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FACTORS RELATED TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN LOW-INCOME MINORITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

*City University of New York* PH.D. 1985

# FACTORS RELATED TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN LOW-INCOME MINORITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

BY

BARBARA C. WALLACE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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## Abstract

FACTORS RELATED TO ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN LOW-INCOME MINORITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN

by

BARBARA C. WALLACE

**Advisor: Professor Vera S. Paster**

Four variables were investigated as factors possibly related to academic achievement in a population of ten and eleven year old, Black and Hispanic children attending an intermediate public school in New York City. The variables investigated were positive identification with the teacher, feeling tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, future time perspective, and imagery of a future self that is realistic and achievement oriented.

It was hypothesized that given a group of high achievers who are functioning up to their academic potential based on two independent teacher ratings, and a group of low achievers who were not functioning up to their academic potential based on two independent teacher ratings, the following would characterize high achievers: 1) they would possess positive identification with teachers, 2) they would recall positive feelings on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, 3) they would possess future time perspective, and 4) they would possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

Results indicated that the mean distance between children's idealized Q sort, their preferred role Q sort, and teacher's Q sort of their expectations for children's behavior were significant with t-tests. High achievers more accurately perceived teacher's expectations for their behavior and more closely conformed to them in their own behavior, suggesting their possession of positive identification with teachers in comparison to low achievers. High achiever's sum of scores on the facial expression task indicated their possession of positive feeling on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors was significantly more positive than was that of low achievers. No difference was found between groups in future time perspective. High achievers possessed imagery of a future self that was realistic and achievement oriented in comparison to low achievers.

Investigators should focus on interpersonal dynamics transpiring in the classroom between students and teachers. Children can acquire accurate conceptions of student role behaviors necessary for school success from teachers when object relations with teachers are consistent, positively affectively toned, and generally "good enough."

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# Chapter One: Introduction and Overview of the Problem of Academic Achievement for the Minority Student

## Introduction

The first chapter of the present study will serve to introduce the problem of academic achievement among minority American pupils. Historically, the mis-education of the Black American has been supported by the Supreme Court in so far as discriminatory educational practices were condoned for over half the present century. When recognition of the problem inherent in maintaining "separate-but-equal" schools was finally forthcoming (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954) an era of active social science research began.

Numerous factors have been investigated as possibly related to the lower academic achievement of minority group children. In addition, numerous perspectives have been brought to bear upon the problem. The current research chooses four interelated varibles for study from a culturally sensitive perspective: Positive identification with the teacher, a positive feeling tone on the part of student and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, future time perspective, and realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

The rationale of investigating these variables will be presented along with a review of empirical research conducted with populations similar to the Black and Hispanic population of the present study. The theoretical framework utilized appreciates the role of object relations with adult authorities. This framework also considers one's orientation to future time and ability to plan future endeavors as relevant to school success.

The second chapter will serve to review the literature on academic achievement when socioeconomic status and race of the pupils is considered. The review of the literature will also include a section on affect, facial expression, and interpersonal experience. This section will jointly consider these three factors as intimately related in the development, socialization, and system of communication of human beings. The final section of the review of the literature will focus on research and writings covering temporal experience in the human being and future time orientation.

The method utilized in the research will then be described in a third chapter, with a discussion of results, research findings, and conclusions following in fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters respectively.

## Background to the Problem

This section will present a description of why the problem of academic achievement among minority Americans is of interest as a topic of research study to the author. Historical and social science research background will be presented in this section.

### Historical Background

The problem of public education in the United States has been particularly challenging as minority students have sought access to equal education opportunities. The discrimination and inferior education which minority students have faced is closely tied to the broader history and experience of being members of ethnic minorities in American society.

As early as 1933, Carter Woodson recognized specific problems inherent in the education of the Black American within society's system of public education. Woodson's work still stands as a definitive and constructive critique of the educational system (Wesley and Perry, 1969). Woodson's coining of the term Mis-education continues to aptly describe the impact of the educational experience upon the minority pupil. The

education which the Black school pupil received conveyed the message that the Black race was inherently inferior and that the low status of the Black American in society was justified.

Although the guarantee of equality within society was granted to the Negro under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments (along with freedom), second-class citizenship was maintained through the force of law and custom sustained by subsequent state control. The legality of separate schools for Black children was confirmed in 1850 by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts when the court denied that school segregation violated the state constitutions' guarantees of equality of persons (Roberts v. City of Boston, 1850). Sarah Roberts, the five year old plaintiff in the case became one among many mis-educated victims, as Woodson (1933) might affirm.

In Plessy v. Ferguson (1890), the United States Supreme Court gave its approval to the doctrine of "separate-but-equal" which was to stand as the principal legal obstacle to civil rights for the Black American. It was extended to educational facilities (Berea College v Kentucky, 1908) and dominated over half a century of educational practices. It was an era of mis-education that provided the data of observation utilized in Woodson's critique.

The Supreme Court struck down the "separate-but-equal" doctrine in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, (1954). The court considered the intangible factors affecting Black children and concluded that the separation of children from other children of similar age and ability solely on the

basis of race was likely to generate feelings of inferiority that could impact their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to be undone (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954). A year later in a second decision the court addressed itself to compliance and instructed the lower courts to require prompt and reasonable starts toward full compliance, calling for a solution "with all deliberate speed "(Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954).

The Supreme Court's recognition of intangible factors in its decision gave credibility to social science research. Perhaps the most famous study cited by the Supreme Court was Kenneth and Mamie Clark's (1947) research on racial identification in Black children. A body of evidence began to form which documented the negative consequences of being a Black American in a society that repressed Blacks and reduced Blacks to second class citizenship (Jones, J., 1972).

The Mis-education of Puerto Rican Students

As with Black Americans, the mis-education which the Puerto Rican student received conveyed a message of inferiority. Puerto Ricans became American citizens in 1917 and began migrating to the United States in the 1920's with migration increasing manifold after the end of World War II. As the presence of the Puerto Rican student increased in the American public school classroom, the problem of the mis-education of the Puerto Rican student grew.

Puerto Rican's educational experiences were closely tied to problems of family disintegration stemming from migration. The desperate economic

conditions of families, and the overall problems of attempting to achieve their potential in a society that greated them with fear, antagonism, and discrimination (Chenault, 1938; Padilla, 1958; Lewis, 1966; De La Cancella, 1981) impacted school success.

Educational experiences conveyed the expectation that Puerto Rican students' self-idenity, cultural patterns, and language had no place in the larger society represented by the school (Bernstein, 1971; Montalvo, 1944). The legality of separate schools established through litigation impacted the education of Puerto Rican students as well. Chenault (1938) has spoken of the difficulities of Puerto Rican children adjusting to school systems that tend to keep the new migrants two or three years below grade level.

Coleman (1966) indicated that Puerto Rican students tended to attend schools somewhat older than those attended by white students (standardized by county). The schools attended by Puerto Rican students also had fewer secondary facilities, extracuricular activities, more behavior problems, and fewer accelerated curriculums. In addition, the classmates of Puerto Rican students came from homes with less educated parents and parents who tended to be single. The homes of these Puerto Rican students contained fewer material and educational possessions such as encyclopedias and other evidence of the priority placed upon education when a comparison was made with white homes. The classmates of Puerto Rican students were also less likely to indicate definite plans to attend college or to take college preparatory courses. Puerto Rican students were more exposed to classes for non-English-speaking pupils and pupils with speech impairments.

In the nation's urban centers, the educational experience of Puerto Ricans has tended to be particularly problematic. In 1966, for example, Lewis (1966) reported that of the one million Puerto Ricans living in the United States over 600,000 lived in New York City "where most of them live in poverty and had the lowest educational level of any ethnic group in the city" (p.xi). Problems of school attendance and illiteracy had improved however from 1940 to 1965; attendance increased from 40 percent to 90 percent, and illiteracy dropped from 32 percent to 11 percent by 1965.

But despite good intentions, special projects designed for improving the lot of Puerto Rican youngsters (Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title VII), and large expenditures in urban centers, problems persisted. Montalvo (1974) reports that Puerto Rican children still had a drop out rate almost double that of Blacks and more than double that of Caucasian students in Philadelphia. Similarly, the Unites States Commission on Civil Rights states in Public Education for Puerto Rican Children in New York City (1972) that numerous problems plagued eduction. The non white student enrollment of 57.2% stood in contrast to the 57% drop out rate for Puerto Rican students alone between tenth grade and graduation. In addition, 70% of the total city's population of students with moderate or severe language difficulties were Puerto Rican.

Montalvo (1974) has suggested that the lack of knowledge and appreciation of different cultures was an additional factor offering a psychological assult to the Puerto Rican student. Such assaults were in the name of good intentions and special projects which led to feelings of

inferiority and devaluation of their cultural values.

The Broader Scope of the Problem

Black and Puerto Rican students are not the only ethnic minorities who have been mis-educated. Other racial groups of students have had their identity challenged through experiences with the public education system.

School systems across the nation contributed to the mis-education of minority students. In Hawaii, community spokespersons allege that the language barrier constitutes the central reason for high drop out rates among Hawaiian, Pilipino, and Samoan students. These students report feeling degraded by teachers for using pidgin English. In New Mexico, numerous language problems plague Mexican American, Native American, and all Spanish-surnamed students. These communities press for bilingual education. These students have higher drop out rates, proceed less often to higher education, and read below grade level at rates twice those of Anglos. In addition, 75% of all Mexican American students attend predominantly Mexican American schools. In California, Mexican Americans experience lack of understanding on the part of teachers of their cultural background, poor quality education, excessive corporal punishment of students, and over-representation with Black students in classes for the mentally retarded. Biased testing is a factor here. The provision of a bilingual education remains an unresolved problem in Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, and New York while problems of racial segregation persist throughout the Northeast. Native American students have the poorest reading achievement. Clearly much unfinished business was found remaining twenty years

after the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1977, pp. 20-165).

Problems persist up to the present day throughout the United States as minorities seek an equal educational opportunity. Woodson's (1933) term mis-education continues to cover the inferiority conveyed to minority group students as a result of experiencing the range of problems described.

Surveys and Research in Response to the Problem

Surveys in response to legislation or by legislative officials have not always provided an unbiased view of the problems inherent in minorities' attempt to gain equal educational opportunities. The civil rights legislation of the 1960's and 1970's resulted in special programs, forms of remediation, and a wave of research addressing ways of improving the educational and vocational attainments of minorities (Moynihan, 1965; Coleman, 1966; Pettigrew, 1969). Investigations of the problem of school success among minority children and attempts to improve educational outcomes have often reflected the very biases in belief that historically contributed to inferior, low-status positions in society.

In addition to basic methodological problems, the Moynihan (1965) report was plagued by a blame the victim approach that saw the Black American as caught in a web of pathology. Moynihan (1965) also saw the cause of the problem as lying within the inherent instability of the Black family (Jones, J. 1972). Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) similarly emphasized Black psychopathology. Coleman (1966) also continued the erroneous tradition of utilizing those characteristics possessed by the white majority

as the yardstick by which the Black minority should be measured (Jones, J., 1972).

Coleman (1966) saw Black students as arriving at the school gate with initial deficiencies which schools provided little opportunity for them to overcome. Coleman (1966) saw schools as not overcoming the multiple nonschool factors of poverty, community attitudes, and the low educational level of parents. Although Coleman (1966) does discuss possible school factors related to the deficiency in achievement which becomes progressively greater for minority pupils at higher grade levels, the emphasis on the initial deficiency and use of the white yardstick to measure these deficiencies is problematic. Surveys and research which respond to the problem of the lower academic attainments of minority students with blame the victim perspectives or a deficit lens often compound the problems inherent in striving for equal educational opportunities for all students.

The Need for Culturally Sensitive Perspectives

Many researchers undertook research and analysis of the problem of the lower academic achievement of minority students with vigor and cultural sensitivity in response to the blame the victim and deficit lens viewpoints which prevailed. The subsequent search for factors related to academic achievement for minority students has reflected greater sensitivity to the facts of cultural heritage, values, behavior patterns, and traditions (Baratz and Baratz, 1970; Gay and Abrahams, 1972; Montalvo, 1974; Franklin and Fulani, 1979; Boykin, 1983).

The problem of academic achievement in minority low-income

elementary school children will be investigated in the current study. The perspective will be sensitive to culture and will determine the relationship of various factors to academic achievement and school success in this population.

## Statement of the Problem

The problem that this study addresses is the lower academic achievement of minority, low-income elementary school children in urban school settings relative to the national achievement levels of their white and middle-class counterparts. Successful academic achievement does occur within this population. They have inherent strengths. It also follows that the challenge of cultural pluralism exists for students whose cultural background, family and community traditions, differ fundamentally from dominant society. It is as a student entering the realm of the larger dominant society represented by the classroom that the lifelong challenge of cultural pluralism first begins.

Many minority Americans have achieved upward mobility and relative success in meeting educational and vocational goals. They are able to integrate these experiences into the socialization of their children. Low-income minority children receive less preparation from their parents as they attempt to negotiate the public school classroom. The greatest discrepancy between family experiences and school requirements may, therefore, be experienced by the low-income minority child whose parents may not have

negotiated very extensively into the dominant culture, nor have attained educational and vocational success.

Despite the considerable challenge of adaptation to two very different worlds, however, once public school education begins, the minority child from a low-income family may yet attain academic success. What factors are related to such achievement?

## Purpose and Objectives of the Study

The purpose of the study is to ascertain factors related to academic achievement in a low-income minority population of elementary school children. The specific objectives of the study are listed below:

1) To demonstrate that students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess positive identification with the teacher.

2) To demonstrate that students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement are able to recall a positive emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom encounters.

3) To demonstrate that students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess future time perspective.

4) To demonstrate that students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

## Rationale of the Study

The variables selected for investigation as factors related to academic achievement in low-income minority school children arises from the theoretical framework guiding the research. Previous research has also pointed to the usefulness of investigating the particular variables under consideration. This section will present the theory and research underlying the rationale of the study.

### The Rationale Behind Investigating Positive Identification with the Teacher

Object relations theory emphasizes the affective valence of internalized objects with whom the child has interacted. As a result of interpersonal experience with significant adult authorities such as parents and teachers, the child's developing sense of self and ego identity are significantly impacted. (Kernberg, 1976).

Object relations with school authorities in the classroom on a daily basis becomes very important for the low-income minority child. These interpersonal experiences become important opportunities for internalizing the value of school achievement as it relates to later educational and vocational attainments. This is due to the greater likelihood that low-income minority children's parents may not have achieved levels of success

and may not convey educational values as a middle-income parent might tend to share and exemplify in child rearing. A teacher may provide a role model for those low-income children lacking such role models at home. When the affectve valence of typical classroom encounters betwen child and teacher is positive the internalization of achievement values is more likely to occur in a way that will impact school success.

Mead (1934) has described the way in which social interaction with significant others impacts the child's developing sense of self. Through social interaction, the child learns to assume the role of others. Through the taking of the attitude of the other the development and evolution of the self occurs. Mead considers such symbolic aspects of interaction as social language and gestures as being crucial to the socialization of the child.

The Importance of Positive Feeling During Interpersonal Interactions

The ability of children to recall a positive emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom encounters is particulary important. Recollection of positive feeling during interpersonal interactions in the classroom is likely to correspond with higher levels of academic achievement.

Goff (1971) has observed the marked feeling of inadequacy in relation to school subjects that many low-income minority children experience. They manifest a decrease in confidence level with increase in age. This may result from their sense of being rejected in the classroom. Teacher's negative stereotypes and low expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) may be experienced by the child as rejection. This is likely to result in

lower academic achievement by the devalued child. The results may be far reaching. Notions of success may not be freely entertained "nor high goals set with reference to the larger competitive world" (Goff, 1971, p. 366). If we view the role of rejection as indicating the importance of feelings felt while in the classroom on the part of self and teacher during typical encounters, investigating this variable becomes very important.

An important interaction goes on between student and teacher during typical classroom encounters. A child may to some extent escape the impact of rejection and may have a positive experience conducive to academic achievement if a positive feeling tone on the part of self and teacher can be recalled during such encounters. Processes of identification have their origin in the basic interaction between the child and a significant authority. Usually a predominant feeling tone colors such interactions. Images of self and the object are interalized with an attached feeling tone (Kernberg, 1976). The stream of consciousness or realm of memoreis contains these images.

Barbarin (1979) asserts that academic achievement and realistic goal setting and planning are all highly correlated with self-esteem. Self-esteem "has a relatively consistent relationship with behaviors important for high levels of performance and personal effectiveness" (p. 166). Barbarin (1979) believes that any differences between Blacks and Whites in self-esteem may be attributed in part to the specific external feedback each receives while interacting with such signigicant authorities as teachers in the classroom.

The resulting self-evaluation ascertained through interaction and feed

back about the value and competency of the self is utilized through a process of symbolic reinforcement. Self-evaluative statements regarding behavior are replayed again and again, so that current behaviors are enhanced when accompanied by symbolic reinforcement that is positive; or alternatively, current behaviors are negatively impacted by negative symbolic reinforcement (Barbarin, 1979).

Jaynes' (1976) conception of human consciousness and the use of imagery could similarly serve to explain how self-esteem operates as a symbolic reinforcement process. Jaynes (1976) contends that within human consciousness aspects of our behavior are manipulated within our mental space. Mental acts are analogs of behavioral acts. Imagery of the self and object are manipulated in such mental space with their attached affective valences. When priming for an academic task one draws upon relevant memories. Where these memories or images of previous interactions have a positive feeling tone attached behavior is enhanced. When the positive feeling tone is negative, one receives negative symbolic reinforcement that serves as self-applied punishment. "As in other cases of self-applied punishment, the result is a decrease in behavior or performance levels" (Barbarin, 1979, p 166).

The importance of positive feeling during interpersonal interactions in the classroom becomes clear as the work of Barbarin (1979) and Jaynes (1976) illustrates, given the concerns of Goff (1971) and the theory of Kernberg (1976).

## The Role of Human Conceptions of Time Within Consciousness

The role of human conceptions of time within consciousness becomes an important consideration along with the ability of students to recall positive feelings during classroom interactions and positively identify with teachers. Human conceptions of time impact realistic goal setting and future planning. Academic achievement is successful to the extent that goal setting and planning have been appropriate.

Tomkins (1962, 1963) has studied affect, imagery and consciousness and recognizes consciousness as a type of response to the environment. Tomkins asserts that the empirical analysis of consciousness as such a response has been neglected by behaviorism and psychoanalysis. Tomkins' work stands as the central theoretical framework from which the study proceeds. The variables under investigation are derived from a consideration of affect, imagery, and consciousness.

To fully consider consciousness as a response to the environment is to recognize the uniqueness of the human being and the characteristic ways humans adapt to their environment. The essential characteristics of human behavior grow out of the human beings' biological uniqueness. A key feature of this uniqueness is human dependence on adult caretakers for development and socialization (LaBarre, 1954). The capacity for symbolic representation and for acquiring conceptions of time are also part of the human animal's biosocial distinctiveness. Wessman and Gorman (1977) have described the way in which our ability to plan in the future requires the maintenance and

manipulation of representational schemata. This ability to utilize symbolic representation is gradually acquired through experience and advances in the use of imagery, speech, and elaborate cognitive schemata.

In so far as external reality and the social experiences to be represented may vary across social groups and cultures, human consciousness evolved in response to environments may also vary. The experiences of mystics and Castenada (1971) might be viewed as examples of the variations in conscious response potentialities possible of evolution in the context of radically different cultural traditions. Less radical, but more relevant, may be substantial differences in the characteristic consciousness possessed by Europeans, Hispanics, and Africans in response to very different physical and cultural environments.

Jones (1979) has suggested that time is apprehended and organized in many different ways across people, societies, and human groups. Moreover, Jones suggests that depending on perceived units of time sense, different people or cultural groups may bring different orientations toward understanding events and formulating responses to them (p. 415).

Nobles (1980) has drawn upon the work of African philosophers who comment on African time sense. African consciousness reckoned time by phenomena and events. Events moved from the past to the present without much consideration of future events. Nobles goes on to suggest that African and European systems of consciousness are still different today.

