portrayed as White, for language arts and mathematics placements. The factors considered of least importance in making the language arts and mathematics placement decisions for Black students were I.Q. Test Scores, Parental Recommendation, SAT Scores and Student Background Information, in that order. Factors

considered of least importance for White students were I.Q. Test Scores, Parental Recommendations, Student Background Information, and SAT Scores. The factors of considerably more importance were Student Motivation, and Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation for both Black and White students in language arts and mathematics level placement recommendations.

The following tables (4.5 and 4.6) focus on the test of the null hypothesis related to an analysis of the academic placement decisions as a function of the race of the students.

Tests of Hypotheses

Ho: The race of the students will have no significant effect on the frequency of placement of students in English or reading.

H1: Sixth-grade teachers and junior high school counselors will make differential decisions resulting in the placement of Black students in reading and the placement of White students in English, when presented with identical case study material varied only by the race of the student.

The obtained value of $X^2(1) = 0$ was not statistically significant (Table 4.5). Theefore, it was not possible to reject the null hypothesis. The non-significant finding indicates that race did significantly influence the placement of students in English or reading.

Table 4.5.--Decision I, Language Arts Placement Decision.

		Black	White	X^2* 1df
Matthew	English	11	12	0
	Reading	4	3	
Michael	English	2	1	0
	Reading	13	14	
Robert	English	15	15	0
	Reading	0	0	
Timothy	English	1	0	0
	Reading	14	14[a]	

[a]The student was retained in the sixth grade when portrayed as a White student.

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.6.--Decision II, Level of Mathematics Placement Decision.

		Black	White	X^2	df
Matthew	Select	1	1		
	Individualized	8	10	0.62	2df
	General	6	4		
Michael	Select	0	0		
	Individualized	9	10	0	1df
	General	6	6		
Robert	Select	10	7		
	Individualized	5	7	1.86	2df
	General	0	1		
Timothy	Select	1	0		
	Individualized	2	1	1.34	2df
	General	12	13[a]		

[a]The student was retained in the sixth grade when portrayed as a White student.

*X^2 value (1df) of 3.84 = .05 level of significance. X^2 value (2df) of 5.99 = .05 level of significance.

Ho: The race of the students will have no significant effect with respect to placement of students in mathematics courses.

H2: Sixth-grade teachers and junior high school counselors will make differential placement decisions resulting in the placement of Black students in lower level math courses, when presented with identical case study material varied only by the race of the student.

The obtained X^2 with the appropriate degrees of freedom were not statistically significant. (Table 4.6). Therefore, the race of the student was not a significant variable in the frequency of placement in Select, Individual, and General math. Subsequently, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Ho: The race of the student will not significantly affect the degree of importance assigned to the six factors* considered in making the English/reading placement decision.

H3: The degree of importance assigned to the six factors* considered in making English/reading placement decisions will vary significantly according to the decision made about the student by race.

The six factors were tested and the following tables (4.7-4.12) report the data for each of the six factors considered in making the language arts placement decision.

The obtained X^2 values were not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected. The race of the student did not affect the degree of importance assigned to the six factors (I.Q. test scores, standardized achievement test scores, student motivation,

*Factors

1. I.Q. Test Scores
2. Standardized Achievement Test Scores
3. Student Motivation
4. Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation
5. Student Background Information
6. Parental Recommendation

teacher perception and student performance evaluation, student background information, and parental recommendation) which were considered in making the language arts placement recommendations.

However, Factor 4, Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation (Table 4.10) was significant at the .05 level for Timothy. When Timothy was portrayed as a White student, the latter factor was significantly more important than when he was Black. Therefore, the race of the student did affect the level of importance assigned to the Teacher Perception and Evaluation factor. In summary, the null hypothesis was not rejected although the factor was significant in the case of Timothy.

Ho: The race of the student will not affect the degree of importance assigned to the six factors* considered in making the math level placement decision.

H4: The level of importance assigned to the six factors* considered in making the math level placement decisions will vary significantly according to the decision made about the student by race.

*Factors

1. I. Q. Test Scores
2. Standardized Achievement Test Scores
3. Student Motivation
4. Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation
5. Student Background Information
6. Parental Recommendation

The six factors considered in the level of mathematics placement decisions of students were tested and the results are presented in Table 4.13-4.17.

Table 4.7--The Importance of I.Q. Test Results in the Language Arts Placement Decision.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	14	1	0.53
	White	14	1	
Michael	Black	15	0	1.48
	White	12	3	
Robert	Black	15	0	0
	White	14	1	
Timothy	Black	11	4	2.59
	White	15	0	

*X^2 value (1df) 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.8.--The Importance of Standardized Achievement Test Scores in the Language Arts Placement Decision.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	12	3	2.30
	White	7	8	
Michael	Black	7	8	1.25
	White	11	4	
Robert	Black	10	5	0.13
	White	8	7	
Timothy	Black	11	4	0.57
	White	8	7	

*X^2 value (1df) 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.9--The Importance of Student Motivation in the Language Arts Placement Decision.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	1	14	0.96
	White	4	11	
Michael	Black	3	12	0
	White	2	13	
Robert	Black	2	13	0
	White	1	14	
Timothy	Black	4	11	0.21
	White	2	13	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.10--The Importance of Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation in the Language Arts Placement Division.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	1	14	0.28
	White	3	12	
Michael	Black	2	13	0.20
	White	4	11	
Robert	Black	2	13	0
	White	1	14	
Timothy	Black	7	8	6.70 .0096**
	White	0	15	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significanc.

**Significant at .05 level.

Table 4.11--The Importance of Student Background Information in the Language Arts Placement Decision.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	6	9	2.17
	White	11	4	
Michael	Black	6	9	0
	White	7	8	
Robert	Black	10	5	0.15
	White	10	5	
Timothy	Black	9	6	0.13
	White	7	8	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.12--The Importance of Parental Recommendation in the Language Arts Placement Decision.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	12	3	0
	White	11	4	
Michael	Black	12	3	0.63
	White	9	6	
Robert	Black	9	6	0.63
	White	12	3	
Timothy	Black	11	4	0.15
	White	9	6	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.13--The Importance of I.Q. Test Results in the Mathematics Level Placement Decisions.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	14	1	0
	White	13	2	
Michael	Black	13	2	0
	White	12	3	
Robert	Black	13	2	0.53
	White	15	0	
Timothy	Black	11	4	0.96
	White	14	1	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.14--The Importance of Standardized Achievement Test Scores in the Mathematics Level Placement Decisions.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	12	3	3.47
	White	6	9	
Michael	Black	6	9	3.47
	White	12	3	
Robert	Black	10	5	0.14
	White	8	7	
Timothy	Black	11	4	0.57
	White	8	7	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.15--The Importance of Student Motivation in the Mathematics Level Placement Decision.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	1	14	0
	White	2	13	
Michael	Black	2	13	0.53
	White	0	15	
Robert	Black	0	15	0
	White	1	14	
Timothy	Black	2	13	0
	White	1	14	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.16--The Importance of Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation in the Mathematics Level Placement Decisions.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	1	14	0.53
	White	1	14	
Michael	Black	1	14	0.28
	White	3	12	
Robert	Black	1	14	0.53
	White	1	14	
Timothy	Black	5	10	3.84**
	White	0	15	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

**Significant at .05 level.

Table 4.17--The Importance of Student Background Information in the Mathematics Level Placement Decisions.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	8	7	0.13
	White	10	5	
Michael	Black	6	9	0.13
	White	8	7	
Robert	Black	10	5	0.15
	White	10	5	
Timothy	Black	9	6	0.53
	White	6	9	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

Table 4.18--The Importance of Parental Recommendation in the Mathematics Level Placement Decisions.

		Minimally Important	Very Important	X^2* 1df
Matthew	Black	10	5	0.17
	White	12	3	
Michael	Black	10	5	0.15
	White	10	5	
Robert	Black	9	6	1.53
	White	13	2	
Timothy	Black	12	3	0.63
	White	9	6	

*X^2 value of 3.84 = .05 level of significance.

The results of the X^2 tests were not significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the race of the student did not have a significant effect on the degree of importance assigned to the factors considered in making the level of mathematics placement decisions. Therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected for Factors 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6.

However, Factor 4 (Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation) was a significant variable at the .05 level in the mathematics placement decision for Timothy. When Timothy was depicted as a Black student, Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation was significantly less important than when Timothy was White. The data are provided in Table 4.15. Timothy was the exception for the factor Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation, as there were no significant differences with regard to the remaining three students. Subsequently, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Ho: The race of the student will not affect the reported level of confidence in the placement decisions.

H5: The level of confidence in the language arts placement decisions will differ as a function of the race of the student placed in English or reading.

Ho: The race of the student will not affect the reported level of confidence in the level of mathematics placement decisions.

H6: The degree of confidence in the level of mathematics placement decisions will differ as a function of the race of the student placed in Select, Individualized, and Regular math.

Table 4.19--Level of Confidence in Language Arts Placement; Decision I.

		Black		White		
		Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	X^2
Matthew	English	2	9	5	7	0.59
	Reading	1	3	2	1	a
Michael	English	1	1	0	1	a
	Reading	3	10	5	9	0.08
Robert	English[a]	2	13	1	14	0
	Reading[b]	0	0	0	-	0
Timothy	English	1	0	0	0	a
	Reading	7	7	2	12	2.62

[a]Unable to calculated X^2 due to small cells frequencies.

[b]Robert was not placed in reading

Table 4.20--Level of Confidence Mathematics Placement; Decision II.

		Black		White		
		Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	Somewhat Confident	Very Confident	X^2
Matthew	Select	1	0	0	1	a
	Individualized	0	8	5	5	a
	General	2	4	2	2	a
Michael	Select[a]	0	0	0	0	0
	Individualized	2	7	2	8	a
	General	2	4	3	2	a
Robert	Select	4	6	1	6	a
	Individualized	2	3	1	6	a
	General	0	0	0	1	a
Timothy	Select	0	1	0	0	a
	Individualized	2	0	0	1	a
	General	5	7	2	11	1.03 1.df

Note: Unable to calculate estimate of X^2 due to small cell frequencies except where X^2 values are indicated.

[a]Michael was not placed in Select Math.

Summary of Hypothesis

The results of hypotheses tested using chi-square analyses, when compared to the frequency of the academic placement of students by race, are summarized as follows:

1. The race of the student was not a significant variable in English/reading placement decisions made by sixth grade teachers and junior high school counselors. There were no significant differences found in the level of placement as a function of the race of the student.
2. The level of mathematics placement (Select, Individualized, and Regular) was not significantly related to the race of the student. Moreover, Black students were placed in Regular math as often as White students, 24 times as compared to 23 (White). In addition, Black students were placed in Individual math 24 times out of the total 52 placements and 12 of the 20 students placed in Select math were Black.
3. The level of importance assigned to five of the six factors considered in making the placement decision [(a) I.Q. Test Results, (b) Standardized Achievement Test Scores, (c) Student Motivation, (e) Student Background Information, and (f) Parental Recommendation],

did not differ significantly based on the race of the student. However, Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation was considered significantly more important when Timothy was portrayed as White in making English, reading, and mathematics placement decisions. A discussion on these finding will be presented in Chapter V.

Background Characteristics of the Respondents

The sample consisted of 18 randomly selected sixth grade teachers and the total population of 12 junior high school counselors. Although general background information on the sample was presented in Chapter III, additional findings regarding the sample will be included in this section. An analysis of the responses given to the items on the Personal Data Sheet further revealed that 36.7 percent of the sample lived in all-White neighborhoods, while 43.3 percent lived in predominantly White neighborhoods. Of the subjects, 41.4 percent indicated that their racial attitudes were liberal and 27.6 percent indicated that they had very liberal racial attitudes; another 24.1 percent considered their racial attitudes moderate and 6.9 percent of the subjects felt they were conservative in their racial attitudes.

The teachers and counselors were also asked how often they invited someone of another race for a casual

or social visit in their homes. The responses were: 16.7 percent indicated that they never entertained persons of another race in their homes, 36.7 percent entertained persons of another race at least once every six months; 20 percent indicated that they invited persons of a different race to their home once every three months; while only 10 percent of the sample stated once a month; and 16.7 percent of the respondents invited racially different persons to their home once a week.

The Attitude Questionnaire was completed by the entire sample. The percentages compiled from the responses to the items on the questionnaire are presented in Table 4.21 and summarized below.

The subjects were asked if court-ordered school desegregation was necessary to provide equal opportunity for quality education for all students. Of the respondents, 73.3 percent indicated that school desegregation was necessary, 16.7 percent felt it was not necessary, and 10 percent of the subjects were neutral. Seventy percent of the subjects agreed that school desegregation would improve the conditions for quality education, while 16.6 percent did not concur and 13.3 percent remained neutral. Eighty percent of the respondents indicated that their school offered a high quality of education. Only 3.3 percent of the sample disagreed, with 16.7 percent remaining neutral. The majority of the group was in favor of school desegregation (86.6 percent) while 73.3 percent agreed that their

Table 4.21--The Percentage of Responses to the Attitude Questionnaire for the Total Sample.

N=30	SA	A	N	D	SD
1. The court-ordered desegregation of the schools in the _____* School District is necessary to provide an equal opportunity for quality education for all students.	50.0	23.3	10.0	10.0	6.7
2. The desegregation of the schools in _____* will improve conditions for quality education.	33.3	36.7	13.3	13.3	3.3
3. My colleagues in this school generally support school desegregation.	13.3	60.0	13.3	6.7	6.7
4. I am in favor of school desegregation in _____*.	63.3	23.3	6.7	6.7	
5. This school offers the students a high quality of education.	36.7	43.3	16.7	3.3	
6. It is a good idea for students to attend school with those of other races.	73.3	23.3	3.3		
7. Children of all races seem to get along fairly well in this school.	16.7	53.3	16.7	13.3	
8. School desegregation is important enough to bus children from one school area to another.	36.7	40.0	10.0	10.0	3.3
9. I support open housing for all people.	86.7	10.0	3.3		
10. I feel that my college program adequately trained me to counsel or teach minority students.	20.0	20.0	20.0	30.0	10.0
11. I have found inservice training programs helpful in increasing my skills in working with minorities.	16.7	30.0	26.7	23.3	3.3

Note: The key for the responses is:
SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
N = Neutral
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

*The name of the school district is omitted to insure anonymity.

colleagues were also in support of school desegregation. In addition, 76.7 percent agreed that school desegregation was important enough to bus children and 86.6 percent thought it was a good idea for students of different racial groups to attend school with each other. Seventy percent of the respondents felt that students of racially different groups did get along fairly well in the schools. Also, the respondents were generally in favor of open housing.