Boykin (1983) has similarly asserted that there are profound ways in which the two cultures differ in their world views and values. He recognizes

that it would be inappropriate to conclude that traditional world views and values have been transferred wholesale into the life experiences of contemporaty Afro-Americans. While there has not been a transfer of values "completely intact, unmitigated, and untransformed", it would seem equally unlikely to Boykin (1983) for no meaningful correspondence to exist (p. 344).

Among the nine characteristic orientations that Boykin (1983) recognizes within Afro-Americans as survivals of African heritage is a social time perspective. Time is constructed primarily in terms of the significant events to be engaged in and is not bound to clocks or calendars in a rigid manner. The work of Nobles (1980), Pennington (1976), and Green (1972) supports Boykin's conception of a social time perspective.

The social and cultural milieu characteristic of all lower-class families might also produce variations in conscious response potentials relating to intentional action and future planning. Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980) found within their culturally diverse sample that class differences prevailed. Lower-class children lacked experience and training concerning the postponement of immediate gratification and its consequences for future behavior to a greater extent than middle-class children. In addition, lower-class children possesed images of their future behavior that was uncertain, constricted, diffuse, and contained reassuring and pleasureable images. In contrast, middle-class children's image of their future behavior was more achievement oriented, more certain, and more realistic. Lower-class children's images of growing up presented a more constricted awareness of those systematic transformations of one's behaviors and activities over

time. They saw their evidence as suggesting that the image of the future self involved the notions of time perspective and delay of gratification.

Despite the fact that class differences instead of cultural differences prevailed in regard to conceptions of time and future planning, such differences may yet exist between distinctly different cultures. Within our nation, a culture of poverty or of lower-class experience stands as a solid social milieu that distinctly differs from the social milieu and training in regard to time and future planning characteristic of the middle-class. The work of Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980) may reflect these social group differences.

Within a group of low-income Black and Hispanic students it will be interesting to see if being a high achiever as opposed to a low achiever will make a difference in how one conceives time and plans future behavior on the same instruments of measurement utilized by Freire et. al. (1980). In view of the cultural difference in conceptions of time suggested by numerous authors, a comparison to a White group of children might reveal more social conceptions of time among Black students. However, given the population and search for factors related to academic achievement, a consideration of time perspective and future imagery of the self as possible factors should be informative. The study will demonstrate whether students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievment possess future time perspective and realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

Summary of the Rationale of the Study

Object relations theory and a consideration of the symbolic aspects of interaction support the idea that positive identification with the teacher can facilitate acquisition of achievement values in the student role. This is particularly important for low-income students who may not be able to acquire conceptions of those behaviors necessay for school success from their parents.

Object relations theory which considers the affective valence of internalized self and object images and an understanding of how these images are manipulated has been reviewed. It is clear that a positive feeling during interpersonal interactions can improve self-esteem. It can enhance academic performance when imagery is manipulated in one's mental space as an effective form of positive reinforcement that is self-applied.

Conceptions of time within human consciousness impact goal setting and the process of planning for those goals. Social and cultural groups can vary in how this aspect of their consciousness responds to the environment. The possession of future time perspective and imagery of a future self may facilitate the attainment of academic achievement and educational goals.

From a perspective of the role of affect, imagery, and consciousness, as embodied in the work of Tomkins (1962, 1963), these variables should be empirically studied in appreciation of the fact that consciousness is a response to the environment. It has become clear from a discussion of the rationale underlying the study that positive identification with the teacher

and an examination of the feeling tone attached to internalized images of significant adult authorities are important variables which both relate to a consideration of affect. Tomkins' affect has achieved empirical investigation in the study through the measures of instrument that will address positive identification with the teacher and the feeling tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom encounters.

Imagery is studied in close association with feeling tone on the part of self and teacher in so far as the child must recall images of self and object. Imagery resides in the stream of consciousness. Consciousness as a response to the environment is more formally empirically studied as Tomkins (1962, 1963) might conceive it since time is a central concept within human consciousness. Conceptions of time directly impact how a social group understands events, formulates responses to them, and plans for the future.

While the variables under investigation correspond to those theoretical constructs of interest and concern to Tomkins (1962, 1963), each variable has a broader theoretical base and has been studied in previous research. The rationale of the study section has briefly presented some of the theory and research underlying the selection of the variables and the focus of the hypotheses. The review of the literature section will elaborate upon the larger body of research and theory which has focused on these variables.

The study will demonstrate whether students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic chievement possess positive identification with the teacher, recollections of a positive emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom

encounters, future time perspective, and realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self. The rationale of the study has indicated that high achievers may demonstrate possession of these characteristics. It has become apparent from this discussion that these characteristics can significantly impact a low-income minority child's achievement behavior in a manner that improves school success.

## Definition of Terms

Academic Achievement. Atkinson (1966) considered achievement motivation as a disposition to appraoch success. Spence and Helmreich (1983) defined achievement motivation as a task-oriented behavior that allows the individual's performance to be evaluated according to some internally or externally imposed criterion, that involves the individual in competing with others, or that otherwise involves some standard of excellence. Academic achievement motivation would refer to the disposition to approach success in the classroom or to the orientation to tasks in the classroom where performance is against some standard of excellence. Minority children may be less concerned with the value of competition which is highly characteristic of Euro-American culture. Competition is embedded in the structure of most classrooms (Gay. 1975). Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) have questioned the validity of the narrow individualistic definition of achievement motivation. Family values or a cooperative stance where group goals and achievement of the family is valued may be of concern to minorities (Ramirez and Price-Williams, 1976).

Ruhland and Feld (1977) conceive of achievement motivation as the overall tendency to evaluate one's own performance against standards of excellence, to strive for successful performance against these standards, and to experience pleasure contingent on success. Veroff (1969) has distinguished between autonomous and social comparison achievement stan-

dards of excellence. Autonomous standards which define excellence in relation to one's past performance develops first and probably exists before the child enters school. Social comparison achievement motivation is based on comparisons between one's own performance and that of others such as peers in the classroom.

Academic achievement will be viewed as an objective measure of school performance as measured by standardized tests with performance being either high or low in relation to national norms for similar populations.

Affect. Kovacs and Beck (1979) restrict their use of the word affect to denote its subjective feeling component. Brenner (1980) uses the word affect and emotion synonymously as will the present investigation. Arnold (1968) suggests that an emotion or an affect may be considered as the felt tendency toward an object judged suitable, or away from an object judged unsuitable, reinforced by specific bodily changes according to the type of emotion. Kernberg (1976) considers pleasureable and painful affects as the major organizers of the series of "good" and "bad" internalized object relations. They constitute the major motivational or drive systems which organizes intrapsychic experience. Affect will be viewed within the context of the study essentially as Arnold (1968) and Kernberg (1976) have described.

Affective tone. As Rappaport (1968) has explained, a lack of conceptual crystallization in early psychoanalytic writings resulted in frequent mention of 'affective tone'. Kernberg (1976) has spoken of the emotion coloring introjected memory traces as being a vital chaacteristic of the introjections. More elaborate is the emotional component of identifica

tions. When this component is positive Kernberg speaks of a positive valence and when negative he refers to a negative valence. According to Kernberg (1976), the cluster of memory traces implicit in identification comprises . . .:" (i) the image of an object adopting a role in interaction with the self, (ii) the image of the self more clearly differentiated from the object than in the case of introjection (and possibley playing a complementary role), and (iii) an affective coloring of the interaction . . ." (p. 31). Affective tone, affective valence, and affective coloring will be used interchangeably within the research to refer to the predominant feeling tone of human interations described by Kernberg above as the third cluster of memory traces. It is essentially either positive or negative.

Consciousness. Izard (1977) has pointed out that few researchers make distinctions between consciousness (as sensibility/awareness/attention) and the contents and operations of consciousness which usually involve some kind of representational process. Jaynes (1976) has described conscious mind as a spatial analog of the world with mental acts serving as analogs of bodily acts. Jaynes (1976) also explains that nothing is in consciousness that was not first observeable in behavior. Moreover, consciousness is based on language with the advent of human consciousness arriving only after language. The phyloegency of human consciousness which Jaynes (1976) describes is seemingly recapitulated in human ontogeny.

According to Piaget (1976), the degrees of consciousness achieved in human development depends on the level of integration of perception and experience which the organism is capable of achieving. When the human

system is still largely sensorimotor, as it is in infancy, there is no conceptual or representative integration of the infant's images. In order for degrees of consciousness to expand and grow, the infant must go beyond on the semiotic and representational planes, what was acquired on that of the action schemes. The child begins to use language to represent experience. Consciousness is a kind of response to the environment (Tomkins, 1962, 1963) which develops and expands through the course of development, acquiring specific orientations and potentialities. Consciousness is permeated with representations of self and other objects in interaction as well as with "a succession of temporally-defined events and temporal relationships between events" (Block, 1979, p. 179). Consiousness can also possess a characteristic orientation toward perceiving time and responding to events. Imagery utilized in future planning and goal setting are also contained within the stream of consciousness. According to James (1890) consciousness ordinarily consists of remembrances of past events, responses to present events, and anticipation of future events. James' (1890) comprehensive conception best captures the definition of consciousness adhered to in the present study.

Future Time Perspective. Future time perspective will refer to the ability to reprsent events that occur at a distant, anticipated time, as opposed to in the immediate or near present. The ability to intentionally plan and set up goals to be achieved at a distant later time requires such an orientation (Gorman and Wessman, 1977).

Identification and Ego Identity. Kernberg's (1976) conception of these terms derives from his psychoanalytic-object relations viewpoint and integrates traditional definitions from psychoanalytic and object relations theorists. Kernberg (1976) views introjections, identifications, and ego identity as three levels in the process of internalization of object relations in the psychic apparatus. He refers to all three comprehensively as identification systems. Relevant to the present study is the higher level of identification which can only take place when the perspective and cognitive abilities of the child permit recognition of the role aspects of interpersonal interaction. The use of the term role implies the presence of a socially recognized function that is being carried out by the object or by both participants in the interaction. Identification implies the inernalization of such roles with resulting behavioral manifestations of the individual expressing one or both of the reciprocal roles that occured in the interaction; the behavioral manifestations and role behavior is the result of identification.

Ego identity represents the highest level in the organization of internalization processes as Erikson (1956) has described. Ego identity refers to the overall organization of identifications and introjections under the guiding principle of the synthetic function of the ego with different childhood periods determining different integrations of ego identity. As Kernberg (1976) goes on to explain, "this is a very complex development because, while object relations are continously internalized (such internalizations take place at gradually higher, more differentiated levels), at the same time the internalized object relations are also 'depersonified'

(Jacobson, 1964) and integrated into higher level ego and superego structures such as the ego ideal, character constellations, and autonomous ego functions" (p 33). Kernberg's (1976) definitions and general theoretical conceptions provide a basic foundation for this research.

Imagery. Imagery is defined as those symbolic representations of the self and of other human objects that reside in the stream of consciousness. Imagery refers to representations remembered from past experiences and past behavioral acts. It also resides in consciousness in the present as a possible set of responses to present events that are transpiring in reality, or about to unfold, so to speak. Imagery also represents behavioral responses to anticipated or future events, although the role behaviors internally visualized may be derived from past interpersonal experience were identification permitted the internalization of the role behaviors.

Imagery of a Future Self. Imagery of a future self would refer to those sets of visual concepts of the self contained within the stream of consciousness or capable of being projected as a result of possessing the ability to anticipate future events and future behavioral responses.

Object Relations. Object relations refers to that crucial interaction between developing human being and adult caretakers that permits human development and survival. The internalization of object relations as described by Kernberg (1976) and other object relations theorists permits the development of the ability to relate to the external world (Klein, 1932) and the development of the personality of the individual overall. The interpersonal experience of the child with significant adult authorities will

also be referred to as object relations in the study.

Positive Identification. Positive identification will refer to the internalized by-products of interpersonal experience where behavioral manifestations and role conceptions have been acquired that are generally constructive or conducive to appropriate, adaptive behavior on the part of the child. Where identification with an authority has been positive, pleasant and nurturant feelings were probably felt subjectively by the child and were probably genuinely felt on the part of the adult authority. Such good or good-enough object relations in childhood, particularly where realistic and adaptive role behaviors were acquired, can continue in the classroom and permit appropriate student role or achievement oriented behaviors to be acquired.

# Chapter Two: A Review of the Relevant Literature

## Review of the Literature

### Chapter Overview and Introduction

An analysis and critique of the major relevant research pertaining to the factors under investigation will be presented in this chapter. The first section of the review of the literature will cover academic achievement in light of socioeconomic staus and race of the student. A second section will examine affect, facial expression, and interpersonal experience in human development from the perspective of major researchers and theorists who have worked in these three interrelated fields. The third and final section of the chapter will cover the development and experience of time conceptions, and of future time orientation in human beings.

### The Relationship Between Academic Achievement, Socioeconomic Status and Race

A large body of research has focused on the subject of academic achievement. In the course of investigating this subject, researchers began to address the specific role of socioeconomic status and race in their analysis of variance in the achievement of students. Quite often, the factors of class and race effectively addressed differences in students' achievement behavior. The first section of the chapter will review literature which has focused on the relationship between academic achievement, socioeconomic status, and race. This literature review will predominantly cover studies which relate to the achievement of elementary school

children.

The Renewed Search for Achievement Factors

The literature reviewed in this section will reflect the renewed search for factors presumed to have a relationship to academic achievement in the minority child after the impetus of civil rights concerns in the 1960's. Some of this research was controversial but served to motivate other investigators to answer questions which they felt had been incorrectly asked and wrongly answered.

The work of Moynihan (1965) reflected a "blame the victim" view of the problem of academic achievement in minority children. Here the Black family was seen as riden with pathology and as the cause of many of the problems of the Black child, including performance in school.

Coleman (1966) therefore examined the home setting in search of factors contributing to the poorer achievement of Black children, which his research documented. From the vantage point of a white yardstick, Black home environments were found to be different from White home environments. White families provided, for example, encyclopedias in the home more frequently than did Black families. Coleman (1966) considered the provision of encyclopedias in the home as representing parent's efforts to foster achievement. Coleman (1966) also viewed mother's graduation from high school, and her intention to further her own education as additional home environment factors that fostered childrens' achievement. White mothers were seen as doing more than Black mothers on these factors to foster childrens' achievement in Coleman's (1966) study.

Coleman (1966) also examined the influence of numerous other factors on academic achievement in an effort to explain the lower achievement of Black and minority pupils. Among those factors considered were the segregation of schools, corresponding patterns of segregation among teachers in school systems, the quality of teacher training, the quality of school materials and facilities, and the racial and socioeconomic composition of classrooms. The most influential factor among those in the school environment was the composition of the class with the focus on the educational values of the families of children in that class. Coleman (1966) saw the strength of family educational values as influencing the classroom. The class composition strongly reflected the educational values of the families from which children came. A majority of children in a classroom where such values were strong were seen, by their presence, and the strength of their family values as improving the educational outcomes of children who came from a family lacking these values.

It becomes clear from such thinking on Coleman's (1966) part the emphasis on home environments and family educational values which the study contained. Classroom composition could improve the performance of Black children in this way. A White child placed in a classroom with Black children from homes lacking educational values was supposedly free from a decrease in achievement, presumeably buoyed by the strength of his own family background. Thus, Coleman's (1966) report recommended school integration to insure equality of educational opportunity, following the implication of the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) decision

that separate did not provide for an equal experience. However, the Court's consideration of intangible factors that might generate feelings of inferiority lacks the blame the victim and the victim's home environment and family focus which Coleman's (1966) work contains, following Moynihan (1965).

The Coleman (1966) data also revealed that of all the variables measured in the Equality of Educational Opportunity survey, student self concept, and students' sense of environmental control appeared to be factors most related to academic achievement. These findings relate to the concerns of the Court in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954).

Powell and White (1972) have emphasized that affective measures of the student toward self and future destiny appeared to be more related to achievement of disadvantaged pupils than all the other school factors examined in the Coleman's (1966) survey. The work of Powell and White (1972) was in response to Coleman (1966) affective factors of attitude toward school, self concept, and sense of environmental control being most related to achievement.

Powell and White (1972) examined the affect structure and achievement among 101 economically deprived male and female Black fifth grade children in a rural community in the South. Children's Personality Questionnaire (CPQ) and tests on reading materials from third grade were administered to the students. Results were factor analyzed, revealing the inhibiting effect of children's background on language and perceptual learning. Moreover, children viewed possession of superiority in work

knowledge, word discrimination, reading, and arithmetic concepts, as well as reading ability and general intelligence to be of little value and power in their disadvantaged lives.

Powell and White's (1972) data seemed to indicate that seeing that classmates had superior abilities led to decreased motivation. Students identified submissive, feminine feelings in a self report inventory suggesting the lack of power and value they felt.

Powell and White (1972) discuss their results in terms of the dependency and defensiveness that characterizes the minority image. This image is characterized as being intellectually inferior and docile. Moreover, being good, happy and fair are seen as having little power in their lives. They contend that the obvious conclusion is that such weak self-sentiments acquired in the early years of children's development is "certainly correlated with the minimal achievement motive expressed" in the students (p. 56).

Powell and White (1972) sharpen the deficit lens used to examine Black children, moving on to identify the cognitive, affective, and personality variables possessed by these "disadvantaged" children that serve to influence school achievement. While they can be criticized for focusing on deficits of a child seen as disadvantaged, there is considerable validity in recognizing the affect structure possessed by such a child. Such affect structures certainly impact achievement, self-esteem and future motivation to achieve as their results suggest. Their perspective also recognizes the importance of interaction in the classroom by recognizing the influence of peer group perceptions and subsequent self perceptions on achievement.

The Impact of the Teacher on Achievement

The teacher can exert a powerful influence on children's achievement behavior. As powerful adult authorities who interact with children on a daily basis in the classroom, their impact on children is certainly worth considering in some detail. Interaction with the teacher and information gained during such interactions may contain potent seeds which spur achievement or impact achievement negatively.

Beyond the classic finding of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) on the effects of teacher expectancies on student performance and achievement is an additional body of work. This work reflects findings that teacher approval can impact children in the classroom in addition to teacher disapproval and other general expectations (Katz, 1968; Pederson, Faucher, and Eaton, 1978).

In the classroom, students' race and skin color provides the most salient information. The projection of racial and deficit-oriented stereotypes is facilitated by the facts of skin color. Whatever the factor initiating negative teacher expectancies, the negative prophecy subsequently fulfilled by students has dire consequences. Not only is current academic achievement lowered, but future success throughout life may be impacted (Pederson, Faucher, Eaton, 1978). Proshansky and Newton (1968) investigated race and other members of the classroom's perception of race, and found that self-concept and achievement were both impacted by these factors. Coleman (1966) suggested that once in integrated school settings Black self concept was negatively impacted. Katz (1968) specifies prejudice

against racial minorities as being the important factor in integrated settings which fueled negative expectancies. Katz (1968) has recognized that even where blatant discrimination does not exist, sterotypic ideas about Blacks can fuel prophecies as to their success in school. Katz (1968) has also suggested that Black teachers might avoid this tendency.

Abbott (1981) followed this line of reasoning and explored factors related to third grade achievement in 116 rural Virginia children. Abbott (1981) predicted academic success under conditions of having either a Black or White teacher. Children in the study were Black and White, were either in integrated or all Black classes, and had either White or Black teachers. Students were administered an adjective rating scale, describing how people feel toward and think about others, especially how teachers feel toward and think about children. The adjective checklist was scored on a favorable/unfavorable scale with a series of stepwise multiple regressions used employing seven predictor and one criterion variable. The criterion variable was academic achievement and the seven predictors were as follows: race of teacher (Black or White), race of child (Black or White), type of classroom (Black, integrated), sex of child, IQ, perception of teacher's perception, and self perception of the child.

Results indicated that both White and Black female students had higher achievement scores than did males. IQ scores accounted for the greatest amount of variance with respect to achievement. But, classroom composition and race of teacher had an impact on the development of self-perception and ultimately on academic performance. Black and White

students placed with Black teachers had higher IQ's. Of those Black and White students placed with Black teachers, the White students' IQ's were higher than those of the Black students. To the extent that student's IQ scores had been influenced by the expectations for achievement held by teachers, a pattern of expectations projected by Black teachers was suggested by this data. Black teachers appeared to expect Black students to do well to a greater degree than did White teachers. But, in addition, these Black teachers also expected White students to do even better, as Abbott (1981) points out.

Also of interest is Abbott's (1981) finding that while Black students in integrated settings performed better academically, Black students in all Black classrooms had higher self-perceptions than did Black children in integrated settings. Black children in all black classrooms also had higher perceptions of how teacher's perceived them than did Black children in integrated settings.

This last finding of Abbott (1981) is in line with Coleman's (1966) concept that Black children's self concept diminishes with participation in an integrated school setting. Coleman (1966) saw Black students' increased academic performance as due to the effect of being in the classroom with White students who brought to the classroom the strength of their family educational values. Abbott (1981) asks the crucial question of "What impact, if any, did this greater academic success have on self-concept formulation?" (p. 177) from the perspective of her own findings. Abbott (1981) goes on to suggest a detailed examination of the cause and effect

relationship between self-perception, perception of teacher's perceptions, and academic achievement in the various teacher-student race combinations.

Nonmaterial reinforcements provided by the teacher impact Black and minority students' academic achievement . The research of Massey, Scott and Dornbush (1975) with Black high school students examined students' perceptions of the warmth and friendliness of their teachers. Results indicated that low-achievers saw teachers as providing more praise than did the high achievers.

The results of a study by Rubovits and Maehr (1973) indicated that Black non-gifted students received more attention than did Black gifted students. On the other hand, White students who were gifted received more attention than did White non-gifted students. Generally speaking, White students received significantly more attention and praise than did Black students. Thus, evidence exists that teachers differentially interact with students depending not only upon student race but also in light of their bright or average class performance. Such differential nonmaterial reinforcement by the social agent of the teacher must certainly differentially affect school performance.

Murray (1984) has pointedly spoken to the crucial import of such research findings. She recognizes the way in which teachers express positive sentiment toward students who live up to their expectations. Clearly the extent that such positive sentiments will be manifest as rewards in the classroom, Black students will all too often be rewarded by failure

and punished for success by such teachers. "Hence, the inequity which often occurs in educational environments may have less to do with tangibles such as books, buildings, equipment, etc., than with the intangibles such as the differential distribution of teacher rewards and punishments" (p. 34). Murray further emphasizes that this differential distribution of teacher rewards and punishments most certainly impacts the motivational traits of Black students in an adverse way.

The impact of the teacher on a students' achievement emerges as highly significant and a potent factor operating in the classroom. Murray (1984) goes on to discuss the fact that if teachers' expectancies are negative with regard to the ability of Black students these pre-existing racial stereotypes will mediate their expectancies of Black students' future performance. Under these conditions successful academic performance may not be attributed to the student's ability. On the other hand, poor performance by Black students would be attributed to their ability since poor work is congruent with preconceived expectancies. Murray (1984) fully considers the kind of dysfunctional achievement behavior that can develop in a young child who is impacted in certain ways by significant adults. This dysfunctional achievement behavior can occur when the information provided by significant others that the child then uses in making attributions of the child's own achievement behavior exagerates the child's responsibility for poor outcomes and underestimates the child's responsibility for successful outcomes.

Apparently the effects are quite different when a teacher perceives

the cause of a student's academic success as internal when that performance is congruent with the teacher's racial stereotypes about the student, or as externally caused when that performance is incongruent with the teacher's racial stereotypes (Murray, 1984). Different academic performance between White, Black, and Hispanic students might be systematically reinforced by teachers in the classroom. Fundamentally different achievement behavior may be observed as having been shaped by these patterns of reinforcement.

Classroom Factors Impacting Achievement

Minority children have often been placed in special classes and given various labels that have impacted teacher's perceptions of their ability to achieve academically. A number of investigators have described the phenomena of disproportionate placement of minority children in special education classes in comparison to White children (Dunn, 1968; Mercer, 1973; Tomlinson, Acker, Canter, and Lindborg, 1977). The projection of negative expectancies upon minority children could account for this pattern of placement in special education classes. Once in these classes, the special education placement further impacts teacher's expectations of children's potential to achieve in school.

Perhaps a tangentially related phenomena is the greater incidence of behavior problems in the classroom among minority and lower class children as reported by teachers' rating of pupil behavior (Eaves, 1975; Lindholm, Touliatos, and Rich, 1977, 1978; Lorton, Cowen, and Caldwell, 1974, Miller, 1972; Swift and Spivack, 1968; Touliatos and Lindholm, 1975). School

personnel who are susceptible to ethnic bias may, as teachers rating pupil behavior in these studies, perceive minority and lower class children as unruly in comparison to White children. A number of researchers have suggested that minority children are disproportionately placed in special education classes because of ethnic biases among school personnel (Lanier, 1977; Zucker, and Prieto, 1977).

Among the school personnel who are susceptible to ethnic bias are school counselors. In the course of their handling teachers' requests for special evaluation or special education referral they may initiate a course of events leading to a student's psychological evaluation and perhaps label as "emotionally handicapped" or "hyperactive". But, as Boykin (1983) has pointed out the initial misfit between a child's behavioral/movement styles and the school's behavioral norms may be due to the child's inherent possession of distinct Afro-American cultural styles.

The psychological labeling of Black children that results in their over representation in special education programs is supported by the work of theorists who view the Black child as possessing emotional scars and problems that interfere with adaptive functioning. Thomas and Sillen (1972) have criticized the simplistic approach of Kardiner and Ovesey (1951) and others who emphasized pathology or similarly misinterpret the Black experience.

Low and Clement (1982) have investigated the relationship between socioeconomic status and classroom behavior, academic achievement, and referral for special education for fourth grade boys in an urban school

district. Their results highlight the possible mediating effect of teacher perceptions. Their objective direct observation of children's behavior failed to reveal that minority children were more unruly, defiant, or conduct-disordered compared to their Anglo counterparts. These findings confirm the suspicion that teachers' rating, perception and treatment of students, and their classroom atmosphere are all negatively affected by teachers' ethnic biases.

The Impact of Integrated Classrooms

Integrated classrooms may impact the academic achievement and personality growth of children in various ways. Beyond the focus of Coleman (1966) on the increased academic performance of Black children in these settings as being due to the presence of White children who were bringing the strength of their family's educational values to the classrooms, is a body of research reflecting broader more balanced perspectives. Other researchers have not found as did Coleman (1966) that Black childrens' self-concept diminishes with participation in an integrated school setting.

Nichols and McKinney (1977) provide evidence that children in integrated settings did not have to differ by race on measures of academic achievement and personality growth. They administered the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory to a population of fourth and sixth-grade students. They examined data from the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills as well as from the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test. Black and White students of varied socioeconomic status did not differ significantly a year after the implementation of an integration plan in an urban industrial school system in New

York state. Black children and poor children had been dispersed by this the only voluntary and effective integration plan in the state.

Nichols and McKinney (1977) assert that when an equal educational opportunity is provided to children, and the host of sociological factors that plague ghetto schools and contribute to their inferiority are eliminated, Black children and low socioeconomic status children of either race are shown to not be inferior in achievement or personality development. They use their data to challenge the notion that poor Black and low income children are inferior. They emphasize that sociological factors tend to bias the actual data amassed on the poorer achievement of such disadvantaged children. The large body of evidence that fuels negative stereotypes impacts those school officials who work with Black and low income children. Their subsequent expectancies shape the school environment. While the work of Nichols and McKinney (1977) is important, there is no appropriate data available from the preintegration period with which to compare it.

Mingione (1965, 1968) has investigated need for achievement in fifth and seventh graders of different races in integrated classroom settings in both the North and the South. The data from the two different regions presents interesting contrasts. Mingione conducted her research in light of the negative prejudical conventions that can impact personality development and affect achievement levels (Mingione, 1968).

Mingione (1968) found that in a northern integrated setting the need for achievement, or concern with the attainment of high standards of excellence, did not differ significantly in low-income fifth and seventh

graders who were of Black, Puerto Rican, and of White ethnic origin. While there was a trend wherein Whites ranked highest on need for achievement scores, with Blacks ranking second and Puerto Ricans third, these results stood in contrast to those of Mingione's earlier study (1965). In 1965, she studied a southern population of White and Black children of low-socioeconomic status. The North Carolina sample showed that White children were significantly higher in need for achievement when compared with Black children, and seventh graders scored higher than fifth graders.

An additional difference between the 1965 and 1968 findings of Mingione was in regard to the correlation of grades with intelligence tests scores. In Mingione (1968) school grades and group intelligence test scores did not correlate with need for achievement scores. Whereas in 1965, Mingione found that in almost all of the groups grades did correlate significantly with intelligence test scores, consistent with the high correlations usually found (Mingione, 1968).

Mingione (1968) asserts that the most important finding of a difference in need for achievement among northern and southern low-income samples, may be due to the greater restriction of opportunities in the South and the derogatory societal implications of segreation in the South. But, the greater restriction of opportunity in southern regions of the country may also lead to a greater reliance on the family, and the subsequent greater salience of family and ethnic community values and standards. These family values may impact students' need to achieve.

Beyond Individualistic Definitions of Achievement Motivation

A number of investigators have found evidence to support the concept that individualistic definitions of achievement motivation reflect Euro-American values. On the other hand, minority children may possess achievement motivations that reflect their own cultural values. A number of interesting research findings follow from these cultural differences. The implications of these differences are important and meaningful.

Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) provide evidence that the individualistic definition of achievement motivation applicable to White culture may not apply to ethnic cultures where family values may have greater salience. Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) investigated need for achievement and found that Mexican and Black children scored higher than Anglo children on items that were family related. They suggest that findings of lower achievement motivation for minority children may fail to tap achievement motivation as defined by particular cultural groups.

Hare (1980) has also sought to determine the dynamics that transpire once students are in desegregated settings while recognizing the factor of cultural bias in tests of achievement orientation. Hare (1980) investigated Black and White fifth graders of varying socioeconomic status in an effort to determine whether race, socioeconomic status, their interaction, or something else is "the most dynamic explainer of such differences in self-perception and achievement as might be found".

Hare (1980) was careful to avoid the methodological inadequacies of other studies that fail to control for SES or use the traditional technology of

comparing lower-SES Black and middle-SES white children. Hare (1980) created a new measure capable of tapping area specific (i.e., school, home, and peer) self esteem, and measured academic achievement via math and reading sections of a district-wide administered standardized test.

Hare's (1980) results indicated that Black and lower-SES children scored significantly lower than all other subjects on academic achievement and achievement orientation. He suggests that more important than a concern with the psychological consequences of desegregation for Black children is the "misfit relationship between all lower-SES children and the school" (p. 683). He goes on to suggest that family socioeconomic background is also a powerful predictor of academic school performance and may have a more powerful effect on psychological well-being than race alone. Lower-SES children are subject to reflect the negativisms of their status in a lowered home self-esteem.

Hare's (1980) data also indicated that children of varying backgrounds differ in their levels of achievement orientation and suggested that the measure might have been culturally biased and discriminatory. Consistent with Ramirez and Price-Williams' (1976) finding of a family-related achievement drive in minority children, Black and lower socioeconomic class children were less likely than were White and middle-class children to strongly disagree with such statements as "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents" and "When the time comes for a person to take a job, they should stay near their parents even if it means giving up a good job opportunity" (Hare, 1980, p. 687). Thus, minorities may

score lower on achievement orientation testing because of inadequacies in tests that possess cultural biases toward the mainsteam middle class norm.

But, as Ruhland and Feld (1977) have pointed out differences such as those cited by Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) or Hare (1980) or those in their own research carry important implications. Ruhland and Feld (1977) assert that these differences in achievement orientation could "pose a serious barrier to realistic educational and career choices for black children in an individualistically oriented society" (p. 1367).

Ruhland and Feld (1977) have observed important differences in regard to Black children receiving inadequate information as a consequence of their lower motivation for social comparison. They assessed the autonomous and social comparison achievement motivation of 197 Black and White children at the end of first and fourth grades and again at the end of second and fifth grades. Findings indicated that Black and White children were similar in their level of autonomous achievement motivation, but Black children were consistently lower in social comparison motivation.

Ruhland and Feld (1977) interpret their results as supportive of an educational deprivation hypothesis. An educational deprivation hypothesis implicates the children's educational experiences as somehow being problematic. It is in the context of children's educational experiences that the gathering of information concerning one's level of ability in relation to others is problematic. This process of social comparison may create some anxiety. It may be due to such anxiety that children who are Black and low in motivation for social comparison do not seek out the kind of information

gained through social comparison in the classroom. Information gained through social comparison might show children those areas in which they excel, are average, or deficient. Ruhland and Feld (1977) go on to suggest that low teacher expectancies (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1966; Rubovitz and Maehr, 1973) could lead children to develop feelings of inferiority in relation to school and academic activities. Such factors lead to avoidance of comparison and fantasy activity about achievement, since anxiety may result (Ruhland and Feld, 1977).

In addition to Black and minority children possessing family values which provide communal attitudes toward achievement, social comparison and feelings of attendant anxiety and inferiority all provide sufficient reinforcement of noncompetitive achievement orientation. Of relevance to the current study is the implication that social comparisons, feelings of anxiety, and inferiority could discourage fantasy activity about achievement. The concept of possessing future imagery of one's self achieving fully appreciates that higher levels of academic achievement probably result from being able to freely fantasize. Children who are high in academic achievement in comparison to children who are low in academic achievement may possess future imagery of their self achievement. High achievers probably possess such future imagery because they may be free of anxiety when they engage in a process of social comparison as Ruhland and Feld (1977) conceived it.

The results of Ruhland and Feld (1977) cast doubt on the potency of hypotheses that assert cultural deprivation as the cause of racial differences

in achievement motivation and achievement performance. The potency of cultural differences may be implicated however in the definition of achievement, with Blacks viewing the cooperative effort of the family toward family or group goals as most important. Ruhland and Feld (1977) contend that the lower social comparison scores of Black children are consistent with the assertion of Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) and others (DeVos, 1968, Baughman and Dahlstrom, 1968) that the conceptualization of achievement is culture bound.

Employing Veroff's (1969) developmental model of achievement motivation, Ruhland and Feld (1977) interpret their findings as casting doubt on cultural deprivation hypotheses of lower academic achievement for Blacks. The fact that autonomous achievement does not appear to differ between Whites and Blacks but that Black children score lower than Whites on the more developmentally advanced social comparison achievement, tends to implicate the school rather than the family as the source of lower achievement motivation in Black children. Then Boykin (1983) has similarly called for an end to cultural deprivation or blame the victim (and the victim's family and culture) approaches. Boykin (1983) has called for a consideration of ways in which the educational setting may be changed and made more sensitive to the needs of Black pupils and to their experience.

The Persistence of Deficit Oriented Researchers

A great deal of research has been based on a deficit hypothesis view of the Black and minority pupil. Deficit oriented researchers have focused on minority pupil's possession of inferior or deficient traits, and background as

a member of a deprived and inferior family and culture.

The search for factors responsible for, or related to, the lower academic performance of minority students has centered upon deficienceis to be found in the minority student and in the inadequacies of early home and socialization experiences, as in Ryan (1971). Within the tradition of such thinking, Ausubel and Ausubel (1963) have also cited father absence, authoritarian and controlling Black parents as a factor in their children's poor achievement. Moynihan (1965) has also cited matriarchy as has McClelland (1961) and Pettigrew (1964) as contributory factors to the problem of Black academic achievement (Radin and Kamii, 1965; Hess, 1970).

Minority children have also been examined for an array of cognitive deficits related to problem-solving. Among those deficits focused upon are minority children's being less likely to postpone gratification with a resulting impact on performance in school. Price and Ramirez (1974) investigated ethnic differences in delay of gratification among a fourth grade sample of Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American children. They found that Black and Mexican-American children were more likely than Anglo children to accept immediate gratification rather than a delayed reward, regardless of sex of child within each ethnic group. Moreover, Price and Ramirez (1974) reported that Black children tended to mistrust the promises of the experimenter even when the experimenter was Black. A White or a Black experimenter may be unable to overide the earlier socialization and training of Black parents and the reality of Black experience in society, despite

promises of delayed rewards.

Family and Cultural Factors Impacting Achievement

The training which Black and Hispanic children receive in the context of their homes and culture significantly impact their approach to tasks and learning in the classroom. A number of research findings which shed light on this aspect of minority children's approach to academic achievement will be reviewed in this section.

McAdoo (1982) has reported on the stress which Black parents experience due to their race and the subsequent discrimination which they face in pursuit of their own future career goals. McAdoo's (1982) sample of Black families with school age children who resided in both urban and suburban settings reported that the psychological and social pressure of racism in their everyday life was the greatest contributor to black stress and affected their parenting.

Most relevant was McAdoo's (1982) finding that parent's sense of environmental forces beyond their control was an additional critical factor contributing to the high levels of stress and shorter life expectancies of Black people. The parents in her sample felt that they were still being forced to provide conflicting messages to their children in relation to the American dream. "They looked upon education as the tool for mobility but did not expect to get the full benefit for their efforts" (p. 484). As a result of this stress and frustration, parents tended to be more protective of their children and attempted to act as a buffer to help children develop their potential while maintaining feelings of self worth.

From the perspective of McAdoo's (1982) research it becomes clear that Black and Hispanic children might easily act in response to a promise of a delayed reward with the skepticism of their parents who may tend to give conflicting messages about the likelihood of attaining rewards in the larger society, even after hard work toward educational and vocational goals. We also acquire through McAdoo's (1982) work a more realistic and sensitive appraisal of those dynamics occurring within the Black family that provide Black children with characteristics that are brought to the classroom. Her research shows that even among upwardly mobile Black families who achieve solid middle-class status, the stress of racism and discrimination are quite real.

McAdoo's (1982) work also identifies inherent strengths and distinct cultural patterns within Black families. McAdoo (1982) identifies the wide supportive network of Black families as a traditional and continuing stress absorbing system in Black families. Billingsley (1968), Hill (1971) and Stack (1975) have similarly identified strong reliance on the family unit as a Black cultural pattern.

A number of cultural patterns brought to the classroom by Hispanic students have been described in the literature. Samaniego (1980) has noted that the values of assertiveness, autonomy, and achievement are discouraged for women in Hispanic culture. Instead, passivity, helplessness and the belief that women are inferior to men is ingrained in women. Samaniego (1980) emphasizes that this cultural training particularly applies to Hispanic women who are exposed to the traditional cultural home and to American

social institutions, resulting in the experience of contradictory demands being placed upon these women.

Crago (1976) investigated the cultural influences impacting the academic aspirations of Chicanos. The resulting comparative study of evidences of the machismo complex within groups of Mexican, Mexican American, and Anglo secondary girls found 1) that despite the strength of perceived machismo elements in the Mexican group, high academic aspirations, high academic expectations, and high perceptions of appropriate academic roles/goals were held; 2) Mexican American girls had lower academic aspirations and expectations than did Anglo girls, but higher perceptions of appropriate academic roles/goals. There was also evidence in all cultures of changing sex role patterns and possible role confusion.

Chahin (1978) has presented evidence which also challenges the assumption that Hispanics, by virtue of cultural training, lack the motive to achieve academically or occupationally. Chahin (1978) has surveyed, via group administered questionnaires, the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of 150 sophmore Migrant and Non-Migrant Mexican Americans. Chahin (1978) concluded from his research findings that Mexican American youth, regardless of sex or economic background, have the desire and motivation to achieve. In addition, he concluded that the educational level of Mexican American parents needed to be enhanced through community education.

Montalvo (1974) has focused on Puerto Rican cultural patterns that often underlie typical home-school conflicts. Montalvo (1947) describes the

relationship style of children and parents at home that often presents problems when transferred to the school teacher. What is a required way of showing respectability at home is played out in school by hovering around the teacher, listening, watching, asking, with a search and research system that often hinges on a checking orientation. At school, this is often considered obseqiousness, ingratiating, and "a sign of dependency that, with the best of intentions, must be modified" (p. 106). The school demands what is for them a premature independence which goes against their culture. Children experience rejection, stress, and a challenge to those developmental expectations valued in their culture. Puerto Rican parents are also very concerned with safety and fear their children moving around (trips at school) without assurances of close supervision.