The respondents were asked if they were adequately trained in their college program to teach or counsel minority students. Of the total responses, 40 percent indicated that they were not adequately trained to work with minority students, 40 percent stated that they were, and 20 percent of the sample remained neutral. Less than one-half of the respondents (45.7 percent) found the in-service workshops helpful in increasing their skills in working with minority students; 26.3 percent of the subjects did not find in-service training helpful; and 26.7 percent were neutral.

Summary

In this chapter, the results of the academic placement decisions of the students depicted in the vignettes were presented. The results of the statistical analysis of the hypotheses and additional background information pertaining to the sample as well as the results of the Attitude Questionnaire were also presented.

In general, it was found that race did not affect the academic placement decisions of teachers and counselors as distinct or separate groups. Secondly, five of the six factors--i.e., I.Q. test results, standardized achievement test scores, student motivation, student background information, and parental recommendation did not differ significantly based on the race of the student. Teacher perception and performance evaluation was considered significant in only one instance. Although statistical tests could not be conducted on the level of confidence placed in the subjects' decisions, they did not appear to vary by the race of the student. Finally, all subjects generally expressed positive attitudes toward school desegregation and other racial factors. The implications of the findings and results are presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the final chapter of this dissertation will be found an overview of the problem and related literature, a description of the procedures employed, the results, a statement regarding the limitations of the study, and implications for counselors and other school personnel who are in a position to make academic placement decisions that affect both racial minority and majority students.

Overview of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of race on the academic placement decisions of public school teachers and counselors. The study was also focused on the importance of factors considered in the academic placement decisions of students and the level of confidence in the decisions made. The instruments used in this study were four vignettes depicting male sixth grade students; the vignettes were varied only by race, for a total of eight cases. In addition, Placement and Rating Scales, Level of Confidence Scales, an Attitude Questionnaire, Personal Data

Sheet, and Counselor-Teacher Questionnaire Forms were administered to the subjects.

The subjects in this study were sixth grade teachers and junior high counselors who were responsible for making the academic placement recommendations for sixth grade students in seventh grade language arts and mathematics courses offered in the school system. The sample for the study consisted of randomly-selected sixth grade teachers and the total population of 13 junior high school counselors employed in the school district. For statistical reasons, two of the subjects were dropped from the sample for a remainder of 18 teachers and 12 counselors.

The four vignettes, varied only by the race of the student, were randomly assigned to the 30 subjects. The subjects were instructed to place the students (two Black and two White) in one of two levels of language arts and one of three levels of mathematics courses. The academic courses varied in difficulty from high (college preparatory) to low (non-college preparatory). The respondents then weighed the importance of six factors considered in making the placement decision and further, indicated their level of confidence in the decision made. Finally, the participants in the study completed questionnaire and background information forms focusing on personal characteristics, attitudes toward school desegregation, and race related issues.

The chi-square analysis was used to test the hypotheses and the .05 level of significance was established.

Results

A significant finding in this study was that the race of sixth grade male students (Black or White) did not appear to be a factor in the academic placement decisions of sixth grade teachers or junior high school counselors, on the basis of the subjects' responses to the instruments employed in the study. In essence, the data of the study indicate that race did not appear to be a factor in the placement of students in junior high school language arts or mathematics courses.

Furthermore, the weight given to five of the six factors considered in making the placement decisions did not vary significantly as a function of the race of the student. However, one of the factors, Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation, was significant at the .05 level for Timothy when he was portrayed as a White student. The factor was significant as a criterion in both the language arts and mathematics course placement decisions. Finally, the reported level of confidence in the placement decisions made by the teachers and counselors did not appear to vary based on the race of the student.

One of the instruments used in this study was the Teacher-Counselor Questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed by this researcher primarily as part of the

court-ordered evaluative project. However, two of the items were specifically relevant to this research. Although the findings related to the hypotheses were included in Chapter IV, the responses to the items on the Teacher-Counselor Questionnaire are more appropriately presented in this section.

Teachers and counselors were asked what specific factors accounted for the disproportionate number of Black students enrolled in Select mathematics and English. The primary reasons given for the disproportionate Black enrollment in the courses were the following:

1. lack of parental support
2. economic and environmental factors
3. less ability and low language skills
4. a limited range of experiences

Since the sample of teachers were randomly selected and all of the junior high school counselors were participants in the study, the responses may be taken as indicative of attitudes that sixth grade teachers and junior high counselors have about the academic potential and achievement of Black students.

Discussion

A review of literature related to racial bias and segregation in education, to racial bias of teachers, and to the role that education as an institution has played in developing, supporting, and reinforcing racism provided the

major background and research assumptions for this study. Furthermore, the literature provided support for the premise that educators in a system plagued with racism would not be immune from its daily influence. Finally, the literature review indicated that the decisions that teachers and counselors make about their client are often race related. Therefore, the general hypothesis that the race of the student will affect the academic placement decisions of counselors and teachers was reasonable and supported by the literature review.

However, this investigation did not support the hypothesis that the race of students affects the academic placement decisions of sixth grade teachers and counselors. Although the research hypothesis indicating that race was a factor in the academic placement decisions was not confirmed, it is important to note that the factor referred to as Teacher Perception and Student Performance Evaluation was significant in the case of Timothy. Teachers rated this factor as being more important when making academic placement decisions when Timothy was White rather than Black. In this vignette, Timothy's parents were depicted as being upwardly mobile--i.e., his father was a Ph.D. candidate and his mother was a Michigan Bell Telephone representative. However, Timothy was portrayed as a slow and disruptive student. Therefore, this finding supports an aspect of the literature review, in that teachers give more credence to

to their own perceptions and ability to evaluate student performance accurately when the student is White rather than Black.

Furthermore, teachers and counselors tend to have more negative attitudes and lower expectations with respect to Black students, and to have more favorable attitudes and higher expectations with respect to middle-income White students. Therefore, one can conclude that the respondents were not necessarily concerned with the low academic achievement or disruptive behavior when Timothy was portrayed as a Black student, since these characteristics may have served to reinforce the stereotypes held by the educators about low-achieving racial minority students. However, when the student was White, the factor was more carefully considered and rated significantly more important, since the reported academic and behavioral performance was contradictory to those expectations typically held for White students of an implied middle-income background.

Of further interest is the importance of the factor referred to as Student Background information in the case of Timothy (Table 4.17). The factor was of minimal importance to 60 percent of the respondents in determining the level of mathematics placement for Timothy when he was depicted as Black. On the other hand, 60 percent of the respondents who placed Timothy when he was portrayed as White considered the factor very important. This opposite trend, though not statistically significant, would be noted

when discussing teacher and counselor bias that may have been operating in the case of Timothy.

As previously indicated, the hypothesis was not confirmed, which indicated that the six factors considered in making the language and mathematics placement decisions would vary in the level of importance based on the race of the student. However, the ratings given some of the factors merit further discussion, even though statistically significant differences were not found.

The factor termed Standardized Achievement Test Scores in the language arts placement decision in the case of Matthew did vary in the level of importance. When Matthew was Black, the factor was minimally important to 80 percent of the respondents. It was of more importance to 53 percent of the respondents who placed the student when he was White. This same factor varied for Michael as well. When the student was Black, 47 percent of the respondents considered the factor of minimal importance compared to 73 percent of the respondents who reviewed the student when White in making the language arts placement decision. It should also be noted that the factor approached significance at the .05 level in making the mathematics decision. However, due to the inflated alpha level used because numerous independent tests were conducted, interpretation of these results should await replication.