There is another cultural pattern that may have its origin in African tradition but which is reinforced via the oppressive and discriminatory nature of the larger society. This pattern may be present in both Afro-American and Hispanic groups. A pattern has been observed of a general social or communal orientation where duty to the social group is more important than individual privileges and needs (Boykin, 1983; Wilson, 1972).

Cultural patterns that are reinforced by family training are brought to the classroom. They are factors that impact achievement in the classroom as well as teachers' perceptions of children.

Cultural Orientation to Tasks as a Factor Impacting Achievement

A number of researchers have considered minority children's orientation to tasks. These tasks are likely to be required in the classroom or are

suggestive of how students will respond to task requirements for academic achievement in the school. Both deficit oriented researchers and investigators who were more sensitive to cultural influences on orientation to tasks have worked in this area. Their work is reviewed below.

Terrell, Durkin, and Wiesley (1959) and Zigler and Delabry (1962) have asserted that socioeconomically disadvantaged and minority group children are generally more dependent than are White and middle class children upon extrinsic rewards. Katz (1967) has contended that the inability of Black students "to sustain academic effort in the absence of immediate external reward" (p. 163) is a direct result of the failure of their early socialization agents to reinforce the internalization of such mechanisms as self control. Hunt (1968) and McClelland (1961) have similarly proposed that Black children have failed to develop adequate intrinsic or achievement motivation.

Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1979) bring a different perspective to the question of achievement or intrinsic motivation. They offer an alternative definition of what the appropriate question is. Their work offers a reconceptualization of the social-cognitive bases of achievement orientation in Blacks. Banks, et.al. (1979) reason that insofar "as intrinsic motivation is reflected in sustained effort in the absence of extrinsic rewards, it likely represents acquired interests in, or value orientations toward, the task activity" (p. 297). They bring cultural sensitivity to the problem by considering the fact that an individual's interests in all probability directly relate to the specific learning to which the person has been

exposed "in connection with certain task, activity, or object stimuli" (p. 297). Subsequently, cultural differences may be observed in interest and value patterns, with different tasks occupying high and low hierarchial positions in the value structure of Blacks and Whites.

The implications of the analysis of Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1979) are profound in so far as "the resultant artifact of task interet confounds virtually every past study of comparative motivation in Blacks and others" (p. 298). The implication is that the notion of intrinsic motivation when reconceptualized in terms of the acquired significance of tasks and the acquired capacity of task stimuli to evoke and maintain behavior is the key issue. Moreover, a comparison of the motivational capacities of persons would require systematic control across samples for this view of the task variable (i.e., acquired significance of tasks and acquired capacity of task stimuli to evoke and maintain behavior).

Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1977) empirically examined the relationship of task liking to effort orientations in Black and White adolescents aged sixteen to eighteen. In direct oposition to Katz's (1967) hypothesis that Blacks are less able than Whites to sustain effort orientation in uninteresting or unattractive tasks were the findings of Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1977). They found that Blacks and Whites were equally effort-oriented when they were working on tasks that were of high interest to Blacks and of high interest to Whites. They also found no differences between Black and White adolescents in their effort orientation on low-interest tasks. These subjects' effort orientations were found to be greater

in high-interest tasks than in low-interest tasks. The tendency for either group to be outcome-oriented (extrinsic) in high-interest tasks was essentially the same (Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard 1979). When tasks are of equal interest to Blacks and Whites then Blacks and Whites are able to sustain interest in these tasks at comparable levels. On the other hand, when tasks are of high interest to Whites and of low interest to Blacks, then differences in outcome orientations will be found as in Katz (1967).

In a similar critical examination of the literature, Banks (1976, 1979) has come to the conclusion that the empirical evidence fails to support the assertion that Blacks have less achievement motivation than do Whites. This assertion seems to reflect Jones (1979) belief that when a paradigm fails, and an alternative is available to take its place a paradigmatic revolution occurs in social science. In this way, researchers go beyond the simple-minded generalizations that do not fit the complexity of cultural, regional, racial, and sexual variations that occur in the real world (Jones, 1979).

Numerous researchers have been able to recognize that academic difficulty of Black children in the classroom originates in cultural differences rather than in deficits (Stewart, 1970; Baratz and Baratz, 1970; Gay and Abrams, 1972; Inkeles, 1966; Hale, 1980; Williams, 1974; Boykin, 1979; Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard, 1979). Baratz and Baratz (1970) have emphasized that Black culture and experience provide a fully adequate system of behavior. The resultant behavioral patterns that impact task response reflect valid cultural dispositions.

Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1979) elaborate on the way in which Black children's primary and early developmental experience may lead to the development of characteristic patterns of interests and task liking that diverge from those of dominant culture. They explain that a double burden results from such a distinct sociocultural history when the child is placed in the traditional classroom. Black students must acquire primary reference group skills and interests as well as the values, skills, and task interests imposed by the dominant culture.

The implications of possessing interests divergent from those valued in the larger culture include a consideration of how these dominant culture tasks and values have been devalued by Blacks and occupy lower positions on the interest hierarchies of persons denied the tools and opportunities critical to early pratice and performance. On the other hand, those activities that have acquired intrinsic value for Blacks through early experience are likely to go unreinforced by the larger society. In addition, the relatively unfamiliar and low-interest skills and tasks of the larger society will generally be associated with significant extrinsic rewards such as jobs, status, and power. Banks, McQuater, and Hubbard (1979) go on to explain that in this way disliked tasks may be just those tasks associated with extrinsic reinforcement and reflect the values of social agents in possession of greater material resources than Black primary reference group members. These social agents are less likely to be a source of nonmaterial reinforcements such as social approval and social comparison.

Yates, Collins, and Boykin (1974) have also criticized the "energizing"

view of motivation as being much too narrow in scope to provide a meaningful and accurate range of motivational phenomena. Boykin (1979) has challenged the myth that Black children are inherently "unmotivated" to do academic tasks as Katz (1976) and others have implied. Boykin (1979) has addressed the motivational facilitation of the academic/task performance of Black children with a sensitivity to cultural factors.

Boykin (1979) contends that Black children are in fact highly motivated to engage in the academic setting and its tasks. However, they become systematically "turned off" by the nature of their school experience. They have become bored with school by fifth grade (Siberman, 1970). It is also by fifth grade that students express cynicism and possess internalized imagery of transgressions received by teachers in a negative way; they see themselves as having constricted their behavior to fit a prescribed set of teacher dictums (Lefevre, 1966). Boykin (1979) attributes the boredom characteristic of fifth graders as due to the fact that Black children possess a unique adaptive style rooted in their families and cultural heritage. The school fails to recognize this in its adherence to traditional middle class behavioral norms.

Boykin (1979) contends that there is a gross mismatch between the adaptive styles requisite in the Black home and those demanded in the traditional school setting. Boykin (1979) uses the term psychological/behavioral verve to capture the greater behavioral vibrancy and increased psychological affinity for stimulus change that Black children possess as a result of having adapted to the generally higher energy pace of the Black

home. They are exposed to more constant high and variable stimulation within the home (Wohlwill, 1966; Maddi and Propst, 1971). Puerto Rican homes are similarly characterized by this greater energy and activity (Padilla, 1958).

Evidence substantiating the fact that children bring fundamentally different behavioral styles to the classroom is provided by the work of Guttentag (1972) who observed preschool Black and White children in various free-play situations. Children were placed in settings where they were provided with toys, left without toys, had music playing in the room, or were in the room with another child. White middle-class children spent 59% of their time in stationary positions (lying, sitting, squatting) while White lower-class children spent 47% of their time in such positions. In marked contrast were the Black children who only spent 25% of their time in such stationary positions. Thus, White preschool children possess and bring to the classroom a behavioral and movement repertoire that is highly conducive to the "sit still, behave, and attend" protocol demanded in the school setting.

Also in marked contrast to White children was the greater activity level of Black children who spent 46% of their time either running, kicking, or jumping. White middle-class children spent 22% of their time in such high activity level behaviors while White lower-class children spent 19% of their time in such activity. Black children were thus significantly different in activity level than the White children of either class. In terms of the behavioral orientation brought to school, Black children were quite unlikely to freely choose the kind of stationary activity more characteristic of White

children and typically demanded in first grade.

In line with Boykin's (1979, 1983) contention that schools could change and accomodate to the behavioral and cultural styles of Black children instead of insisting on children changing to fit into the school's required student mold, is the work of Guttentag and Ross (1972). Guttentag and Ross (1972) have shown that when instructional methods traditionally used in teaching children simple verbal tasks is modified to accommodate to the movement style of Black children, the modified instructional method prooves to be superior.

Sensitivity to the behavioral/movement styles of Black children and interest in improving their task performance could conceiveably lead to numerous modifications on the part of the schools. Substantial school success might result for minority children.

The Impact of Race Related Functions on School Functions

A number of investigators have carefully considered the impct of culturally derived instruments of measurement on childrens' subsequent levels of performance and achievement. When the cultural bias of tests or instruments is removed, performance levels tend to be higher. Researchers have manipulated the cultural origin of material utilized in tests and instruments to illustrate the impact and powerful influence on achievement levels obtained depending upon the presence or absence of a cultural bias in instruments of measurement. Investigations illustrating this impact of culturally derived instruments are discussed in this section.

Hall, Reder and Cole (1979) have observed that Black children are

bidialectical, speaking a mixture of Black English vernacular and Standard English dialects with the Black English vernacular dominating their language. Hall, Reder and Cole (1979) investigated recall of stories in Black and White preschoolers who were approximately five years of age. Black children from central Harlem in the study were from homes where parents earned $4,000 or less per year. The White children were residents of downtown Manhattan from families where the annual income was $7,000 or above. The study's point of departure was the belief that dialect differences are likely to be influential when a child must retain and then reproduce a substantial body of meaningful material. This is an important issue which Hispanics certainly contend with in their learning and achievement, although it was not investigated in this study.

Hall, Reder, and Cole (1979) obtained results which indicated that "one's parent dialect is the overriding factor in language performance" (p. 262). They found that the performance of White children was superior to that of Black children only when the two groups were told stories in Standard English. Moreover, when the stories were presented in Black English vernacular, Black children recalled more information than the White children. These findings shed new light on research from a cultural deprivation perspective that has asserted that Black children lack language skills necessary for academic success, lack an ability to think abstractly, and are poor in perceptual discrimination (Ausubel, 1966; Bereiter and Engelman, 1966; Deutsch, 1965; Marans and Lourie, 1967).

The work of Franklin and Fulani (1979) highlights the need for

systematic study of the extent to which cultural and social contexts determine human learning and development and how instruments of measurement are determined by their cultural and social contexts. Franklin and Fulani (1979) were able to manipulate the performance of Black and White adolescents in a manner similar to Hall, Reder and Cole (1979) by varying the cultural source of the instrument of measurements. Research with Black and White metropolitan area New York adolescents focused on free recall as a measure of mneumonic ability and cognitive development, as previous research by Appel (1972) has suggested. Adolescents manifest their greater cognitive development relative to young children by a greater utilization of catergorized clustering to facilitate memorization (Franklin and Fulani, 1979).

The point of departure for Franklin and Fulani's (1979) research is the assumption that a list may be categorized. It is predicated on the notion that the subject shares the same "conceptual categories" and the "same concept exemplars as those devised by the experimenter" (p. 229). They demonstrated that when a word list is constructed from the experiential background of Black subjects, White students perform at a level indicating deficient development in conceptual ability. They fail to use the categorical clustering expected of adolescents and use the rote memorization strategy common to young children. But, the Black students performed at a level commensurate with the expected adolescent level of cognitive ability. The evidence reveals the effect that tasks may have on performance when derived from a specific socio-cultural frame of reference.

In a similar vein is the research of Franklin (1979) which demonstrates that different levels of performance may be obtained in Black and White school subjects by manipulating the content of word lists to be recalled and organized by students. Franklin (1979) undertook his study based on the assumption that "the perception of the organizational structure of a word list is a product of the subject's primary social and educational experiences. Moreover, to determine organizational ability, if verbal material is employed it must closely correspond to the manner in which language was ordered and used in the sociolinguistic history of the subject population" (p. 241). There were, however, no significant race differences in performance which suggests either that by high school adolescents have increased ability to recall and organize different types of information (Blacks have become equal to Whites in command of standard and socioeducationally specific material) or that integrated education has provided for equalization of aspects of experiential background, or that those who cannot have dropped out of school.

Apparently the relationship between academic achievement, socioeconomic status, and race is not static but characterized by great variability as children adapt to the school environment over time. Franklin's (1979) sample includes children of diverse ethnic origin whose presence in ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelth grade indicated that successful adaptation to the socioeducational materials and requirements of the school does occur and may be a characteristic of children who have not dropped out. It is only fair to mention that in addition to integrated education, the children in his

sample shared parochial school histories as well as working-class family status. Academic achievement per se was also not a concern of the study, but the study has relevance nonetheless in focusing on socioeducational materials and cognitive abilities often seen as inherently inferior in Black children.

The studies cited in this section illustrate the influence of a cultural perspective when examining measures of functions for minority youth. They highlight the challenges faced by minorities as they attempt to achieve in dominant society classrooms. They also point to the need to equalize aspects of experiential background to expose children to a quality education that gives training in tasks necessary for school success.

Factors Behind Successful Achievement

A number of investigators have been able to identify successful patterns of coping on the part of minority students as they attempt to achieve in school despite the challenge of pluralism. This section will review studies that have attempted to identify factors that lead to successful achievement.

Within a tradition of research that has examined the relationship between academic achievement, socioeconomic status, and race with the aim of identifying successful patterns of coping is the work of Greenberg, Shore and Davidson (1972). Greenberg, et. al. (1972) have investigated caution and creativity as correlates of achievement in disparate social-racial groups. They compared high achieving low-income black fifth graders from Central Harlem to high achieving middle-class suburban students on the variables of caution and creativity.

Research by Davidson and Greenberg (1967) provided evidence that the contrasting traits of caution and creativity were significantly related to school achievement in Black low-income elementary school children. Good achievers scored significantly higher than poor achievers on these measures. Following this line of research, Greenberg, et. al. (1972) administered two measures of caution and one of creativity and found "striking similarity of performance" (p. 381) on these tasks despite class and other differences between the two groups of children. Greenberg et. al. (1972) use these results to conclude that "the socialization process that leads to achievement in school may be similar for middle-class white and lower-class black

children" (p. 381).

One may also interpret the results of Greenberg, Shore, and Davidson (1972) as indicating that Black children of low-income status may adapt patterns of response that are similar to White middle-income children in order to be high achievers in the traitional school setting. To be a high achiever of either race may mean that the child must respond to materials that are derived from mainstream middle-class white culture in a certain way. The work of Greenberg et. al (1972) seems to indicate that the required response pattern for success is to control one's reactions "both in the cognitive and attitudinal areas" and learning "not to commit themselves too definitively with respect to their feelings and their attitudes at least in the school context" (p. 381).

Rollins, McCandles, Thompson, and Brassell (1974) have similarly perceived a certain amount of behavioral control as required in the classroom and sought to promote such behavior in inner-city Black children through the use of response-contingent token reinforcers. They saw the value of such a project as ultimately translating into not only better behavioral control in the classroom, but also higher academic achievement and IQ gains.

Boykin (1983) has pointed out that the traditional mainstream classroom reflects traditional Euro-American values. The school requires the Black child to acquire them, and fails to recognize the integrity of Black cultural patterns. But, as the research of Greenberg, Shore, and Davidson (1972) indicates, despite any Euro-American bias in the schools' requirements for successful performance on tasks, Black students who are low in

socioeconomic status can acquire those patterns of response necessary for high academic achievement.

Greenberg and Alshan (1974) have also investigated patterns in perceptual-motor functioning in search of factors responsible for successful academic achievement in low income Black children. Findings indicated that within their population of 160 lower-class Black children, the eighty students identified as low achievers made significantly more errors (including both rotation and nonrotation errors) on the Bender-Gestalt. Their data suggested a relationship between perceptual-motor functioning and school success for Black low-income children. Since intensive investigation of the sample had ruled out an organic basis to the differences in perceptual-motor functioning, Greenberg and Alshan (1974) saw low achievers' difficulties as either related to Ss "lack of experience with visual materials and/or insufficient experience with the use of verbal mediation in solving nonverbal tasks, complicated by underlying anxiety and other emotional problems that were frequently noted" (p. 62).

Pollard (1979) has attempted to delineate the factors underlying successful coping strategies in Black elementary school children. In one study, Pollard (1979) attempted to delineate the effects of selected psychological and social characteristics underlying successful achievement in Black children and to determine if the patterns of variables related to achievement differed in Black and White children. Pollard (1979) also sought to determine differences in the variables in Black and White children and defined their achievement in terms of scores obtained on standardized tests

in reading and mathematics. The assumption underlying Pollard's (1979) research was that children who grow up in different sociocultural milieus would approach the educational institution of the school in different ways. This would result in differences in perceptions about what is going on in school, and resulting differences in response to the means necessary for achievement. Supporting these assumptions, Pollard (1979) found differences in Black and White students in the affective variables related to successful achievement. Moreover, Black children "seemed to respond to the demands of achievement in a more generalized and global fashion than did White children" (pp. 207-208).

A second study by Pollard (1979) focused on coping with the teacher. She found that the affective factors related to successful coping with the teacher differed in Black and White children. There was an interaction of race effects and sex effects with slightly different patterns of successful coping emerging for Black females, Black males, White females, and White males. Pollard (1979) goes on to suggest that sex role conditioning as well as cultural background are important determinants of how children adjust to coping with the significant people in the school environment, such as the teacher. Pollard (1979) suggests that "personality factors and the ways in which children perceive themselves in the school setting must be considered when seeking ways to improve educational outcomes" (pp. 208-209).

Directly related to this suggestion is the approach taken by Ruhland, Gold, and Feld (1978) to the relationship of achievement motivation to scholastic performance. While their sample was racially mixed, they were

not concerned with racial differences in this elementary school population. The research is relevant in its emphasis on the importance of variables that relate to the social psychological factors in the classroom which may further condition the motivation-performance relationship so that it holds for certain children but not for others. Where role problems or role conflict existed for a child (i.e., a lack of congruence between one's view and your teacher's and friends' views of the student role) there was not a significant relationship between motivation and scholastic performance. Where role conflict was minimal, there was a significant relationship between motivation and performance. Ruhland, Gold, and Feld (1978) conclude that "the presence or absence of student role problems may be an important conditioner of whether a child's achievement motivation is realized in school performance (p. 958). Role conflict wherein a child's concept of the student role is very different from friend's concepts of how students should behave in that role, or very different from the teacher's concept of how children should behave can impact motivation and subsequent performance. Such a finding certainly has applicability to the achievement motivation and performance of minorities who may respond to the stereotypic expectancies or views of others in the segregated or integrated classroom.

The work of Ruhland, Gold and Feld (1978) also substantiates the work of researchers who have questioned whether or not an individual's motive to achieve is a unitary characteristic. They have suggested that various aspects of the stimulus situation and its achievement challenge may together serve to evoke and qualify the achievement motive (Crandall,

Katkovsky, and Preston, 1960; Maehr, 1974; Veroff, McClelland, and Ruhland, 1975). Ruhland, Gold, and Feld (1977) sought to clarify the issue. They specified role variables as conditioning the relationship. In this way, they also contributed to research efforts to identify factors behind successful achievement with their focus on role variables. The present study similarly attempts to identify factors related to academic achievement with a focus on role factors.

Summary of the Literature on Academic Achievement

In summary, this first section of the review of the literature has presented research and theory bearing upon the problem of the lower academic achievement and scholastic performance of minority children of varying socioeconomic status. Various factors have been investigated from numerous perspectives within the empirical literature.

The research presented has been broad in range and scope. Some researchers have questioned the notion that minority children achieve at a lower level than Whites when the educational opportunity has been equalized in school materials and is offered in integrated settings. Others have investigated minority pupils' need to achieve, finding both significant and insignificant differences in comparison to Whites depending on region of country. Still other researchers have studied the achievement motive. Some have questioned its validity as a concept that may be too narrowly defined or as a trait that is culturally bound. Evidence presented in the studies derived from cultural deprivation, blame-the-victim, educational deprivation, cultural-difference, and culturally sensitive perspectives.

Most impressive is the body of research which reveled the way in which the development and psychology of minority children in the classroom can be impacted by social comparison processes, and interactions with teachers who project consciously or unconsciously racially biased expectancies. The research to be reviewed in the next section will extend the notion that interaction with the significant authority of the teacher can impact the development and psychology of the child. An examination of the variables of affect, facial expression, and interpersonal experience will clarify the way in which communication on nonverbal and behavioral planes serve to make the interaction with a teacher a significant experience that may have either positive or negative impact upon the child.

Affect, Facial Expression, and Interpersonal Experience in Human Development

As social animals, human beings are dependent on adult human animals for protection, sustenance and general survival. Affirming and accepting object relations with a significant adult figure provide the social and psychological stimulation that insures normal development. When this occurs with any degree of consistency the child developes positive object relations. According to Kernberg (1976) this predisposes the child toward positive transactions with other authority figures. Central to this development is the differentiation of affect. Facial expression plays a central role crucial in this process and also in the communication of emotion and insures the responsiveness of adults to the needs of infants and children. Facial expression remains an important vehicle by which human emotions are

communicated and provides important information during the course of interpersonal experience throughout life. Since it is apparent that affect, facial expression, and interpersonal experience are interrelated in human development and everyday experience, literature relevant to their role will be jointly presented in this section.

Traditional approaches to affect.

In 1872, Darwin presented his ideas on human emotions from an evoluntionary perspective. He saw emotions as adaptive, serving purposes of human communication, and instrumental as humans organize their behavioral responses. Darwin viewed human facial expressions as revealing human evolution from animal progenitors and as possessing similarity to those of other primates. Consequently, facial expressions were essentially the same for all human beings regardless of culture or race and were innately determined with particular muscular movements of the face occuring for each of the chief emotions. Darwin recognized, however, that children did in fact have the opportunity to learn facial expressions.

Darwin's work generated considerable research. The recognition of the possible factor of socialization led to investigating the extent to which social interaction and interpersonal experience were necessary for the full development or unfolding of facial expression of emotion. Thompson (1941) provided empirical support for Darwin's contention that crying, smiling, and laughing were innately determined by investigating the development of facial expression in blind children. Charlesworth (1970) showed similarly, that there were parallels in the facial expressions of blind and sighted

children. But, Thompson (1941) also observed that as the congenitally blind grew older, there were decreases in such facial activity as smiling and laughing. It appears that what may be an innate basis for the expression of certain emotion through characteristic facial patterns also calls for interpersonal visual reinforcement and experience for the establishment of characteristically normal facial expression of emotion.

William James (1890) has also contributed to traditional thinking about the nature of emotion. James emphasized the relationship between the subjective feeling of an emotion and the physiological states of arousal which the human experiences. He formulated a feedback hypothesis and saw the cause of the individuals awareness of an emotion as coming from feedback from bodily changes.

Lange (1885) saw emotion as consisting of vasomotor disturbance in the visceral and glandular organs. Moreover, secretory, motor activity, cognitive responses, and all general experiential phenomena were all secondary effects, occuring only subsequent to the vasomotor disturbance in visceral and glandular organs. Mergence of the views of James (1890) and Lange (1885) led to the popular James-Lange theory of emotion. This theory was conveyed through such statements as a person was sad because he cried, or afraid because he ran (Izard, 1977.

Cannon (1927) attacked the feedback hypothesis implicit in the James-Lange theory. He challenged the assumption that the key element in determining emotional feelings was feedback from the autonomic nervous system. Cannon proposed that there were certain structures in the brain, that when

activated, were responsible for the subjective feeling of emotion (Plutchik and Kellerman, 1980).

Tomkins (1962, 1980) views affect as muscular and glandular sets of responses located in the face and widely distributed throughout the body. These responses generate sensory feedback that is inheretly acceptable or unacceptable to human beings. By viewing the face as the major locus or central cite of affect response and their feedback--with the skin of the face assuming the greatest importance in producing the feel of affect--, Tomkins (1980) has reevaluated many studies on facial expression as being misleading. Such studies may demonstrate wide cultural consensus on facial expression (Tomkins and McCarter, 1964; Ekman, Sorenson, and Friesen, 1969; Izard, 1969), but overemphasize the role of innately patterned muscular responses in the production of affect. Tomkins' (1980) current perspective "is that the feedback of voluntarily simulated facial muscle responses is not an adequate test of the workings of the innate affect mechanism" (p. 148-151).

The work and theory of Sigmund Freud also constitutes another major tradition which has considered affect and affective experience. The broader psychoanalytic tradition has provided valuable insight into affect, and affective experience in the dynamic context of human interaction (Spitz, 1968; Schactel, 1959; Kernberg, 1975, 1976). Freud guided movement in theoretical thinking about affect by first seeing affect as mental energy that fueled behavior and facilitated drive discharge. Later, Freud saw affect as instinct representations and as serving as safety valves to manage undue amounts of drive discharge, overflowing if blocked or not expressed. Finally, Freud saw

affects as signals of anxiety and thus psychic reasons for repression to occur (Kellerman, 1980; Rapaport, 1953; Kaywin, 1960).

These traditional approaches to the study of the nature of emotion and human affective responses have served as the basis for other researchers and theorists' approach to human affect. There is continuity across the traditions and similarity in aspects of their thinking on the subject. For all of them, human emotions are vital, adaptive responses that provide information to not only other human beings about our behavior, state of being, and likelihood of certain behavioral responses, but also provide crucial information to ourselves about how we feel.

The ontogeny of affect and importance of object relations.

An understanding of the ontogency of affect and of the importance of object relations in promoting social and psychological growth in human development should be of considerable value. An appreciation of the role of the child's affective responses to and social interaction with an important authority like the teacher will hopefully result.

The human infant requires the attention and care of an adult in order to survive and pursue a course of normal development. Normally the infant's mother provides this essential care early in life. Freud (1940) recognized the importance of this first object relationship as did Winnicott (1963). Ainsworth, Bell, and Stayton (1974) saw the infant as genetically biased toward interaction with other people and as needing to be reared in an environment where adults are responsive to the infant's social signals such as cries of distress. Emde, Kligman, Reich, and Wade (1978) view

infant emotional signals as reflecting complex and changing organismic states. Izard (1977) has also recognized emotional expressions on the part of infants as serving to communicate needs to adult caretakers. Izard (1977) further hypothesizes that attachment results from emotion communication via the visual facial system and secondly from the vocal system's expression of emotion.

In fact, most students of infancy assume some relationship between expressive behavior and emotion states (Izard, 1979). Spitz (1968) has focused in his work on the relationship between interactions between the infant and the mothering one to the process of the infant learning how to express "emotions proper" (p. 28-285). Schactel (1959) contends that the infant has a need for the kind of reciprocal interaction that Spitz (1968) describes. Schactel (1959) sees the need for interaction as arising from the infants separation from intrauterine embeddedness and the necessity of overcoming the new spatial and temporal gap between the infant and nourishment that must come from the environment Spitz's (1968) work also supports the work of other researchers who have not only appreciated the social-signal value of infants' facial expression but also seen them as indicative of other specific cognitive attainments (Charlesworth, 1969, 1974; Ramsey and Campos, 1978).

Good enough object relations are not only necessary for the normal development of the affect system and cognitive functions, but necessary to insure that psychopathological developments do not occur. Ego development can suffer and fail to reach adequate levels of structuralization due to poor

early obect relations. Spitz (1968) has oserved as early as eight months of age uncontrollable manifestations of panic and fear instead of the normal eight-month anxiety when object relations were extremely inadequate or the infant had been deprived of them altogether.

Kernberg (1975) has described how poor object relations can compromise differentiation of the infant's self from other objects. He has also described how poor structuralization of the psychic apparatus can result. Kernberg (1975) has gone on to explain how eventually an integrated self-image or self concept relates to integrated object images. There is a continuous process of "reshaping and reconfirmation of both self-concept and object-images by means of mechanisms of projection and introjection linked with the mother and other human beings surrounding the child" (p. 165).

It becomes clear from an analysis of the ontogeny of affect in the human being that affective experience is central to human social interaction from the very beginning of life. From infancy onward, humans depend on good enough object relations with significant adult caretakers for the development of their affect system, self-concept, and for ego development. Self-concept formation depends on the quality of interactions with mother and other humans surrounding the child. It undergoes a continuous reshaping and reconfirmation based on the quality of later object relations. In the context of the classroom, where racial stereotypes and low expectancies may be projected upon the child and possibly introjected to either reshape or reconfirm the sense of self brought to the school a significant and powerful

developmental experience may occur.

The significance of interpersonal experience.

It is important to acquire a full understanding of the significance of interpersonal experience with adult authorities beyond interactions that occur in infancy with adult caretakers. It will become clear that sense of self and subsequent performance on academic tasks can be negatively impacted. Or, alternatively, identification with the positive role attributes of a teacher could occur, facilitating the acquisition of task orientations conducive to high academic achievement.

Freud (1923) recognized that it was the internalization of objects that permitted the development of the ego, the superego, and the ego ideal. Freud saw the origin of the ego ideal as lying in the child's first and most important identifications with its parents. The outcome of the Oedipus complex was an intensification of these identifications and structuralization of the superego.

An important dimension to consider in understanding the importance of interpersonal experience is that realm of psychopathological developments. Kernberg (1976) elaborates on this realm of pathology by discussing splitting as both an early defensive mechanism serving to protect positive identifications by keeping apart through dissociation identifications with opposite and conflicting valences and as a later sign of ego weakness. Splitting is a fundamental cause of ego weakness later in development when it is excessive, is not replaced by the higher level defensive mechanism of repression, and the energy source for the development of secondary

autonomy and ego growth in general is not forthcoming . It becomes clear that as a consequence of poor or inadequate object relations, the strength, integrity, development, and central mechanisms of defense of the ego fail.

Freedman (1981) has described the dilemma that gives rise to splitting as one of maintaining incompatible ideas in consciousness. In later years, Freedman contends that it is repression that should handle this dilemma. Later in development, human beings normally possess the ability to keep unwanted information out of consciousness "on a more or less permanent basis, allowing the individual to sustain cohesiveness in human contacts" (p. 267). For Freedman, a state of splitting may be defined by polarities of incompatible experiences or mental aggregates (images, thought fragments, representations of self or others, emotional states) that cannot be synthesized. It is also indicative of a more or less incomplete experience held permanently out of consciousness.

Relevant also, is Winnicott's (1965) description of the conflict that ensues between the "I" and the repudiated "not-me" below:

> "First comes 'I' which includes 'everything else is not me'. Then comes 'I am, I exist, I gather experiences and enrich myself and have an introjective and projective interaction with the NOT-ME, the actual world of shared reality.' The skin becomes the boundary between the me and the not-me. In other words, the psyche has come to live in the soma and an individual's psycho-somatic life has been initiated" (p. 61).

Without the assertion of inherent pathology, and far from the impli-

cation that the results enter into the pathological realm, is a careful consideration of what happens to a developing child whose boundary between the me and not me is skin of color. Splitting may not be the appropriate term to capture the specific psychological impact of events in the classroom when teacher expectancies are encountered that may include lower expectations for minority children. As Fannon (1967) has suggested, a "child who offers a gift, even to an adult cannot endure a refusal" (pp. 147-148). What is the psychic result of significant interpersonal experience with an adult authority, and what impact occurs to a child's academic performance when the child experiences subtle forms of differential reinforcement from teachers that are based on racial expectations that may be low for minority children?

Assuming a normal course of early object relations with adult caretakers, minority children have by age three, as have all children, replaced the utilization of splitting mechanisms with repression, and related mechanisms of isolation, undoing, and reaction formation, becoming the main defensive operations of the ego (Kernberg, 1976). Alongside the preschool sense of self mirrored to the child from early caretakers, a sense of self reflected through interactions with significant school authorities such as teachers in the classroom emerges. Depending upon the quality of interpersonal experience with teachers, childrens' self concepts can be reshaped, reconfirmed, or reintegrated in positive or negative ways and may or may not require defensive operations on the part of the child's ego to protect the core sense of self.

In fact, where early preschool experiences with caretakers have not provided role conceptions conducive to academic achievement or the tradition of school expectations teachers can provide opportunities for positive identification and acquisition of appropriate student role conceptions.

Thus, Erikson (1950) is justified in asserting that the ego identity of different childhood periods can realize a synthesis into an essentially harmonious structure. But object relations are still continuously internalized at gradually higher levels with higher level ego and superego structures resulting, such as the ego ideal, character constellations, and autonomous ego functions (Kernberg, 1976).

Interpersonal experience with the adult authority figure of the teacher can be highly significant. Object relations in the classroom with a teacher who provides a positive and good enough interpersonal context for learning and experience can initiate constructive identifications on the part of the students. Role attributes and reciprocal role behaviors may result from internalized identification (Kernberg, 1976; Mead, 1934). Interpersonal experience may impact the child's subsequent orientation toward academic task performance and the setting of future educational and vocational goals. Thus, the significance of this variety of interpersonal experience is profound, not only in shaping the child's psychological development, but also for determining the child's educational, vocational functioning, and ultimate station in adult life.

Temporal Experience and Future Time Orientation

A student's experience of time and future time orientation may impact school performance and the setting of future educational and vocational goals. This section will consider how conceptions of time develop and possibly impact task performance. The characteristic orientations to time possessed by a child may translate into specific response patterns in a variety of choice and decision-making situations. It will be important to understand how this factor may operate.

According to Gorman and Wessman (1977), it is important to view temporal awareness as a complex well-developed abstract-conceptual framework gradually constructed in human development and closely tied to personal identity and sociocultural and historical awareness. Cassier (1944) has suggested that human symbolic memory allows us to see the future as not only an image but as an ideal. It is the future so envisaged by human beings that permits conscious and careful planning.

Block (1979) views consciousness as permeated by a succession "of temporally-defined events and temporal relationships between events" (p. 179). Block (1979) sees his cognitive view of time and consciousness as consonant with the early and original view of James (1890) that consciousness ordinarilly consists of remembrances of past events, responses to present events, and anticipation of future events. Block (1979) recognizes individual and cultural differences in cognition and that some cultures place relatively more or less emphasis on each of the three components, resulting in differences in the overall conception of time that may be substantial.

For Jaynes (1976), consiousness is always a spatilization in which what has happened in time is excerpted and seen in side-by-sideness in our mind-space. We can only see or pay attention to a part of a sequence at any one moment. The history of a cultural or social group is impossible without the spatilization of time that is characteristic of consciousness.

Jones (1979) contends that time is apprehended and organized in many different ways across people, societies, and human groups. Jones explains that the point is not simply that different groups tend to carve time into an infinite number of units of equal or variable size. The major point is that the characteristic size of a cultural or social group's time units and the regularity of their occurence can have profound effects on basic processes of thought, response to stimuli, and perception of events.

Hartocolis (1972) has proposed that the development of psychological time depends on the integration of internal representation of the image of the self and object, as well as on the development of the elementary ego apparatus and its functions. Jacobson (1964) has suggested that later in the child's life the superego as it embodies the ego's ideals serves an important part in establishing long-term goals that guide behavior.

Voyat (1979) has expanded upon Piaget's cognitive view of the development of time. Voyat (1979) explains that according to Piaget, the concept of time is an intellectual construction. It is a relationship between an action,--something which gets done, and the speed with which it gets done . Voyat (1979) has also described time as a final stage concept that is inherently part of the formal level of thought. But, from a cognitive

viewpoint, while a child may have an adequate practical conception of time measurement by ages seven or eight, the child still appears to lack an elaborated sense of personal and historical time (Gorman and Wessman, 1977). It may not be until age 12 with the advent of formal operations that a child (adolescent) can consider and imagine possibilities, engage in meaningful long-range planning, and plan future educational and vocational goals (Gorman and Wessman, 1977).

There are possible cultural variations in perception of time, emphasis on past, present, or future, and response patterns to events. Doob (1971) has found from studies in various societies consistent increases between the ages of 5 and 10 years in the ability to delay gratification and extend temporal span, though these trends may be influenced by intellectual, socioeconomic and cultural factors (Doob, 1971; Gorman and Wessman, 1977).

Leshan (1952) attempted to discern whether or not there are differences in time orientation among social classes in America. Leshan (1952) found that among 10 year olds the stories of middle-class group children covered longer time periods than did those of lower-class group children. He viewed his evidence as suggesting that different time orientations in different social classes exist.

Ricks, Umberger, and Mack (1964) obtained a measure of increased temporal perspective in successfully treated adolescent delinquent boys. Using the Thematic Aperception Test (TAT), they found increased temporal perspective on cards dealing with self-image and control of aggression from

a few days before treatment began to nearly a month at the end of the study. The untreated group showed a decrease from a few days to about a day.

Also relevant is the finding of Ricks, Umbarger, and Mack (1964) that changes in time span correlate with changes in achievement. They see their results as an extension of the work of Epley and Ricks (1963) who found that level of prospective span correlated with level of scholastic success, using the TAT and a population of superior college students. Both studies examined practical achievement in school with time span not related to IQ measures.

Mahrer (1956) investigated the role of expectancy in delayed reinforcement in low-income boys aged 7 to 9 from the perspective that the effectiveness of a reward or punishment diminishes with increasing delay. Results indicated that expectancy for delayed reinforcements may be developed or modified by experiences in which delayed or future reinforcements either occur or do not occur. The behavior potential for selecting delayed reinforcements increases or decreases with a relative increase or decrease in the expectancy for those delayed reinforcements to occur. Results also suggested that the social agent was perceived to be related to the occurence and non-occurence of the delayed reinforcement. Different social agents served as cues for different levels of expectancy of delayed reinforcement and different behavior potentials for choosing delayed reinforcements over immediate ones.

Mischel (1958) attempted to relate the preference for delayed rein-

forcement to differences in cultural background. Mischel compared Black and East Indian children aged 7 and 9 in Trinidad on their preference for a less preferred reward that day or a larger reward next week after filling out a questionnaire. Black subjects chose the immediate reward significantly more often than did East Indian children.

Mischel and Master (1966) investigated the effects of the probability of a reward attainment on responses to frustration in a sixth grade public school population. Mischel and Masters (1966) defined frustration as an imposed delay of reward as typically operationalized by blocking or interrupting the organism's progress toward a valued goal. The results showed that the value of a blocked or delayed reward can be affected by the expectancy for its ultimate attainment. The value of the film utilized in the study increased most when its completion seemed nonattainable. A child who expects that what he wants cannot be obtained may overvaluate it and want what he cannot have. In contrast, the child who has learned that frustrated goals ultimately tend to be made available may respond to a delay of reward with equanimity.

These findings are relevant in so far as expectations concerning future time intervals would be extremely important in the regulation of complex choice behavior (Mischel, Grusec, and Masters, 1969). Mischel, Grusec, and Masters (1969) investigated the effects of expected delay time on the subjective value of rewards and punishments in a population of fourth and fifth grade middle socioeconomic status school children. Results showed that anticipated delay time affects children's value of rewards but not of

punishments. Immediate rewards were judged as more valuable, but ratings of immediate punishments did not differ.

While the early work of Mischel and associates revealed that it was natural for humans to prefer more immediate rewards, later work revealed a pattern of personal attributes associated with delayed behavior. Mischel (1974) saw the delayed gratification person as more oriented toward the future and more likely to plan carefully for distant goals. He also thought such individuals would have high ego control, high achievement motivation, more social responsibility, maturity, high levels of aspiration and as showing less uncontrolled impulsivity. Mischel saw this pattern as being found in middle and upper socio-economic classes and in cultures that were highly achievement oriented. Mischel also saw a pattern belonging to the immediate gratifier of greater concern with the immediate present than with the future, greater impulsivity, and membership in lower socio-economic classes where achievement orientation, and social and cognitive competence are low (Mischel, 1974; Jones, 1979).

Jones (1979) has criticized the work of Mischel (1974) and the delay literature in general. He believes a more compelling social science enterprise would be to "show how patterns of immediate and delayed choices undergrid the development of decision making and behavioral style in individuals or in groups with varying socio-demographic characteristics" (p. 411). To better understand the bicultural dynamic in America, time should be understood as a characteristic way of perceiving time units that can differ across cultural groups. Such characteristics of a group or culture are

rooted in psychological and developmental experiences in specific continents and circumstances. A consideration of these socio-demographic characteristics might be a more valid approach (Jones, 1979).