A review of the profiles reveals Matthew's test scores in mathematics and language arts were at the fifth

grade level. Michael's test score results for mathematics were also at the fifth grade level and his language arts scores were at the fourth grade skill level. Matthew was placed in English and Individualized math, and Michael was placed in Reading and Individualized math by the majority of respondents regardless of whether the student was depicted as Black or White. Although the placement decisions made by the teachers and counselors were comparable for both students when varied by race, the weight given the factor in making the decision differed.

Counselors and teachers in the case of the two students did appear to use differential criteria in making the placement decisions. In addition, the factor referred to as Student Background Information was considered more important in the language arts placement decision when Matthew was Black, although the frequency of placement was basically comparable. Again, the race of the student appeared to influence the importance of this factor in the case of Matthew. However, it should be noted that these are trends in the data, not significant findings.

The significance of the level of confidence in the language arts placement decisions, as reported by the teachers and counselors, could not be determined (Table 4.19). There is, however, an alternative way in which the data can be analyzed. For the purpose of this discussion, the response percentages are used again to examine the differences detected in the case of Timothy.

Although Timothy's language arts placement was comparable when he was depicted as either Black or White, the level of confidence reported by the respondents did vary, based on the race of the student (Table 4.19). Teachers and counselors were more confident in their language art decisions when the student was White. However, when Timothy was Black, the respondents were evenly divided. Forty-seven percent indicated they were somewhat confident, and 47 percent were very confident in the placement decision. When a comparison is made across the race of the student, teachers and counselors appear to be more confident in the placement of Timothy when he was depicted as a White student. Therefore, the race of the student appears to be an intermittent but not a consistent factor in the consideration of the academic status and possible placement of these students on selected variables.

The responses given to the items on the counselor-teacher questionnaire are in contradiction to the weights given to the factors which were considered in the placement of students in language and mathematics courses. The factors referred to as Parental Recommendation and Student Background Information were rated as being of minimal importance as criteria for making placement decisions.

Counselors and teachers indicated verbally, however, that these factors were the primary reasons that Black students were disproportionately underrepresented in higher level academic courses. Moreover, students' lack of skills

and abilities was also ranked as a significant factor related to the academic non-achievement of minority students. When a comparison is made with the factors referred to as I.Q. Test Results or Standardized Achievement Test Scores (also identified as minimally important factors in academic placement decisions), a discrepancy is found. It appears that although teachers and counselors indicated that they give little credence to parental recommendations in the placement of students, they nevertheless hold parents responsible for the failure of the students to achieve academically. Moreover, the criteria for placement provided by the district (Table 3) indicates the importance of test results in the placement of students, even though the responses of the counselors and teachers in the sample would seem to show that test results were considered to be of minimal importance in reaching decisions about student placement.

The issue then becomes a question of whether counselors and teachers follow the guidelines for placement decisions, as set forth by the district, or whether they place more weight on their personal, subjective judgments in making course recommendations. This major discrepancy becomes of critical importance in the decision-making process investigated in this study. The criteria for placement, as determined by teachers and counselors, not only is inconsistent with district policy, but is further inconsistent

in written and verbal responses, as revealed in the present study.

A logical explanation is that in the decision-making process counselors and teachers rely on subjective teacher evaluations regarding the competencies of students. These evaluations can serve as the basis for criteria considered in the academic placement of students. Once students are placed in lower-level courses, based on these irrational and subjective judgments, they receive differential academic preparation. This discriminatory treatment then results in more tangible data such as low achievement as determined by test score results. This, then, completes the cycle of self-fulfilling prophecy.

Therefore, it can be concluded that even though responses to the vignettes indicated that race was not a factor in the academic placement decisions regarding students, this conclusion can be misleading. Race, was on the contrary, a significant variable when teachers and counselors in their verbal responses identified those characteristics of Black students which, in their opinion, accounted for the disproportionately small numbers of Black students enrolled in English and higher level mathematics courses.

Further analysis of the responses given by the counselors and teachers also reveals other inconsistencies. An inspection of the responses to the Attitude Questionnaire (Table 4.21) would seem to indicate that the respondents were generally in agreement with the statements posited.

However, a more careful examination of Table 4.21, in conjunction with responses given on the Personal Data Sheet, reveals departures on selected items and raises questions about the results. For example, on item 10 of Table 4.21, it is found that 96.7 percent of the sample lived in neighborhoods that ranged in racial composition from predominantly White to all-White. Further, 67 percent of the respondents indicated that their racial attitudes were liberal to very liberal, yet only 26.7 percent responded that they invited racially different persons to their homes at frequencies ranging from once a month to once a week. The actual behavior is not consistent with the reported attitudes of the teachers and counselors.

One possible explanation for this inconsistency regarding the Attitude Questionnaire is that, since the items were stated in a positive direction, a positive response set might have occurred. Therefore, the responses might not necessarily be reflective of those attitudes actually held by the subjects.

In order to understand how these inconsistencies in responses and actual behavior might have occurred, it is important to consider the context in which this study was conducted.

Limitations of the Study with Implications for the Findings

The research of Brophy and Good (1974) and others support the point of view that the educational climate plays

an important role in determining the instructional behavior of teachers, the decision-making process that counselors involve themselves in, and the decision that academic administrators make regarding the overall educational process.

Since the climate plays such a major role in all aspects of decision-making, it is important to note that this study was conducted at the time that a court-ordered evaluation of the total school system was being conducted. The evaluation was focused on the impact of the court-ordered desegregation some years earlier on (a) pupil mix and (b) the academic status of both minority and majority students.

The climate that was created by a court-ordered evaluation meant that all school personnel would be particularly sensitive to questions involving attitudes and behavior related to race. It is likely that most respondents would be reluctant to acknowledge racially-biased bases for decisions regarding student placement in academic courses.

The district-wide evaluation included a wide variety of educational factors including distribution of students by race, site locations, school construction, additional permanent portable classrooms, school facilities, and staff employment (Green and Cohen, 1979).

In this particular district, there had been considerable racial tension and conflict prior to the desegregation order. The tension at times produced physical

confrontations which led to the closings of junior and senior high schools from time to time. There had been organized opposition to school desegregation by certain groups in the district and in surrounding areas. On the other side of the issue was the NAACP, which had served as a strong advocate for school desegregation.

The community at large became very concerned about the issue of desegregation. In essence, the school system in this district became the focal point for an aspect of social change. The educators within the system felt that they too were on trial.

Another dimension to the case which may have heightened the awareness of school administrators, teachers, and counselors to the significance of the court-ordered school desegregation evaluation was the fact that one of the two social scientists assigned to direct the evaluation had served as an expert witness in the case during the liability stage. He had presented testimony that was damaging to the district's position on the segregation of students and staff. The same individual had also testified in the case during the remedy stage. This meant that he was well-known in the district. Therefore, respondents would be understandably cautious in expressing views which might be construed as racist when participating in any aspect of the evaluation process.

Another aspect to the unusual educational climate at the time of this research was the evaluation order itself.

When judges direct institutions to cooperate with evaluative teams, they intend that the institutions will provide the investigators with all the data needed to complete the evaluation. In the context of this study, it came at a time when the school superintendent had directed all school personnel to work with an administrator in central administration in providing whatever data would be needed to complete the investigation. Under these circumstances, school personnel would probably tend to protect themselves and the district itself from any findings which might be interpreted as racist-oriented.

These factors pertaining to the desegregation evaluation, considered jointly with the attendant publicity concerning the court order, thus served to potentially bias the responses of all subjects beyond the limits of the usual social response set regarding racial prejudice. This, of course, was a major limitation in this study and it would be highly desirable to conduct future such studies in a more controlled environment.