Nobles (1980), Boykin (1983), Nyang (1980), Wilson (1972) and Pennington (1976) have all recognized the characteristic ways in which Afro-Americans perceive time, have noted a more present oriented or past focused consciousness, a social orientation toward time, and time as bound to social traditions and customs of the past. Pollard (1979) found that significantly related to achievement value orientations was the finding that Black children were more oriented to present rather than future time and that they held lower expectations for future success than did White children. It may be difficult to untangle the web of cultural, class, and societal factors behind such findings as those of Pollard (1979) who brings a sensitivity to cultural influences and to those of other researchers such as Mischel and his associates whose work seems less sensitive. Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980) felt that class differences were more powerful than cultural differences in producing their findings that future time perspective and realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self were highly and significantly related to socioeconomic status.

Temporal experience and training in orientation to time occur in distinct social and cultural settings as human beings grow and develop cognitively and psychologically. The resulting orientations to time significantly impact human beings patterns of response in a variety of settings. Whether it be choosing a reward and delaying gratification in a character

istic pattern, or perceiving and responding to stimuli in the classroom, orientations to time have significant consequences for human behavior. Moreover, characteristic orietations to time may significantly influence the patterns of achievement in educational and vocational realms as human beings live and make choices in these realms.

# Chapter Three: Methods and Procedures to be Utilized In the Study

## Methods and Procedures

### Introduction to the Chapter

This third chapter of the dissertation will serve to present the methods and procedures of the study. The chapter will be subdivided into five sections. The first section will provide a description of the hypotheses to be tested in the investigation. A second section will describe the subjects utilized in the research. The third section of the chapter will describe the measures of instrumentation utilized in collecting the data. A fourth section will serve purposes of presenting the set of procedures followed in collecting the data for the research.

### The Hypotheses of the Investigation

The hypotheses to be tested through empirical investigation are presented below:

H1. Students who are high in academic achievement will possess positive identification with the teacher in comparison to low achievers.

H2. Students who are high in academic achievement will be able to recall a positive emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom encounters in comparison to low achievers.

H3. Students who are high in academic achievement will possess future time perspective in comparison to low achievers.

H4. Students who are high in academic achievement will possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self in comparison to low achievers.

Description of the Subjects

Subjects tested for investigation of the hypotheses were 40 fifth grade students, approximately 10 to 11 years of age, attending a public school in New York City. The students selected for testing had been placed in the top two sections of the fifth grade. Since these students were capable of academic achievement, the search for factors related to academic achievement was seen as more meaningful if students who were achieving up to their potential (High Achievers) were compared to those students who were not achieving up to their potential (Low Achievers).

A number of comparisons between the resulting groups of high achievers and low achievers on the variables of sex, race, guardian's occupation, and achievement scores are presented in Table 1. The students were for the most part Black and Hispanic and from low income families. A student is expected to achieve a grade equivalent (GE) achievement score in math and reading by the end of fifth grade of at least 5.7 to justify promotion to the sixth grade, although exceptions to this rule are common as indicated by the 5.2 mean math grade equivalent score of the low achievers.

Although reading achievement scores obtained through yearly administration of the California Achievement Test (CAT) allow national and District wide comparisons of students' reading ability and level of achieve

Table 1

Comparison Between High-Achievers and Low-Achievers on Sex, Race, Guardian's Occupation, and Grade Equivalent Math and Reading Achievement

| Variables | High-Achievers | | Low-Achievers | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=20 | | n=20 | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Males | 25% | | 60% | | | |
| Females | 75% | | 40% | | | |
| Race | | | | | | |
| Black | 30% | | 55% | | | |
| Hispanic | 65% | | 45% | | | |
| White | 5% | | 0% | | | |
| Guardian Occupation | | | | | | |
| White collar | 10% | | 10% | | | |
| Blue collar | 45% | | 55% | | | |
| Welfare | 45% | | 35% | | | |
| | M | SD | M | SD | t= | df= |
| Math Achievement | 6.21 | 1.41 | 5.20 | 0.76 | 2.724 | 38 |
| Reading Achievement | 5.96 | 1.16 | 5.91 | 1.23 | 0.115 | 38 |

ment, teacher observation of student achievement may be a more reliable source of such information. Teachers have an opportunity to observe students over the course of the year and are perhaps the best judges of students' progress and performance.

Students were placed in the high or low achievement group after two teacher ratings were obtained for 54 students who had been in attendance at the school since the beginning of the school year and had been tested for math and reading achievement. The math teacher (a White female) was able to provide information for all 54 students regarding whether each child was functioning adequately in accordance with expectations based on their ability. The teachers was asked to decide if the child was functioning up to his or her potential or was not functioning up to potential. (See Instructions to Teachers in Appendix E.) These data resulted in one set of teacher ratings utilized in the sampling technique.

The second set of teacher ratings utilized for purposes of assigning students to either the high or low achievement group was obtained after the two Language Arts (English) teachers were interviewed. Each teacher (both Black females) was responsible for teaching approximately half of the 54 children. After each teacher was asked to make the same judgement that the math teacher had made, a comparison was made with those judgements provided by the math teacher. Of the 54 students presented for teacher rating, a total of 44 students emerged as having received the same rating from their math and English teacher. Ten students received different ratings from their math and English teacher (one rated up to potential and one rated not up to potential). Four of these students were Hispanic

females, 4 were Hispanic males, and 2 were Black males.

A group of 44 students was selected for participation in the research study based on the fact that both independent teacher ratings had established that the students were either functioning up to their academic potential ($n$=21) or were not functioning up to their academic potential ($n$=23). The final group of 40 students who were actually tested comprised those students who returned the letter from their parents providing permission for their participation in the project. Three children failed to return the permission slip (see Appendix B), and one child's testing was not completed due to her absence near the end of the study (3 Hispanic males and 1 Hispanic female respectively).

Two groups of 20 high achievers and 20 low achievers emerged from the sampling process for the study. It was decided that two groups of 20 students would provide sufficient power for analysis of data.

The mean reading achievement score of the high achievers and low achievers did not significantly differ ($t$=0.115, p. 05, two-tailed), indicating that the two groups possess basically the same reading achievement. Their achievement behavior in the classroom distinguishes the two groups as the independent teacher ratings based on observing the children in the classroom indicated. The resulting groups of high achievers and low achievers were administered the four instruments of measurement described below in order to ascertain if the two groups differ on the factors under investigation.

Description of the Research Instrumentation

The four instruments utilized to test the four hypotheses will be described below separately.

The Q sort.

The Q sort method was used to test the variable of positive identification with the teacher. Stephenson (1935) has described the purpose of the Q sort as being "to offer opportunities for the subject to give himself away, by projection, rationalization, identification, and the rest; and that is why we probe into him, so to speak. . ." (p. 231). Thus, information as to the student's identifications is made accessible.

Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1959) have described the operations involved in a Q sort as being similar to the first steps in the construction of a Thurstone scale by the method of equal-appearing intervals. Once presented with a large number of statements, the subject must sort them into a specified number of piles--usually nine or eleven--according to the criterion of the extent of agreement with them. To simplify the statistical analysis, the number of cards sorted to each pile are a roughly normal distribution.

Kerlinger (1973) has described Q methodology as a general name used by Stephenson (1953) to characterize a set of philosophical, psychological, statistical, and psychometric ideas oriented to research on the individual. While sorting instructions vary with the purposes of the research Kerlinger (1973) suggests that Q sorts permit a rank-order continuum of the stimulus statements from "Most Approve" to "Least Approve" with varying degrees of

approval and disapproval between the extremes. He suggests that a good range is from 60 to 90 cards in the Q distribution.

Kerlinger (1973) describes structured and unstructured Q sorts. If simply one broad variable is under investigation such as neuroticism, then an unstructured Q sort of a set of items may be assembled without specific regard to the variables or factors underlying the items. A more complex approach could be taken with a theory virtually built into a structured Q sort. "In a structured Q sort, the variables of a 'theory,' or of a hypothesis or set of hypotheses, are built into a set of items along Fisherian experimental and analysis of variance design principles" (pp.587-588). While the items of the unstructured and the structured Q sort have items all of which are from one domain, the items of the structured Q sort are partitioned in one or more ways. An example might be Q sort structure according to an internal-external dimension, with half the items reflecting internal control and half external control. As Stephenson asserts (1953) and Kerlinger (1973) reminds us, in this way we test individuals to test "theories" that have been built into the cards of the Q sort.

In summary, "it is probably safe to say that Q is a flexible and useful tool in the armamentarium of the psychological and educational investigator" (Kerlinger, 1973), p. 593). It is appropriate for use in the present research.

The specific Q sort utilized in the research was constructed by Henriquez (1962) in order to present a role content embodying the dimensions of control and gratification within the context of sixty statements.

It is thus a structured Q sort embodying the theoretical framework of Henriquez's (1962) research. The Q sort includes thirty statements that indicate attitudes of delay and control of the impulses, and an additional thirty statments indicating gratification of the impulses. Moreover, fifteen of the statements (or half) in each group -- of control or gratification statements -- relate to the sorter's own needs and fifteen relate to the subject's handling of the needs of others, or social situations.

The actual sixty statements of the Q sort are presented in Appendix A. Henriquez (1962) established the content validity of the instrument's sixty statements within their categories by the expert judgements of psychologists. The reliability of the Q sort was also established prior to its usage in Henriquez's (1962) research. The test-retest reliability of the instrument over a three month span was reflected in the following coefficients for four teacher subjects: .79, .87, .80, and .96. The average, via Z scores, was .88.

Henriquez (1962) administered the resulting Q sort to 16 boys of low socioeconomic status and to 16 boys of middle class status. It will similarly be appropriate to utilize a group of 20 high-achievers and 20 low-achievers in the present research. Such relatively small sample sizes are appropriate for research with the Q technique in view of the fact that Stephenson (1953) has asserted that single-case studies and small sampling doctrine are not at the expense of legitimate accuracy and precision of experimentation when using the Q sort.

Henriquez's (1962) Q sort requires administration to the subjects on two separate occasions in order to obtain the student's idealized role sort (I

Sort) and the student's concept of the preferred role sort (CPR Sort). Correlations may then be obtained with an average teacher sort. Henriquez's results (1962) indicated that the idealized role concept of working-class boys was significantly different when the child had been rated by teachers to be adjusted as opposed to non-adjusted. Results also indicated that the general factor of middle class thinking or the teachers' preferred role (TPR) is an internally consistent sort that significantly approves attitudes of delay and control over attitudes of impulse gratification. Working class non-adjusted boys were found to be less likely than any other group of boys to favor control attitudes in their idealized role. All of the children perceived control items in the Q sort to be favored by their teachers. Also, non-adjusted middle-class boys presented conceptions of self-identified and expected role patterns that were relatively consistent internally, while the role identifications of these ten and eleven year old boys were not yet stabilized in regard to the other dimensions represented by the Q sort.

Henriquez's (1962) results support the idea that the current research will be able to successfully utilize the Q sort constructed by Henriquez (1962) to test the hypothesis that students who are high in academic achievement will possess identification with the teacher. Henriquez's (1962) remarks in regard to a factor analytic examination of sorts below, also sheds light on the validity of using this Q sort in the present study:

> ....(T)his factor analysis...shows that the representation of the theory in the Q sort yielded clearcut groupings of working class non-adjusted boys' idealized role sorts on the one hand and all other sorts on the other. It permits the conclusion that the particular sorts of this study

indicate that there is a middle class role designated by teachers, and understood by all children; that this role is idealized by middle class children and by the working class children who behaviorally conform to middle class demands; that those working class children who do not behaviorally adjust may not idealize this role. They may, at the extreme, be the only ones to idealize a role content of impulse gratification plus academic achievement concern (p. 133).

Given the structured nature of Henriquez's (1962) Q sort, the decision was made to obtain teacher perceptions of the children's adjustment. The math teacher rated all 40 children, while the English teachers (two) were each asked to rate the children for whom she was responsible for teaching English. The following instruction as used by Henriquez (1962) were given to the teachers:

> In order to arrive at an overall picture of some of the good and some of the difficult boys (children) in the fifth...grade, I should like you to list under the appropriate category:
>
> A. Troublesome Boys (Children)
>
> Those...who consistently break class-room and school rules, who disrupt class procedures, who resist your direction, who frequently argue or fight with the other children, who talk out, are unduly noisy, leave their seat when they should not, and the like. (Henriquez, 1962, p. 88),
>
> B. Well Adjusted Boys (Children)
>
> Those who usually conform to class and school rules, who are obedient, who get along well with other children, who usually do the right things, yet are active, constructive participants.

As in Henriquez's (1962) research study, if teachers believed the child to have shown neither behavioral constellation they were asked to so indicate. Two teacher ratings were obtained for each child. The resulting ratings are presented in Table 2. While Q sort is intended to provide the minority low-income fifth grade students' idealized role (I Sort) and preferred role (CPR Sort), adjusted and non-adjusted ratings will permit comparisons to Henriquez's (1962) research in the final discussion section.

The children's idealized role sort (I sort) and preferred role (CPR Sort) will be compared to the teachers' preferred role concepts (TPR Sort). The teachers' concept of the preferred role was obtained by having the teachers of the study (three) sort the Q cards according to the standards they hold for their students. The following instructions from Henriquez (1962) were given:

> This deck of cards contains sixty statements about how children feel about things. React to these statements according to the way you, as a teacher, consider it is most desireable for ten and eleven year old boys (and girls) to feel--in other words, the attitude you expect them to attain.
>
> In order to do this, sort the cards as follows: first note the eleven numbers given below. These numbers indicate the number of cards you will put into each pile. The two statements which seem to you to be the most desireable will go into the pile of 2 cards on the extreme left. Into the next pile, indicated by the 3, will go the 3 statements that you think are the next most desireable. On the far right will go the 2 statements you think are least desireable; into the pile marked 3 on the right will go the

Table 2

Teacher's Behavior Ratings of Children in Their Classes

| | Math teacher | English teacher #1 | English teacher #2 |
|---|---|---|---|
| # of Students taught | 40 | 24 | 16 |
| # rated well-adjusted: | 10 | 4 | 2 |
| # rated troublesome: | 26 | 19 | 11 |
| # rated neither | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| total # rated: | 40 | 24 | 16 |

the next least desireable; and so on. In other words, you will sort the cards into the eleven piles indicated, and the eleven categories represent a rank order from Most Desireable to Least Desireable.

The center pile of 10 cards can be regarded as a neutral pile, or a pile into which you throw those cards which may be ambiguous to you, about which you can't make up your mind, or which are left over after you have sorted the rest of the cards.

It is usually best to read all the cards through first rather rapidly. While reading them sort them into three piles corresponding to Good, Neutral, Bad. Then make the finer sorts from these three piles, always remembering that a card can always be removed from one pile to another. Other than being sure that you have placed the exact number indicated below into each pile, you may shift the cards around in any way you think best. Work rapidly but carefully.

The upper line of numbers are presented with the instructions. The numbers below the line represent the value assigned to each card in the group for computational purposes.

| Most Desireable | | | | | | | | | | Least Desirable |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| 10 | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |

(Henriquez, 1962, p. 92).

Administration of the Q sort required approximately twenty-five minutes for each of the three teachers. The results of the administration of the Q sort to the three fifth grade teachers of the students will be compared

against the sorts of the students in their class in data analysis.

The sort distribution illustrated above was also used for the students' sorts. The students' idealized role sorts (I Sort) were obtained first in testing sessions that averaged approximately twenty minutes. Students were given the following instructions at Q sort session one:

> I am interested in getting the opinions of some children about the statements on these cards. They tell about things people do and things they believe. I want you to sort these cards according to the way you and boys (children) your age believe is the best way to feel or to be, or the worst way to be. They may or may not actually be true of you, but sort them the way boys (children) like you think are best. (Henriquez, 1962, p. 96).

Following Henriquez (1962), the child was then helped to sort the 60 cards into three groups -- those children agree with most, those children considered a "bad" way to be, and a third neutral pile. The children then sorted the cards into the final distribution. To facilitate the sorting behavior of each child during the individual administration of the Q sort, the distribution appeared at the top of a large 17" x 44" poster board mat that was placed on a table in front of the child. In addition to the eleven card placement boxes indicated by the Q sort distribution, there were three boxes at the bottom of the mat for the initial sorting of the agree with the most pile, the "bad" way to be pile, and the neutral pile (placed in the middle). This first sort indicated the child's idealized role (I Sort).

As in Henriquez's (1962) study, the procedure was repeated seven days

later, with the children being given the following instructions:

> This time I want you to sort the cards according to the way a teacher would consider the best way for boys (children) to feel or to be. You may or may not agree with her. You may or may not be this way. The important thing is to sort the cards according to the way the teacher would think right. Make believe that you are the teacher and sort the cards the way you think she would (Henriquez, 1962, p. 96).

Children's preferred role (CPR Sort) concepts were obtained at Q sort session two, as children pretended to think and feel as their teachers would.

The facial expression task.

The facial expression task is a measurement technique utilizing a posterboard with five different facial expressions ranging from very unhappy (5) to very happy (1). Slots appear beneath the five facial expressions and permit placement of cards into the slots in response to statements appearing on the card. The technique was described by Gold, Feld, and Ruhland (1976) and utilized in research assessing student role conflict in a population of second and fifth graders (Ruhland, Gold, and Feld, 1978).

In the present study, the technique has been slightly modified, state ments have been replaced with questions, and the purpose of the task changed to permit obtaining the emotional quality of a studen's object relations with teachers. The task indicated whether or not high achievers in comparison to low achievers were able to recall a positive emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors. This objective in utilizing the instrument of measurement is different from

Ruhland, Gold, and Feld's (1978) intent to assess student role conflict and have children guess how teachers feel about things children do and how friends feel about student behaviors. The nineteen statements which Ruhland, Gold and Feld (1978) utilized were replaced in the current study with the thirteen questions which appear below:

1. How does this teacher feel about you most of the time?
2. How does she feel about your classwork most of the time?
3. How does she feel about the way you behave in her class?
4. How does she feel about the way you participate in class?
5. How does she feel about the homework you bring to class?
6. How does she feel about you when you take her tests?
7. How does she feel about your work on her tests?
8. How do you usually feel while in her class?
9. How do you think she feels about the way you look?
10. How do you feel about your performance (how well you do) in her class?
11. How do you usually feel about yourself in her class?
12. How do you feel about the subject she teaches?
13. How do you feel about this teacher most of the time?

These thirteen questions appeared on 3" x 5" cards. When students performed the facial expression task, the name of the teacher in whose class they were pretending to be in appeared on a 5" x 7" card to the left of the five faces. On the first occassion, students pretended to be in their math teacher's class and a week later they pretended to be in their English

teacher's class. On each occasion, students were given essentially the same instructions and orientation to the task that Gold, Feld, and Ruhland (1976) describe.

In accordance with Gold, Feld, and Ruhland's (1976) description, the posterboard was set up in horizontal array at about eye level where five round faces appeared on the 40" x 30" posterboard. Each face had two straight lines to depict eyes. The mouths on the faces varied to suggest different emotions; from left to right was a mouth-line curved symmetrically and radically downward; a line curved moderately downward; a straight line; a line curved curved moderately upward; a line curved radically upward. Under each face was an inscription to reinforce the emotion depicted; "very unhappy," "a little unhappy," "does not care or neutral," "a little happy," and "very happy." In addition, below each face and inscription was a slot for placement of the card by students.

To make sure the child understood the task, each child was asked what subject that teacher taught them and if they could pretend to be in that classroom while they answered some questions. The faces were pointed to and the inscriptions reinforcing the emotions depicted were read aloud to the child. To make sure the child understood, questions were briefly asked as to how someone's face would look in a few situations such as receiving a present or getting caught doing something not permitted by one's parents. In all instances, children readily understood the task.

Children were told that there were thirteen cards with questions about how the teacher felt and about how they felt while in that teacher's class.

The experimenter sat behind the posterboard out of the child's view, read the card aloud, handed the card around the posterboard to the child, asked the child to read the card aloud and place it through the slot that best answered the question. The experimenter recorded the child's answers from behind the posterboard.