Another limitation of this study that pertained to response set was the use of only positively worded items on the questionnaire. This might have encouraged general agreement with the items by the subjects, thereby creating a positively biased response set. Half of the items should have been negatively worded to avoid this possible source of bias and stimulate "true" responses from subjects.

Considering the instruments used in this study further, there did not exist any established reliability or validity of the items used. The instruments were created for use in the study and thus affected the outcome to an unknown extent. Utilizing instruments with proven reliability, had they been available, would have controlled this effect on outcome.

A final circumstance which might account for the findings based on the responses of the subjects to the instruments used in this project is the fact that the interviewer was Black and assumed to be a member of the research team. Whatever racial biases may actually contribute to the placement of students in the language and math programs of the district might be specifically denied by respondents when questioned on such matters during a period of court-ordered investigation.

Finally, this study was limited by the small number of subjects used. A larger pool of subjects would have provided a more representative group, enabling greater generalization of findings. The results of this study are only generalizable to the Kalamazoo public schools. However, in generalizing these findings, the aforementioned limitations produced by the court-ordered desegregation evaluation, race of the researcher, use of unproven instruments, instrument response set created by all positively worded items and small number of subjects used, must also be considered as they affected the research outcome.

Implications for Counselors

A finding of particular interest is the fact that counselors did not differ significantly from teachers in the placement recommendations, in the criteria considered in making the placement decisions, or in the reported degree of confidence in the resulting level of placement of the students. This similarity existed despite the fact that the counselors in the sample were slightly older and much more experienced (17.8 years of service as compared to 11.3 years) than the sample of teachers. Further, counselors were likely to have had additional training beyond a master's degree as compared to teachers who did not generally pursue training after completion of a master's degree. Yet, given these differences in background variables between the two groups (teachers and counselors), they were relatively consistent on measures of the dependent variables. The implications of these findings are in support of the literature which suggests that the role of counselors is perceived to be one of maintaining the status quo.

Counseling and guidance personnel should be expected to play an important role in the implementation of school desegregation. Kromboltz and Thoresen (1969), Carkhuff (1972), and Berdie (1972) concur with other major counselor educators who advocate the active role of the counselor. Gunnings (1976) also stresses the need for counselors to be trained to work effectively as system-oriented change agents. The role of the counselor as a change agent is especially

relevant in the context of school desegregation. Court-ordered or voluntary school desegregation plans involve major educational system change. However, the effectiveness of such efforts is often undermined if changes do not occur from within the system as well. Counselors, due to their unique role within the school system, are in a pivotal position to serve as change agents. Yet, for school guidance and counseling departments to be effect as change agent, major changes in the competencies and skill levels of counselors will need to be made. Very few counselor education programs formally train counselors in the necessary skills of operating effectively as leaders and advocates within the total system.

Hence, this study provides data indicating the need for additional training of school counselors, both pre-professionally and professionally, to enable them to work more effectively, in an advocacy role, with minority students. The primary goal of school desegregation is equal educational opportunity for all students. However, as indicated by respondents on the Personal Background and Attitude Questionnaire, counselors felt ill-prepared to work with minority students. Consequently, the probability that minority students will actually benefit from the desegregated school experience diminishes if internal changes do not accompany the major desegregation efforts. Therefore, a well-planned, advocacy-oriented inservice training program for counselors could assist them in acquiring attitudes and

skills which would allow them to make decisions that are academically beneficial to minority students.

Implications for Future Research

Although the literature concerning school desegregation research is abundant, there is a need for small-scale studies which investigate interracial educational processes in desegregated school systems (St. John, 1975). This study was an attempt to contribute to the growing interest of social scientists in the impact of within-school processes on the effectiveness of school desegregation. It was the intent of the investigator in this study to isolate the impact of race as a factor in the continued practice of educational inequities in a particular desegregated school district. However, considering the limitations of this study, coupled with the statistically insignificant results, the researcher strongly supports further investigation related to academic decision-making in desegregated school districts.

The results of this study may serve as a guidepost for future research efforts. The following suggestions for additional studies designed to examine the influence of race on academic placement decisions should be considered.

First, the results of this study suggest that the stimulus vignettes need to be improved before they are used in further research. It now appears that the four vignettes used in this study may not have been ambiguous enough to

generate variability in the placement decisions. The academic competencies of students depicted in the vignettes were obvious and did not require that the teacher or counselor respondent give careful consideration to other criteria in making the placement decisions. It is the belief of this researcher that if the achievement level of students, as indicated in the four vignettes, had reflected that of marginal students as opposed to clearly advanced and underachieving students (as was true for two of the cases), then placement decisions would have been more difficult to make without attending to other factors. Based on the review of literature, race then might have become an influential factor in the decision-making process.

Counselors and teachers, when in situations where the bases for estimates of students' abilities are not clearly indicative, will consider their underlying belief systems about students in academic decision-making. The belief that Black students are generally less capable is widespread in the educational system, according to the literature. Therefore, by depicting students of marginal or questionable competency levels, teacher and counselor biases are more likely to become the basis for the evaluation of students, thus generating more variability in the academic placement levels.

Ways in which the purpose of the study could be more carefully disguised should also be explored. It was the impression of this researcher that the counselors and

teachers were aware of the intent of the vignettes, usually after responding to the second one. Vignettes depicting female students, physically disabled students, or students with varied ethnic backgrounds should be developed and included to help disguise the question of interest to the study.

The Attitude Questionnaire might also be improved. The questions were stated in a positive manner which might have encouraged a positive response set to the items.

It is also suggested that a larger sample size should be utilized in a study of this nature. In this particular study, it was not feasible to increase the sample of teachers, nor was it possible to increase the sample of counselors, since the total population was used. However, ways might be considered to include more subjects so that the power of the statistical test used would be increased, and so that the variability of placement recommendations could be enlarged. In future attempts, it is suggested that a study of two or more comparable desegregated school districts might be undertaken. With this approach, the population would be increased, and the sample size could be determined based on a power analysis with an alpha level of.05, and an effect size preliminarity based on the results of this study. In addition, a more powerful statistical test, such as the ANOVA, might be used to test the hypothesis if two or more school districts were included in the research design.

It would be of further interest to conduct related research at various points in time during school desegregation. Longitudinal studies in desegregated school systems are rare. Such an effort would serve to broaden the base of knowledge regarding the effectiveness of school desegregation over time as determined by the academic placement of minority students. The results of such a study would be useful to districts undergoing school desegregation and more importantly, to federal court judges for their consideration in ordering ancillary relief measures.

Other issues which could be examined, in addition to the differential placement of minority and majority students, would include student achievement in homogeneous vs. heterogeneous classes, the relationship of race to upward mobility of students in various academic tracks, and students' selections of courses in comparison to the level of placement as determined by counselors and teachers. These kinds of studies would require additional resources than those that were available for the present investigation.

Conclusion

Although the results of this study would seem to show that the race of the student was not a significant factor in the academic placement decisions made by counselors and teachers, the need for further investigation is indicated. The findings of this study, because of the

circumstances under which it was conducted, are not sufficient to justify the conclusion that race is not a factor in the decision-making process. It is strongly recommended, however, that before further attempts are made to examine the issue of differential decision-making, researchers should first focus on refining the instruments to be used in the study.

In summary, this study was an attempt to isolate race as a factor in academic placement decisions. Based on the experience gained from conducting this research, and on the findings of this study, certain changes are warranted in future attempts to examine the influence of race in decision-making processes.