The instrument with the nineteen statements designed by Gold, Feld, and Ruhland (1978) produced positive or negative correlations between responses to positively or negatively phrased behaviors. These correlations suggested the instruments validity. Since the nineteen statements had been replaced with thirteen questions, the pilot study described below was undertaken to obtain the reliability and validity of the modified instrument.

Pilot study on the facial expression task.

The subjects utilized in the pilot study were three eleven year old fifth grade students. Two of the children were Hispanic males and one child was a Black female. The three subjects were randomly chosen for participation in the pilot, along with one other child who failed to return his permission slip and was eliminated from the study. The three subjects in the pilot study were among the group of 40 students who returned parental permission slips. In the actual study, the three children of the pilot work were subjects #16, #4, and #21.

During the pilot study, the same instructions and orientation to the task were given as described above. These three students performed the task one week prior to the other students in the actual research study. They pretended to be in their English teacher's class this initial pilot study week.

The next week they pretended to be in their math class with all other subjects. The next week they pretended to be in their English teacher's classroom for a second time (retest) while all other subjects pretended to be in the English teacher's classroom for their first and only time.

A test-retest index of reliability was obtained in the pilot study utilizing the Spearman rank-order correlation coefficient. The test-retest correlations of coefficient were 0.98 for subject #16, 0.99 for subject #21, and 0.98 for subject #4. The resulting rank-order correlation coefficient were all significant p .05, two tailed test (See Table 3).

These test-retest findings of reliability suggests that with the thirteen questions utilized in the modified instrument reliable recollections of the feeling tone of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors can be obtained. The content validity of the modified instrument is suggested by the effective ascertaining of student's experience of object relations with teachers.

A sum total score of students' facial expression ratings on the task will be examined for differences in responses given by high-achievers as compared to low-achievers. High-achievers are more likely to generally perceive the teacher as possessing more positive feeling while interacting with the student. High achievers may see themselves as feeling more positive during school behaviors common to the classroom. A child responding to negative expectancies may perceive more negative affect or even more positive affect on the part of the teacher as a reward for low achievement. To the degree that teachers tend to be innocent of projecting

Table 3

Pilot Study Test-Retest Correlation Coefficients With the Modified Facial Expressions Task Instrument of Measurement

| | Subject #16 | | Subject #21 | | Subject #4 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 Questions | Test | Retest | Test | Retest | Test | Retest |
| 1. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 2. | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 3. | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 5. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 6. | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 7. | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 8. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 9. | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| 10. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 11. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 12. | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 13. | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Spearman r= | 0.9835* | | 0.9917* | | 0.9890* | |

* Probability $< .05$, two-tailed test

1. Test and Retest numbers are rank orders on task of 5=Very Unhappy to 1=Very Happy.

low expectancies, children who are high achievers will report greater positive affect on the part of self and teacher during their interactions.

Time perspective technique.

The time perspective technique to be utilized in the research is taken directly from Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980). They assess time perspective via a time line technique previously employed by Farnham-Diggory (1966) and by Gorman, Wessman, Schmeidler, and Thayer (1973). This technique will be employed to test the variable of time perspective. It is hypothesized that students who are high in academic achievement possess future time perspective.

Subjects were asked to translate temporal intervals into graphic representations of time spans. Each subject was presented with six sheets of white paper 11" x 8½" (280mm x 216mm), on which was printed a heavy black line 197mm long. Also, following Freire, et., al., (1980) the left starting point of the line was defined by a short vertical line about 2mm high, where a so-called "little man" was to stand (p. 249). Freire et. al.'s (1980) description below was followed:

> On the top of each sheet was printed one of the following time intervals: (a) three hours, (b) one day, (c) two weeks, (d) six months, (e) five years, and (f) 80 years. The sheets were presented one-by-one in the listed order. Before presenting the first sheet, the E took from a paper bag the "little man," an H-O scale workman about 17mm in height. (In the present study a brown cardboard man of the same height will be used). The tiny figure was made of unpainted white

> plasic and stood on a base. The little man was placed at the extreme left of the line on the first sheet (three hours) and S was asked to draw a mark across the line that represented how far ahead of the little man three hours would be. The same pocedure was repeated for the remaining time intervals (p. 249).

In accord with their predictions, Freire et. al., (1980) found that lower-class Ss gave proportionately greater representation to the near present than did the middle-class Ss (e.g., Lower class for three hours = 106.2mm versus middle class = 23.2 mm). This result was interpreted as possibly indicating the greater salience of the present in lower-class Ss' lives. Moreover, as the time periods to be graphically represented became progressively more distant into the future, "the difference between both groups became correspondingly smaller, until there was no significant difference between the lower-class and middle-class samples in the graphic representations of the 80-year interval" (p. 250). These differences were highly significant as revealed by a multiple discriminant analysis.

The children in their study were aged 7 - 10 (n=54) and were of diverse ethnic and class backgrounds. The technique should be appropriate for use in the present study.

Gorman, Wessman, Schmeidler and Thayer (1973) used this technique to attain subjective estimates of times in the past and future which could be reasonably expected to be experienced within the Ss' own life spans so that "scalings of personally relevant time spans could be achieved" (p. 169). Subjects were 90 undergraduate volunteers, and the placement of birth and

death locations fit well the Ss known birthdates and their appropriate actuarial date of expected death. Their estimates had larger coefficients of relative variability and were significantly more variable than each of the corresponding estimates of past time (p. 170). Their relevant conclusions are below:

> ...This study and previous investigations found consistent psychophysical relationships between chronological calendar time and magnitude estimations or linear representations of subjective temporal location. . . Undoubtedly, the Ss' ages and the particular experimental task affect the specific numerical values obtained. The proportionately grreater magnitude of the representation of the near past and future relative to the distant past and future indicates their relative dominance in the phenomenological field (p. 171).

As a measure of time perspective the time line technique appears to have validity and reliability as exemplified by the consistently significant findings attained by this measurement.

Future expectations interview.

Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980) followed the work of Farnham-Diggory (1966) in performing an Expectancy Interview to assess Ss' projections of themselves into the future: that is, their images of their own future behavior" (p. 250). This interview will be utilized to test the variable of imagery of a future self. It is hypothesized that students who are high in academic achievement will possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

In line with previous research, subjects were asked briefly to tell what they expected to be doing tomorrow, next week, one month, six months, one year, five, ten, 20, and in subsequent 10-year interals until the age of 90 (Freire et. al., 1980, p. 250).

Students' responses were content analyzed following the work of Freier et. al.(1980). They found that essentially 11 categories emerged in their work:

> 1) Parents home, 2) Playing, 3) School, 4) College, Job, 5) Marry, own home, adult miscellaneous, 6) Children, 7) Moving and traveling, 8) Aging, 9) Death, 10) Don't know, 11) Other (pp. 252-253).

Freire et. al., (1980) obtained the percentage of reference to each category given by lower-class and middle-class groups. Significant differences were found between lower-class and middle-class groups for all categories except three. The highest percentage of responses for lower-class Ss was in the playing category, while the highest for middle-class Ss was in the College-and-job category. Second highest for both groups was the school category. The lower-class children reported images of their own future behavior that were more uncertain, constricted and diffuse, made up largely of pleasureable and reassuring images, and of their own immediate experience. On the other hand, the middle-class children's image of their own future behaviors emerged as more achievement oriented, more certain, and more realistic.

The Expectancy Interview seems to possess both validity and reliability and should be able to attain the future imagery of the self for the

low-income Black and Hispanic school children in the present research.

Description of the Procedures

Subjects were administered the instruments of measurement at an intermediate public school in the Bronx of New York City during a one month period from the end of May to the end of June 1984. Testing was conducted by the author of the dissertation. Approximately six hours per school day were spent at the intermediate public school in order to accomplish the testing of all subjects before the end of the school term.

The principal provided a large room with a window and several large tables for testing of subjects. The teachers were informed by the principal of the investigators presence and purpose at the school and encouraged them to release students from class time upon request. Teachers were cooperative for the most part and tended to inform the investigator in advance of class examinations, trips, etc. .,. The principal facilitated children being given letters of permission for participation in the study. Parents were asked to offer permission for their children to be interviewed by a visiting teacher. Parents were told that students were selected as representative of the top students in the school's fifth grade. Parents were told that their child would spend approximately one hour out of class to participate in this special project. Only three children failed to return the permission slip and could not be participants in the study. A fourth child was absent near the end of the study and was not pursued for further testing since the requisite 40 subjects had been tested.

Prior to the formal period of testing, the math teacher and English

teacher of 54 students was interviewed. These teachers were asked to make a judgement as to whether or not each child was achieving up to his or her learning potential. The math and English teacher of 44 students gave the same assessment of children, indicating that agreement from two independent teachers had been received. A group of twenty students who were seen as achieving up to their potential (high achievers) and a group of twenty students who were seen as not achieving up to their potential (low achievers) were tested by the study's end based on these teacher ratings of their achievement status. During this period, teachers were asked to rate children as either troublesome, well-adjusted, or as neither. The math teacher and the two English teachers were also given the Q sort to obtain their expectations for students' behavior.

A testing schedule was devised for the formal period of the study. Following this schedule, each student was seen four times at periods ranging from 15 minutes to 35 minutes. During the first week of testing, approximately eight to ten students were seen each day for administration of the Time Perspective Technique. This measurement took approximately eight minutes to administer. Immediately following administration of this instru ment, the Q sort was performed for children's idealized role sorts (I Sort). This task required approximately twenty minutes.

During the second week of testing, students were administered the Future Expectations Interview (approximately ten minutes) and the Q sort for children's preferred role sorts (CPR Sort). This second Q sort also took approximately twenty minutes to complete.

During a third week of testing, again in the same order as in previous weeks the students were seen for individual administration of the Facial Expression task for the math teacher's classroom setting (approximately eight minutes). The Facial Expression task for the English teacher's classroom setting was administered during week four of the study. For the three children of the pilot study, this was their retest two weeks later for their English teacher's classroom setting. Two weeks earlier these three pilot study subjects had been given this task in addition to that week's generally scheduled testing for all subjects.

The testing schedule devised permitted the testing of students in an orderly fashion without disrupting classroom time for unreasonable amounts of time. The schedule insured the administration of the Q sort at times I and II one week apart, as were the administration of the Facial Expression task at time I and II. Exceptions to this order were occassionally necessitated by students who had been absent and had to be tested as soon as possible. In such cases it was usually possible to test the child within 8-9 days after the time I testing.

Discussion of the Problems and Limitations

There were a number of problems and limitations that were encountered in the process of implementing this research which should be considered when interpreting these data. An error in typing the questions of the Q sort resulted in a change in card #7. Instead of asking children to sort the statement "When there's something interesting to do I often skip my homework" children sorted the statement "When there's something interest

ing to do I often skip my lunch". This error would prevent systemaic comaprison to the results of Henriquez (1962) who utilized the correct question.

The Time Perspective Technique seemed to shock, surprise, and ask children to perform an absurd task, suggesting the need for revisions in the instrument. At least with a population of low-income subjects, more meaningful data could be obtained if children knew in advance that there would be six time estimates of increasing lengths of time.

Data analysis of the Facial Expression Task would have been more revealing if the category of College and Job had been broken down into separate categories. To avoid increasing the number of categories, cata gories of aging and death might be combined.

The findings are also limited by the fact that the results may only be applicable to sudents who clearly possess the ability to achieve at comparable levels. Children were drawn from the top two tracks of the fifth grade. Of perhaps even more concern to some educators and psychologists is the achievement behavior of children in the middle to lowest tracks. A search for factors impacting the achievement of children in these lower tracks needs to be undertaken, while the variables of the present study might be a good starting point for such research.

# Chapter Four: Results of the Statistical Analysis of Data

## Results of Data Analysis

### Chapter Overview and Introduction

The statistical analysis of the data obtained through administration of the four instruments of measurement are presented in this chapter. Results of administration of the Q sort Technique, Facial Expression Task, the Future Expectations Interview, and the Time Perspective Technique are presented as they allowed rejection or acceptance of the null hypotheses. The chapter presents the four hypotheses, a summary of the statistics relative to the hypothesis, and concludes with a statement of rejection or acceptance of the null hypothesis.

### Hypothesis One

Students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess positive identification with the teacher.

#### Results of administration of the Q sort.

Administration of the Q sort to the 40 children of the study produced two sets of data. A data set which presented children's idealized role conceptions. This data set was called childrens' idealized role sort (I Sort). A second data set comprised childrens' perceptions of the values of teachers

as significant authorities. This data set was called children's preferred role sort (CPR Sort). Children's idealized role conceptions were elicited when children sorted the 60 cards presenting their beliefs regarding the best way to be or to feel, or the worst way to be for children their age. Children's preferred role conceptions were elicited when children sorted the 60 cards one week later pretending to be a teacher and sorting the cards according to how they thought she would think.

A third data set was made up of the math and two English teachers' sorts of the 60 statements according to the way they, as teachers, considered desireable for ten and eleven year old children to feel, or the attitudes they expected such children to attain. Teachers in this way sorted cards from most desireable to least desireable feelings and attitudes on the part of children. This third data set was called the teacher's preferred role sort (TPR Sort). Sixteen children had one English teacher and 24 children had a different English teacher, while all children had the same math teacher. The decision was made to compare children to those teachers with whom they had actual contact and real opportunities for identification with that teacher. This third data set of teacher's preferred role sorts were distinguished as being those of either the math or English teacher in the following way: TPR Sort= TPR-M (math teacher) and TPR-E (English teacher).

In order to test hypothesis one, comparisons were made between children's idealized role sorts (I Sort), the childrens' preferred role sort (CPR Sort), the math teacher's preferred role sort (TPR-M), and the English

teachers' preferred role sorts (TPR-E). Comparisons between these variables were statistically analyzed by way of distance equations where the mean distance was obtained between the sorts of I and CPR, I and TPR-M, I and TPR-E, CPR and TPR-M, and CPR and TPR-E (See Tables 4 and 5).

These various mean distance comparisons were statistically analyzed for differences between means where t-tests for the probaility of that difference was obtained. Results of t-tests indicated that high achievers idealized role sorts (I Sort) were closer to their preferred role sorts (CPR Sort) than were those of low achievers. The mean distance between high achievers' and low achievers' I Sort and CPR Sort (16.64 and 18.82) was significant with a one-tailed proability of .042.

This significant difference between high and low achievers seems to suggest that high achievers' opinions about what they consider the best way and worst way for children their age to be or feel is closer to their conception of how they think teachers would want them to strive to be or to feel than are low achievers' opinions. The fact that low achievers' idealized role sort, or opinion about how they feel children their age should be or feel is further away from their conception of how they think teachers want them to behave suggests possible role conflict. This was consistent with Henriquez' (1962) findings.

Clearly the most meaningful statement to be made from this significant difference is that high achievers tend to approximate in their idealized role sort those preferred role expectations held for them. Thus, they may not only feel less conflict in the student role, but may by implication tend to

possess greater identification with teachers. This would be the case if their sense of teacher expectations is in fact close to those actual expectations held by teachers.

Data analysis reveals that high achievers' idealized role (I Sort) when compared to their English teacher's sense of the preferred role (TPR-E) for children their age is closer than that same comparison for low achievers. The mean distance between I and TPR-E for high achievers was 19.12 and for low achievers it was 20.92. This difference between means was significant with a t= -2.02, one-tailed probability of 0.025. Thus, high achievers when compared to low achievers tended to possess greater identification with their English teacher than did low achievers. High achievers possessed a more accurate understanding of the teacher's values. High achievers tended to be closer to, or more like, their English teachers than did low achievers in their sense of the best and worst ways to be or to feel in the student role. High achievers' significantly superior ability to approximate in their behavior those expectations of their English teachers may contribute to their higher academic achievement.

A comparison was made for all 40 students as a group between the mean distance of students' idealized role (I Sort) from the math teachers' preferred role (TPR-M) and the mean distance of students' preferred role (CPR Sort) from the math teacher's preferred role (TPR-M). Results indicated that there was less distance between CPR and TPR-M (mean= 17.53) than between I and TPR-M (mean= 19.73). This result was significant (t= 5.19, p= 0.00, one-tailed), suggesting that when students pretended to

think as a teacher would, they produced attitudes that were like those actually held by the math teacher. Their sorts were closer to the math teacher's sorts when they pretended to think as a teacher than when they presented their own opinions.

These patterns held in regard to the English teachers. Children's attempts to pretend were closer to the English teacher's attitudes than were their opinions. Here the mean distance between I and TPR-E was 20.01, and the mean distance between CPR an TRP-E was 18.35, representing a significant difference between means ($t= 4.12$, $p= 0.00$, one-tailed test). All children were able to effectively identify the atitudes of the teachers with whom they come in daily contact at school. The resulting presentations of teacher views were significantly different from their own views. Thus, as a result of such daily contact with teachers, minority children learn what teachers think. More importantly, children may achieve at different levels, despite inherent ability depending upon how well they internalize teacher attitudes.

While examining the group of 40 students as a whole, an examination of students' perceptions of the teachers' expectations approximated the actual expectations held by their math teacher better than they were able to approximate the attitudes of their English teachers (CPR and TPR-M, mean distance= 17.53; and CPR and TPR-E, mean distance= 18.35), representing a significant finding ($t= -2.82$, $p =0.004$, one-tailed test).

Within each group of high achievers and low achievers a number of comparisons were also made. Although as stated above, students as a whole

were more accurate in relation to the math teacher. A separate examination of high and low achievers' idealized role sort (I Sort) and the math teacher's sort (TPR-M) revealed that the high achievers were more similar to the math teacher than were the low achievers (High= 19.04 versus Low= 20.43). This trend suggests that high achievers possess greater identification with the teacher. When pretending to be the teacher, high achievers were more accurate than were low achievers in identifying the values, expectations and attitudes of teachers (High= 17.16 versus Low= 17.91). Similarly, high achievers were more similar than low achievers to the English teachers when identifying the values, expectations and attitudes of teachers (High= 18.29 versus Low= 18.40).

Evidence generated from administration of the Q sort indicates that high achievers are more identified with teachers and are more accurate in perceiving the values, attitudes, and expectations of these teachers. Although low achievers also could present the expectations of teachers as they have perceived them, the high achievers performed this task more accurately. High achievers' idealized role conceptions indicated that they had internalized the values of such significant authorities as teachers in a way that was significantly closer to the values held by teachers than were those internalized by low achievers. The first hypothesis of the investigation is affirmed. Students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess positive identification with the teacher. The null hypothessis of no difference can be rejected with confidence at the .05 level of significance (See Table 4 and Table 5).

Table 4

A Comparison of Students own Attitudes, Perception of Teacher's Attitudes, and Actual Teacher's Attitudes for High and Low Achievers

| | High Achievers | | Low Achievers | t values | Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | I[1] | n=20 | n=20 | df=38 | One-tailed test |
| TPR-M[2] | I | 19.038 | 20.4274 | -1.32 | 0.098 |
| | CPR[3] | 17.1566 | 17.9177 | -1.05 | 0.1515 |
| TPR-E[4] | I | 19.1180 | 20.9216 | -2.02 | 0.025* |
| | CPR | 18.2870 | 18.4063 | -0.21 | 0.416 |
| I and CPR | | 16.6415 | 18.8218 | -1.78 | 0.042* |

* $p < 0.05$.

1. Children's idealized role sort of their own attitudes.

2. Math teacher's sort of her attitudes and expectations for children.

3. Children's preferred role sort, reflecting perception of teacher attitudes.

4. English teacher's sort of her attitudes and expectations for children.

Table 5

A Comparison of All Students Own Attitudes and Perception of Teacher's Attitudes and Actual Teacher's Attitudes

| | | n=40 | df=39<br>t values | Probability<br>One-tailed test |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TPR-M[2] | I[1] | 19.7328 | 5.19 | 0.000* |
| | CPR[3] | 17.5342 | | |
| CPR | TPR-M | 17.5342 | -2.82 | 0.004* |
| | TPR-E[4] | 18.3467 | | |
| TPR-E | I | 20.198 | 4.12 | 0.000* |
| | CPR | 18.3467 | | |

* Probability < 0.05, significant one-tailed test.