First, the changes would involve instrumentation. This researcher devoted considerable time to the development of the vignettes and consulted with professionals in the field of education and educational testing on numerous occasions concerning the clarity, content, and face validity of the profiles. The knowledge gained from this research illuminates the importance of developing profiles of students who are clearly more marginal. Another recommended change resulting from having undertaken this study would be to first conduct a pilot study in order to provide appropriate guidelines for the major research effort. Given the time frame that the researcher was operating under, it was not feasible to do a pilot study for this investigation, since the present study was a part of a major court-ordered

evaluation. Finally, it is highly inadvisable for research of this type to be conducted in any district under continued surveillance by the court, as the participants will tend to view the study with warranted suspicion.

This study, which was designed and implemented by this researcher, was fascinating throughout every stage. Attempting to predict and explain human behavior and to understand underlying motives and beliefs can present a challenge to researchers. It is the hope of this researcher that the results of this effort may stimulate on-going attempts to investigate related issues in other school districts.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

VIGNETTES

APENDIX A

VIGNETTES

Matthew is a _____ 11 1/2-year-old sixth grader. He lives with his mother, father, 2 older brothers, and 3 younger sisters. His father is employed as a service worker at the Miller Lumber Company and his mother is a maid at the Sheraton Hotel. Matthew's intelligence test scores are average. When he transferred into the school as a third grader from a segregated inner-city school, his skill level was below grade level. However, he was able to perform at grade level by the end of the academic year.

Matthew responds very well to praise, according to his teacher. His teacher also noted that he works more productively in higher structured situations. He becomes very frustrated when he is unable to master a given task, such as successfully computing a long division problem with a divisor of 2 or more digits and a dividend of 4 or more digits.

Matthew's sixth grade test results revealed that he was performing at the fifth grade level in both reading and math. He seems to enjoy attending school and has displayed leadership ability throughout the year. He made a

collage of famous [Black athletes for Black History Week/ Canadian Hockey players for International History Week] and gave a report about the teams they played on. His teacher further stated that Matthew is liked by his peers and has not exhibited any behavioral problems.

Michael is a 12-year-old _____ sixth grader. He was retained in the first grade. The school psychologist reported that Michael was immature for his age in addition to having emotional problems, which were not detailed in his cumulative record.

Michael has lived with his grandmother since he was seven years old, according to his caseworker from Social Services. Michael assumes a great deal of responsibility for his two younger siblings. Both are students here at this school. He enjoys playing the piano and is presently taking lessons, which are paid for by Probate Court. He appears to be content with his present living arrangements. According to his teacher, Michael is always eager to please, yet his feelings are hurt very easily. His teacher noted that he displays an aggressive tendency when he feels threatened academically or if his peers make fun of him. His teacher also reported that Michael increasingly shows less interest in his studies. Michael's test scores revealed that he was working at a fifth grade math level and reading at the fourth grade level.

Due to her working schedule, his grandmother has been unable to attend conferences scheduled. Michael had a history of placement in negative foster home environments prior to living with his grandmother.

Timothy is an 11-year-old _____ sixth grader. His father is a doctoral student at Western University and his mother is employed at Michigan Bell Telephone Company as a sales representative. The parent/teacher relationship has been poor. Mr. and Mrs. Moore think Timothy's teachers are to blame for the difficulties he has experienced in both the third and fourth grades.

According to his teacher, Timothy does not have a positive attitude about school. He has average to poor work/study habits and has often neglected to complete his assignments, even when they are sent home with him for completion. His teacher also stated that he needs his boundaries carefully defined. He will eventually work with constant prodding. Tim required extra help in reading and math throughout this school year.

Tim gets very angry with his peers and pouts when he does not get his way. Several of the group assignments in class have triggered his explosive temper. The principal noted in his files that Tim does not deal well with authority figures.

Timothy's test scores were below average. His reading scores were at the fourth grade level, while his math scores were at third grade. He is aware of his low skill level and becomes easily frustrated when confronted with academic tasks.

Robert is a 12-year-old _____ student finishing the sixth grade. He lives with his parents and is the youngest of three children. His father is an accountant with a local firm and his mother is an R.N. at Borgess Hospital. Both parents are actively involved in PTO and attend parent-teacher conferences regularly when scheduled.

Robert possess high level reading skills and is able to understand very sophisticated reading selections and their implications. Robert is interested in a variety of reading material and enjoys using the library, according to his teacher.

His teacher further observed that he is very enthusiastic about school. He is able to grasp math concepts very quickly and works extremely well alone. Robert usually completes his work ahead of most of the class and helps his peers after his assignments are completed.

His test scores indicate his reading level is at the eighth grade and math scores are at the sixth grade level. His teacher commented that Robert has displayed excellent academic and social skills, and is a highly motivated student.

APPENDIX B

CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING PLACEMENT OF STUDENTS BY SIXTH AND SEVENTH GRADE COUNSELORS

APPENDIX B

CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING PLACEMENT OF STUDENTS
BY SIXTH AND SEVENTH GRADE COUNSELORS

1. Do you recommend placement of the student you just reviewed in seventh grade?

   English _____

   Reading _____

   We have identified a possible list of factors that may be used as criteria for determining placement of students by sixth and seventh grade counselors. Please rate the importance of each factor you may have considered in your evaluation and placement recommendation of the sixth grade students you have just reviewed. Where you are uncertain, make the best possible choice. Please do not leave any scale blank.

2. Circle the number on each scale which best represents the importance of each factor you considered in making a placement decision about the student for seventh grade ENGLISH/READING.

	Of Minimal Importance	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
A. I.Q. Test Results	1	2	3	4
B. Standardized Achievement Scores	1	2	3	4
C. Student Motivation	1	2	3	4
D. Teacher Perception and Performance Evaluation	1	2	3	4
E. Background Information on Students	1	2	3	4
F. Parental Recommendation	1	2	3	4
Other (Please specify)				
_____	1	2	3	4
_____	1	2	3	4
_____	1	2	3	4

3. Which level of seventh grade math do you recommend as placement for the student you just reviewed:

   Select _____

   Individualized _____

   Regular _____

4. Circle the number on each scale which best represents the importance of each factor you considered in making a placement decision about the student for seventh grade MATHEMATICS.

	Of Minimal Importance	Moderately Important	Very Important	Extremely Important
A. I.W. Test Results	1	2	3	4
B. Standardized Achievement Scores	1	2	3	4
C. Student Motivation	1	2	3	4
D. Teacher Perception and Performance Evaluation	1	2	3	4
E. Background Information on Students	1	2	3	4
F. Parental Recommendation	1	2	3	4
Other (Please specify)				
_____	1	2	3	4
_____	1	2	3	4
_____	1	2	3	4

5. How confident are you regarding the placement decision you made about this student in seventh grade English/Reading?

Minimally Confident	Moderately Confident	Very Confident	Extremely Confident
1	2	3	4

6. How confident are you regarding your decision about the level of placement of the student in seventh grade MATHEMATICS.

Minimally Confident	Moderately Confident	Very Confident	Extremely Confident
1	2	3	4

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following items are designed to measure attitudes toward school desegregation:

n=30	SA	A	N	D	SD
1. The Court ordered desegregation of the schools in the ____*____ School District is necessary to provide an equal opportunity for quality education for all students.	1	2	3	4	5
2. The desegregation of the schools in ____*____ will improve conditions for quality education.	1	2	3	4	5
3. My colleagues in this school generally support school desegregation.	1	2	3	4	5
4. I am in favor of school desegregation in ____*____.	1	2	3	4	5
5. This school offers the students a high quality of education.	1	2	3	4	5
6. It is a good idea for students to attend school with those of other races.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Children of all races seem to get along fairly well in this school.	1	2	3	4	5
8. School desegregation is important enough to bus children from one school area to another.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I support open housing for all people.	1	2	3	4	5

	SA	A	N	D	SD
10. I feel that my college program adequately trained me to counsel or teach minority students.	1	2	3	4	5
11. I have found inservice training programs helpful in increasing my skills in working with minorities.	1	2	3	4	5

Note: The key for the responses is:

SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
N = Neutral
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

*The name of the school district is omitted to insure anonymity.

APPENDIX D

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

APPENDIX D

PERSONAL DATA SHEET

1. Your job title is: _____

2. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

3. Race: Black _____ White _____ Spanish American _____

   Oriental _____ Mexican American _____

   Other _____

4. Age: _____

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

   Less than an M.S. _____ in the field of _____

   M.A. _____ in the field of _____

   _____ additional credits beyond an M.A.

   _____ an Ed.S., Ed.D., or Ph.D.

6. Was the college or university you attended:

   _____ all white

   _____ predominately white

   _____ about half white and half non-white

   _____ predominately black

   _____ all black

7. What was the racial composition of the neighborhood in which you lived most of your life?

_____ all white

_____ predominately white

_____ about half white and non-white

_____ predominately black

_____ all black

8. How often do you invite someone of another race to your home for a social function or casual visit?

_____ once a week

_____ once a month

_____ once every three months

_____ once every six months

_____ never

9. How much experience have you had in counseling/teaching students from racial or ethnic groups other than your own?

10. Have you attended inservice training programs specifically relating to ways in which to work effectively with minorities?

_____ yes approximately how many in the past 6 years?

_____ no _____

11. List the kinds of inservice training programs that you feel would be helpful in working effectively in a desegregated school system.

_____

_____

_____

12. Please check the following professional organizations that you are presently a member of:

_____ American Personnel and Guidance Association

_____ _____ _____ Divisions of APGA

_____ Association of Black Psychologists

_____ MPGA and _____ _____ _____ Divisions of MPGA

_____ Local Personnel and Guidance Association

_____ Michigan Education Association

_____ National Association of Black School Educators

_____ Other professional organizations (please list names of organizations)

13. The number of years you have been employed as a counselor/teacher are:

_____

14. As you recall, were any of the cases labeled by race?

_____ yes

_____ no

15. Overall, would you say that your racial attitudes are:

_____ very conservative

_____ conservative

_____ moderate

_____ liberal

_____ very liberal

LIST OF REFERENCES

LIST OF REFERENCES

Abramswitz, S. Comparative counselor inferences toward women with medical school aspirations. Journal of College Student Personnel, 1975, 16, 128-130.

Allport, G. W. The nature of prejudice. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954.

Amir, J. Contact hypothesis in ethnic relations. Psychological Bulletin, 1969, 71, 319-338.

Amos, W. The nature of disadvantaged youth. In W. E. Amos and J. D. Gramds (eds.), Counseling the Disadvantaged Youth. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1968.

Aspy, D. A discussion of the relationship between selected student behavior and the teacher's use of interchangeable responses. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1973.

Ayers, L. P. Laggards in our schools. New York: Russell Sage, 1909.

Banks, G. The effects of race on one-to-one counseling interviews. Social Service Review, 1972a, 45, 137-146.

Banks, G., Gerenson, B. G., and Carkhuff, R. R. The effects of counselor race and training on the counseling process with negro clients in initial interview. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1967, 23, 70-72.

Banks, W. M. The black client and the helping professionals. In R. L. Jones (ed.), Black Psychology. New York: Harper-Row, 1972b.

Berdie, R. F. "The 1980 counselor: Applied behavioral scientist. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1972, 50(6), 451-456.

Bloombaum, M., Yamamoto, J., and James, Q. Cultural stereotyping among psychotherapists. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1968, 32, 99.

Borg, W. Ability grouping in the public school. 2nd edition. Madison, Wis.: Dembar Educational Research Services, 1966.

Broverman, I. K., and Broverman, D. M. Sex-role stereotypes and clinical judgments of mental health. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1970, 34, 1-7.

Brown, V. Board of Education of Topeka. 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954).

Brophy, J. E., and Goad, T. Teacher-student relationships: Causes and consequences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

_____. Looking in classrooms. 2nd edition. New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

Byers, P., and Byers, H. Non-verbal communication in the education of children. In C. Cazden, V. John, and D. Hymes (eds.), Function of language in the classroom. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972.

Carkhuff, R. R. The credo of a militant humanist. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1972, 51(4), 237-242.

Cook, W. W. Classroom methods: The gifted and retarded in historical perspective. Phi Delta Kappan, 1958, 39, 249-255.

Cook, S. The effect of unintended interracial contact upon racial interaction and attitude change. (Project No. 5-1320), Final Report, U.S. Office of Education, August 1971, mineo.

Calia, V. The culturally deprived client: A reformulation of the counselor's role. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1966, 13, 100-105.

Carkhuff, R. R., and Pierce, R. Differential effects of therapist race and social class upon patient depth of self-exploration in the initial clincial interview. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1967, 31, 632-634.

Clark, K. E. Dark ghetto. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Cox, O. C. Caste, class and race. New York: Doubleday, 1948.

Campbell, D. T., and Stanley, J. C. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1962.

Diana, V. State Board of Education. Civil Action No. C-7037 R.F.P (N.D., Cal.), January 7, 1970 and June 18, 1973.

Donahue, T. J. Discrimination against young women in career selection by high school counselors. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1976.

Donahue, T., and Costar, J. Counselor discrimination against young women in career selection. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1977, 24, 481-486.

Dusek, J. Do teachers bias children's learning. Review of Educational Research, 1975, 45, 661-684.

Edel, R. Educational tests: Valid? biased? useful? Phi Delta Kappan, 1975, 57, 83-88.

Ehrlich, H. J. The social psychology of prejudice. New York: Wiley, 1973.

Ellison, R. Invisible man. New York: The New American Library, 1952.

Fidell, L. S. Empirical verification of sex discrimination in hiring practices in psychology. American Psychologist, 1970, 25(12), 1094-1098.

Findley, W., and Bryan, M. Ability grouping: Georgia. University of Georgia, 1971.

Findley, W., and Bryan, M. The pros and cons of ability grouping. Phi Delta Kappa, 1975, 66.

Franklin, J. H. From slavery to freedom. 3rd edition. New York: Knopf, 1969.

Friedman, H., and Friedman, P. Frequency and types of teacher reinforcement given to lower and middle class students. Presented at the annual meeting of AERA, New Orleans, 1973.

Goldberg, M., Passow, A., and Justman, J. Effects of ability grouping. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1966.

Goodwin, W., and Sanders, J. An explanatory study of the effect of selected variables upon teachers' expectations of pupil success. Presented at the annual meeting of American Educational Research Association, 1969.

Gordan, M., and Grantham, R. Helper preference in disadvantaged students. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1979, 26, 337-343.

Grant, W. Desegregation: A report card. The Detroit Free Press, May 14, 15, 16, 1979.

Green, R. Comments on Ebel's defense of tests and testing. Phi Delta Kappan, 1975, 57, 88-93.

Green, R. L., Griffore, R. J., and Simmons, C. A restatement of the IQ/culture issue. Phi Delta Kappan, 1976, 674-676.

Green. The urban challenge--poverty and race. Chicago: Follett, 1977.

Green, R. L., and Cohen, W. An evaluation of the results of the school desegregation order [368 F. Supp. 143 (W. D. Mich. S. D. 1973)]. Unpublished manuscript, 1979.

Green, R. L., Griffore, R., and Simmons, C. A restatement of the IQ culture issue. Phi Delta Kappan, 1976, 57(10), 674-676.

Gunnings, T. A systemic approach to counseling. Unpublished manuscript, Michigan State University, 1976.

Gunnings, T. S., and Jucker, R. Counseling black youth: A quest for legitimacy. Journal of Non-White Concerns, 1974, 2, 208-216.

Hallack, S. L. Therapy is the handmaiden of the status quo. Psychology Today, 1971, 98-100.

Hambly, J. Diversity: A developmental perspective. In Race and Intelligence.

Hartell, R. W. Homogeneous grouping. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1936.

Haettenschwiller, D. L. Counseling black students in special programs. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1971, 47, 905-911.

Hobson and Hansen, 269 F. Suppl. 401, 484-492.

Hogan, J. The schools, the courts, and the public interest. Washington, D.C.: Heath and Company, 1974.

Hollingshead, A. B., and Redlich, F. C. Social class and mental illness: A community study. New York: Wiley, 1958.

Hollis, J. W. Guidance and counseling in school: A historical approach. In C. L. Lewis (ed.), The status of guidance and counseling in the nation's schools. Washington, D.C.: APGA/USOE Project Task Force, 1977.

Jackson, G., and Cosca, C. The inequality of educational opportunity in the southwest: An observational study of ethnically mixed classrooms. American Educational Research Journal, 1974, 11, 219-229.

Jones, J. M. Prejudice and racism. Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1972a.

Jones, R. Labeling children culturally deprived and culturally disadvantaged. In R. L. Jones (ed.), Black psychology. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Jones, V. A., and McCall, W. A. Application of two techniques in evaluating some policies of dealing with bright children. T.C. Record, 1926, 27, 825-835.

Kincaid, M. Identity and therapy in the black community. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1969, 47, 884-890.

Kirp, D. A. School as sorters. University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 1973, 121, 707-794.

Kleiner, R. J. Mental disorder and status based on race. Psychiatry, 1960, 23, 271-274.

Klineberg, O. Social psychology. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1954.

Krumboltz, J., and Thoresen, C. E. Behavioral counseling. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1969.

Krech, D. R., Crutchquill, S., and Ballachey. Individual in society. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.

Lane, E. A. The influence of sex and race on process-reactive ratings of schizophrenics. The Journal of Psychology, 1968, 68, 15-20.

Larry, P. V. Riles. Civil Action No. 6-71-2270 343 F. Supp. 1036 (N.D. Cal., 1972).

Leacock, E. Teaching and learning in city schools. New York: Basic Books, 1969.

Maynihan, D. P. The Negro family: The case for national action. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, 1965.

Maslin, A., and Davis, J. Sex roles stereotyping as a factor in mental health standards among counselors in training. Journal of Counseling, Psychology, 1975, 22, 87-91.

McDavis, R., and Parker, M. A course on counseling ethnic minorities: A model. Counselor Education and Supervision, 1977, 17, 146-149.

Meer, B., and Freedman, E. The impact of Negro neighbors on white home owners. Social Forces, 1966, 45, 11-19.

Michigan Civil Rights Commission and the State Board of Education. Joint policy statement on equality of educational opportunity, 1969.

Miller, C., McLaughlin, J., and Chansky, N. Socioeconomic class and teacher bias. Psychology Reports, 1969, 23, 806.

National Institute of Education. School desegregation: A report of state and federal judicial and administrative activity. U.S. Government Printing Office, October, 1977.

Nystrand, R. O., and Staub, W. The courts as educational policy makers. In C. P. Hooker (ed.), The courts and education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Oliver, V. Michigan State Board of Education and School Board of Kalamazoo, 346 F. Supp. 766 (W.D. Mich. 1971), Affirmed 448 F 2d 635 (6th Cir. 1971), 368 F. Supp. 143 (W.D. Mich. 1973), 508 F 2nd 1978 (6th Cir. 1974), cert denied 421 U.S. 963 (1975).

Palardy, J. M. What teachers believe-what children achieve. Elementary School Journal, 1969, 69, 370-374.

Paley, V. White teacher. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.

Pederson, P., and Lanner, W. (eds.), Counseling across cultures. Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii, 1976.

Pinderhughes, C. A. Racism and psychotherapy. In C. Willie, B. Kramer, and B. Brown (eds.), Racism and Mental Health. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.

Rist, R. Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. Harvard Educational Review, 1970, 40, 411-450.

Rock, R. T. A critical study of current practices in ability grouping. Educational Research Bulletin. Catholic University of America, Nos. 5 and 6, 1929.

Rokenson, J., and Preston, J. D. Equal status contact and modification of racial prejudice: A reexamination of the contact hypothesis. Social Forces, 1976, 54, 911-924.

Rose, A. Sociology, 1965. New York: Knopf.

Rosenbaum, J. Making inequality. New York: Wiley, 1976.

Rosenthal, R. The pygmalian effect lives. Psychology Today, March, 1973, 6(9), 56-63.

Rosenthal, D., and Frank, J. D. The fate of psychiatric clinic out-patients assigned to psychotherapy. Journal of Nervous Mental Disease, 1958, 127, 330-343.

Rosenthal, R., and Jacobson, L. Pygmalian in the classroom. New York: Hlt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Rubovits, P., and Maehr, M. Pygmalian black and white. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1973, 25, 210-218.

Ruiz, R., and Padilla, A. Counseling Latinos. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1977, 55, 401-408.

Ryan, H. H., and Crecelius, P. Ability grouping. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1927.

Ryan, W. R. Blaming the victim. New York: Random House, 1971.

Smith, E. J. Counseling black individuals: Some stereotypes. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1977, 55, 390-396.

Spring, J. The sorting machine. New York: McKay, 1976.

St. John, N. School desegregation: Outcomes for children. New York: Wiley, 1975.

Strupp, H. H. The performance of psychiatrist and psychologists in a therapeutic interview. Journal of Clinical Psychology, 1960, 14, 210-217.

Sue, S. Counseling the culturally different: A conceptual analysis. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1977, 55, 422-426.

Swann, V. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education, 402 U.S. (1971).

Szasz, T. S. The Negro in psychiatry. American Journal of Psychotherapy, 1971, 25, 469-471.

Thomas, A. H., and Stewart, N. R. Counselor response to female clients with deviate and conforming career goals. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1971, 18, 352-357.

Tolson, H. Counseling the "disadvantaged." Personnel and Guidance Journal, 1972, 50, 735-738.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population and Housing: 1970 Census Tracts. Final report PHC (1)-98, Kalamazoo, Michigan SMSA.

Walkon, G. H., Moriwaki, S., and Williams, K. J. Race and social class as factors in the orientation toward psychotherapy. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 1973, 20, 312-316.

Williams, R. L. Abuses and misuses in testing black children. The Counseling Psychologist, 1971, 2, 62-73.

Worlton, J. T. The effect of homogeneous classification of scholastic achievement of bright pupils. Elementary School Journal, 1928, 28, 336-345.

Wrightsman, L., Nelson, R. H., and Trants, M. The construction and validation of a scale to measure children's school morale. In R. L. Jones (ed.), Black psychology. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Yamamoto, J., James, Q. C., Bloombaum, M., and Hatten, J. Racial factors in patient selection. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1967, 124, 630-636.

Zettel, J., and Abeson, A. The right to a free appropriate public education. The Courts and Education. C. P. Hooker (ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.