1. Children's idealized role sort of their own attitudes.

2. Math teacher's sort of her attitudes and expectations for children.

3. Children's preferred role sort, reflecting perception of teacher attitudes.

4. English teacher's sort of her attitudes and expectations for children.

Hypothesis Two

Students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement are able to recall a positive emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom encounters.

Results of administration of the facial expression task.

In view of the nature of the facial expression task, where a range of scores of 5 to 1 corresponded with the facial expressions of very unhappy, a little unhappy, neutral, a little happy, and very happy respectively, a sum of scores could be obtained. Statistical analysis of the second hypothesis of the study was accomplished by comparing the sum of scores of high achievers and low achievers for the English and math teacher's classroom settings (See Table 6).

The sum of facial expression task scores for the English teacher classroom setting (ENGLSUM) and for the math teacher's classroom setting (MATHSUM) were obtained by adding the scores 5-1 for each of the 13 questions asked of high and low achievers. The mean scores of high achievers and low achievers on the facial expression task should be placed in the context of a lowest possible score of 13 and highest possible score of 65. A score of thirteen would result from choosing only very happy faces (score value of 1) for all thirteen questions of the task. A score of 65 would result from choosing only very unhappy faces (score value of 5) for all thirteen questions of the task. The means of students on ENGLSUM and MATHSUM

Table 6

A Comparison of High Achievers' and Low Achievers' Recollection of Feelings for the English and Math Teachers' Classroom

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENGLSUM[1] | n= | Mean | SD | t value= | df= | Prob=(one tailed) |
| High Achievers | 20 | 22.80 | 6.040 | -2.44 | 38 | 0.0095* |
| Low Achievers | 20 | 27.95 | 7.251 | | | |
| MATHSUM[2] | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 24.30 | 6.906 | -3.28 | 38 | 0.001* |
| Low Achievers | 20 | 32.25 | 8.353 | | | |

* Probability $<$ 0.05.

1. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the English teacher's classroom.

2. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the Math teacher's classroom.

and the differences between means among high achievers and low achievers should be understood in this context of meaningfully possible scores.

The actual comparison between high achievers and low achievers for significant differences in choice of facial expressions was obtained by comparing the mean sum of scores of the two groups with t-tests, one-tailed probability. In addition, Pearson correlation coefficients were obtained between ENGLSUM and the students responses to the 13 questions for the English teacher E1 to E13). These same correlation coefficients were obtained between MATHSUM and the students' responses to the 13 questions for the math teacher (M1 to M13). The strength and direction of the relationship between each of the thirteen questions of the facial expression tasks and the sum of scores on the task will be obtained in this way.

It can be seen in Table 5 that ENGLSUM mean for high achievers was 22.80 while the mean for low achievers was 27.95. The standard deviation for high achievers was 6.04, while it was 7.25 for low achievers. The MATHSUM mean for high achievers was 24.30 and 32.25 for low achievers. Here, the standard deviation was 6.91 for high achievers and 8.35 for low achievers. These comparisons between high achievers and low achievers for choice of facial expression on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors indicated that high achievers consistently chose more positive facial expressions than did low achievers. This was indicated by the fact that the difference between means of ENGLSUM was significant (t=-2.44, one-tailed probability =0.0095). High achievers and low achievers were even further apart in their selection of facial expressions on MATHSUM

where a significant difference between means was also found (t=-3.28, one-tailed probability = 0.001).

Part whole correlations of the separate items with both ENGLSUM and MATHSUM (total sum of item scores) were significant below .01 level, indicating a high internal consistency for these measures. These correlations appear in Appendix C (ENGLSUM) and Appendix D (MATHSUM).

In view of the reliability and validity of the instrument of measurement utilized in assessing differences in the emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, and significant differences between the means of high and low achievers on the task, the second hypothesis is affirmed. High achievers and low achievers significantly differed on the variable of choice of facial expression recalled on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors. The null hypothesis of no difference can be rejected with confidence below .05 level of significance, one-tailed test.

Hypothesis Three

Students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess future time perspective.

Results of administration of the time perspective technique.

Results of administration of the time perspective technique were analyzed by comparing the mean temporal span in millimeters which high and low achievers marked off for each of the time spans subjects were asked

to mark off on the 197mm long time line. The group means of high and low achievers were compared by way of t-tests for the time intervals of three hours, one day, two weeks, six months, five years, and eighty years. Results of t-tests indicated that for each of the six temporal spans estimated by subjects no significant differences could be found and no trends in the data could be detected that were meaningful in any way (See Table 7).

In fact, subjects performance on the task was quite perplexing and suggested that subjects were themselves quite perplexed as they attempted to perform the task. Only 5 subjects understood the task in such a way that they had 6 different values for each of the successive temporal spans without inversions. Nine additional subjects of the total group of 40 subjects selected successively greater values for increasing temporal spans. However, these 9 subjects' performance was affected by premature ceiling effects where they selected the highest possible length in millimeters before the final time estimate.

The main problem with this task for all subjects appeared to be this ceiling effect. Where children had prematurely chosen the greatest possible value, 197mm, all subsequent time estimates were meaningless. A discussion of these results, a comparison with the results of Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980), and a critique of the instrument will follow in the discussion section.

The null hypothessis of no difference cannot be rejected. The results of t-tests suggest no difference in groups of high and low achievers exists on the variable of future time perspective as measured by the time perspective

Table 7

Comparisons of High Achievers and Low Achievers on the Variable of Future Time Perspective

| Time # | Group | Mean | SD | t value | df | Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Time 1 | High | 123.30 | 42.163 | 1.28 | 38 | 0.105 |
| | Low | 103.40 | 55.562 | | | |
| Time 2 | High | 157.35 | 47.034 | 0.59 | 38 | 0.2275 |
| | Low | 148.65 | 45.458 | | | |
| Time 3 | High | 162.05 | 47.44 | 0.74 | 38 | 0.2305 |
| | Low | 150.00 | 54.638 | | | |
| Time 4 | High | 177.25 | 43.960 | 0.23 | 38 | 0.4085 |
| | Low | 174.30 | 35.437 | | | |
| Time 5 | High | 181.90 | 25.269 | 0.52 | 38 | 0.3035 |
| | Low | 177.20 | 31.624 | | | |
| Time 6 | High | 189.80 | 30.797 | 0.15 | 38 | 0.440 |
| | Low | 188.60 | 17.095 | | | |

Results were not significant and no meaningful trends in the predicted direction were found.

technique. Hypothesis three was not affirmed.

Hypothesis Four

Students who are high in academic achievement in comparison to students who are low in academic achievement possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

Results of administration of the future expectations interview.

Table 8 shows results of administration of the future expectations interview which required comparisons between high achievers and low achievers for the 11 categories of response in which answers to the fifteen interview questions were content analyzed. The mean number of responses in categories for the group of high achievers and the group of low achievers were compared for statistically significant differences with t-tests.

To further assess if students possessed achievement oriented and realistic imagery of a future self, more sophisticated analysis of categories was devised. A category called GRIND was established which computed the difference between school and play categories. This was done in an effort to detect the extent to which students who were high or low achievers chose a proportionately greater amount of school responses against playing responses. The idea behind GRIND was the nose to the grindstone concept wherein a student values school acitivities and engages in them more than he or she engages in play activities. A category called PREMCOLL represented a child's future imaginings or college of job activities in the next six months to five years. Selection of college or job activities was seen as being unrealistic in so far as the child either possessed a premature

notion of when college would begin (given being age 10 or 11 at time of interview) or planned to have a job at age 15 or 16.

Results indicate that high achievers in comparison to low achievers possess imagery of a future self that engages in significantly more school activities. The future imagery of high achievers is more academically oriented, and by implication more achievement oriented, than the imagery of low achievers. The mean number of school responses for the group of high achievers was significantly different from the group of low achievers mean number of school responses (High mean= 3.6, Low mean= 2.6, t= 2.41, one-tailed probability= 0.0105).

A comparison of high and low achievers on the category GRIND, indicated that the difference between means with t-tests was significant (High mean= 3.25, Low mean= 1.90, t= 2.49, one-tailed probability= 0.0085). High achievers engaged in proportionately more school than play activities. Possession of this behavior pattern of nose to grindstone apparently contributes to higher academic achievement on the part of the group of high achievers.

To the extent that high achievers were expected to possess more realistic imagery of a future self in addition to more achievement oriented imagery, results of the PREMCOLL analysis were significant as a one-tailed t-test. On the variable of PREMCOLL, low achievers possessed significantly more unrealistic and premature notions of when they would engage in college and or job activities than did high achievers (High mean= 0.20, Low mean= 0.55, t= -1.96, one-tailed probability= 0.029). Thus, low

achievers images of their future self were more unrealistic than the imagery of high achievers.

Although the finding is not statistically significant, low achievers tended to possess more uncertain imagery of their future self. Low achievers responded with don't know for future times of tomorrow to ten years from now (DK1-7) more than did high achievers (High mean= 0.75, Low mean= 1.0, t= -0.77, one-tailed probability= 0.222). This trend suggests that low achievers possess future imagery of their self that is more uncertain. A similar trend was suggested by the higher don't know responses for twenty years to ninety years (DK 8-15) where low achievers were higher in mean number of don't knows (High mean= 1.30, Low mean= 1.35, t= -0.10, one-tailed probability =0.461). Total don't know responses (DK1-15) also presented this trend of greater uncertainty on the part of low achievers (High mean= 2.05, Low mean= 2.35, t= -0.40, one-tailed probability= 0.347).

An additional trend was found in the data wherein low achievers possessed imagery of their future self that engaged in more playing activities than did the imagery of the future self of high achievers (High mean= 0.35, Low mean= 0.70, t= -1.43, one-tailed probability= 0.0805). This trend in response which fell in the play category suggests that high achievers may be more achievement oriented or at least tend to imagine less of their future behavior as being play activity. Together with the significant finding of more school responses on the part of high achievers a pattern of behavior emerges among high achievers that is conducive to academic achievement. Children who imagine their future behavior as

comprising more school and less play activity are more likely to achieve at a higher level in the academic arena than children who do not possess this pattern of future behavior.

Hypothesis four was affirmed. Beyond the trends in the data, the significant findings with t-tests suggests that high achievers in comparison to low achievers possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self. The null hypothesis of no difference between the groups of high achievers and low achievers on this variable of possession of realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self can be rejected with confidence (See Table 8).

Additional Data Analyses

Among the additional data analyses performed beyond the investigation of the four hypotheses, the behavioral ratings of the three teachers of the study were utilized for further statistical analysis (See Table 9). The math teacher (T1) had rated all 40 children as being either troublesome, well-adjusted, or neither. The two English teachers rated those children whom they taught. One English teacher (T2) rated 24 children and the other English teacher (T3) rated the remaining 16 children. Each child received two ratings.

In order to facilitate statistical analysis with a sufficient number of subjects, a two step rule was devised whereby the rating of neither was converted to either a troublesome or well-adjusted rating. Since in no case did both teachers rate a child as neither, it was possible to view a rating of neither as a deferment of judgement and to accept the rating of the teacher

Table 8

Comparisons of High Achievers and Low Achievers on the Variable of Future Imagery of Self

| Variable | n=20 Group | Mean | SD | t value | df | One-tailed Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| PLAY | High | 0.3500 | 0.587 | -1.43 | 38 | 0.0805 |
| | Low | 0.7000 | 0.923 | | | |
| SCHOOL | High | 3.6000 | 1.501 | 2.41 | 38 | 0.0105** |
| | Low | 2.6000 | 1.095 | | | |
| GRIND[1] | High | 3.2500 | 1.803 | 2.49 | 38 | 0.0085** |
| | Low | 1.9000 | 0.362 | | | |
| PREMCOLL[2] | High | 0.2000 | 0.410 | -1.96 | 38 | 0.029* |
| | Low | 0.5500 | 0.686 | | | |
| DK1-7[3] | High | 0.7500 | 1.070 | -0.77 | 38 | 0.222 |
| | Low | 1.0000 | 0.973 | | | |

Table 8 Continued

| Variable | n=20 Group | Mean | SD | t value | df | One-tailed Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DK8-15[4] | High | 1.3000 | 1.838 | -0.10 | 38 | 0.461 |
| | Low | 1.3500 | 1.309 | | | |
| DK-ALL5 | High | 2.0500 | 2.685 | -0.40 | 38 | 0.347 |
| | Low | 2.3500 | 2.059 | | | |

** Probability < 0.05.

1. School responses against play responses

2. Job or College responses before age 15-16.

3 Don't know responses for tomorrow to 10 years from now.

4. Don't know responses for 20 years to 90 years from now

5. Don't know responses for tomorrow to 90 years from now.

who had made a judgement of troublesome or well-adjusted. The rule followed in establishing just two categories was a follows: If teacher ratings were identical the child received the rating. If a child had received a troublesome and neither rating the child was seen as troublesome. If a child received a well-adjusted and neither rating the child was seen as well-adjusted.

The behavioral rating total (BEHTOT) which resulted from the two-step rule of categorizing teacher's separate behavioral ratings was used in further data analysis. The BEHTOT variable permitted meaningful contrasts among the 1) original group of 20 high achievers, and from within the original group of 20 low achievers, a subgroup of 2) 9 well-adjusted low achievers, and a subgroup of 3) 11 troublesome low achievers. The behavior ratings were not meaningful for the group of 20 high achievers. However, when the troublesome low achievers were pulled out from the whole group of low achievers, some discrimination from the whole group of high achievers was lost. A number of meaningful and significant differences emerged based on behavior against the variable of emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors (ENGLSUM and MATHSUM) and against some of the future imagery of the self variable's categories (School, GRIND, PREMCOLL).

Whereas the investigation of hypothesis two revealed significant differences between the high and low achievers on the variable of choice of facial expression recalled on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, a comparison of high achievers (n=20) and well adjusted

low achievers (n=9) showed no significant difference between these groups. Well-adjusted low achievers were not different from high achievers in their recollection of the emotional tone felt on the part of self and teacher in that teacher's classroom. This finding was true for both the math and English teacher's classroom (See Table 9).

A comparison of high achievers and troublesome low achievers revealed that these two groups were significantly different in their recollection of the facial expression on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors. When investigating the classroom setting of the English teacher, high achievers (n=20) and troublesome low achievers (n=11) were significantly different in group mean score on the variable of ENGLSUM (high mean= 22.80, troublesome low mean= 31.09, t= -3.40, one-tailed probability= 0.001). Similarly, for the math teacher's classroom setting these two groups were significantly different in group mean score on the variable of MATHSUM (high mean= 24.30, troublesome low mean= 35.54, t= -4.26, one-tailed probability= 0.000). Thus, despite well-adjusted low achievers loss of discriminability from high achievers, troublesome low achievers remained significantly discriminable from high achievers (See Table 10).

A within group comparison of low achievers as a whole revealed that the subgroups of well-adjusted (n=9) and troublesome (n=11) low achievers were significantly different in their group mean score on both ENGLSUM and MATHSUM. On the variable ENGLSUM, well-adjusted low achievers were like high achievers in having a lower mean score on the facial

Table 9

Summary of the Loss of Discriminability Between Groups on the Facial Expression Task When Behavior Ratings are considered

| | n= | Mean | SD | t value= | df= | One-tailed Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENGLSUM[1] | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 22.80 | 6.040 | -2.44 | 38 | 0.0095* |
| Low Achievers | 20 | 27.95 | 7.251 | | | |
| ENGLSUM | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 22.80 | 6.040 | -0.56 | 27 | 0.290 |
| Well-Adjusted Low | 9 | 24.11 | 5.326 | | | |
| MATHSUM[2] | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 24.30 | 6.906 | -3.28 | 38 | 0.001** |
| Low Achievers | 20 | 32.25 | 8.353 | | | |
| MATHSUM | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 24.30 | 6.906 | -1.34 | 27 | 0.096 |
| Well Adjusted Low | 9 | 28.22 | 8.167 | | | |

* Probability $< 0.05$.

1. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the English teacher's classroom.

2. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the Math teacher's classroom.

Table 10

Summary of the Differences Between Groups Which Remain on the Facial Expression Task When Behavior Ratings are Considered

| | n= | Mean | SD | t value= | df= | One-tailed Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENGLSUM[1] | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 22.80 | 6.040 | -2.44 | 38 | 0.0095* |
| Low Achievers | 20 | 27.95 | 7.251 | | | |
| ENGLSUM | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 22.80 | 6.040 | -3.40 | 29 | 0.001* |
| Troublesome Low | 11 | 31.09 | 7.286 | | | |
| MATHSUM[2] | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 24.30 | 6.906 | -3.28 | 38 | 0.001* |
| Low Achievers | 20 | 32.25 | 8.353 | | | |
| MATHSUM | | | | | | |
| High Achievers | 20 | 24.30 | 6.906 | -4.26 | 29 | 0.000* |
| Troublesome Low | 11 | 35.54 | 7.258 | | | |

* Probability $<$ 0.05.

1. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the English teacher's classroom.

2. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the Math teacher's classroom.

expression task than did troublesome low achievers (well-adjusted low mean= 24.11, troublesome low mean= 31.09, t= -2.39, one-tailed probability= 0.014). Also, on the variable of MATHSUM, well-adjusted low achievers were like high achievers in having a lower mean score on the facial expression task than did troublesome low achievers (well-adjusted low mean= 28.22, troublesome low mean= 35.54, t= -2.12, one-tailed probability= 0.024). Table 11 summarizes these group mean differences and well-adjusted low achievers' similarity to high achievers when contrasted against the troublesome low achievers.

When further examining the variable of future imagery of the self with the distinction between well-adjusted and troublesome low achievers, some discrimination from the whole group of high achievers was lost. Although the groups of high and low achievers were distinctly different with significant group mean differences on the future imagery of the self categories of School, GRIND and PREMCOLL, these differences broke down when the subgroups of well-adjusted and troublesome low achievers were examined. High achievers (n=20) and well-adjusted low achievers (n=9) were not different on the variable of future imagery for the categories of School, GRIND, or PREMCOLL. On these categories, well-adjusted low achievers were like high achievers. The loss of discriminability of the group of high and low achievers which occurred when the troublesome and well-adjusted low group subgroups were established is summarized in Table 12.

Troublesome low achievers, on the other hand, remained distinguishable from high achievers as a group. Troublesome low achievers (n=11) and

Table 11

Within Low Achiever Group Comparisons on the Facial Expression Task When Behavior Ratings are Considered

| ENGLSUM[1] | n= | Mean | SD | t value= | df= | One-tailed Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Well-Adjusted Low | 9 | 24.11 | 5.326 | -2.39 | 18 | 0.014* |
| Troublesome Low | 11 | 31.09 | 7.286 | | | |
| MATHSUM[2] | | | | | | |
| Well-Adjusted Low | 9 | 28.22 | 8.167 | -2.12 | 18 | 0.024* |
| Troublesome Low | 11 | 35.54 | 7.258 | | | |

* Probability < 0.05.

1. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the English teacher's classroom.

2. The sum of choice of facial expressions for the Math teacher's classroom.

Table 12

Summary of the Loss of Discriminability Between Groups on Future Imagery of Self When Behavior Ratings are Considered

| Variable | Group | N= | Mean | SD | t value | df | Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SCHOOL | High | 20 | 3.6000 | 1.501 | 2.41 | 38 | 0.0105* |
| | Low | 20 | 2.6000 | 1.095 | | | |
| SCHOOL Well-Adj. | High | 20 | 3.6000 | 1.501 | 1.63 | 27 | 0.057 |
| | Low | 9 | 2.6667 | 1.225 | | | |
| GRIND[1] | High | 20 | 3.2500 | 1.803 | 2.49 | 38 | 0.0085* |
| | Low | 20 | 1.9000 | 0.362 | | | |
| GRIND Well-Adj. | High | 20 | 3.2500 | 1.803 | 1.96 | 27 | 0.030 |
| | Low | 9 | 1.8889 | 1.537 | | | |
| PREMCOLL[2] | High | 20 | 0.2000 | 0.410 | -1.96 | 38 | 0.029* |
| | Low | 20 | 0.5500 | 0.686 | | | |
| PREMCOLL Well-Adj. | High | 20 | 0.2000 | 0.410 | -1.69 | 27 | 0.0515 |
| | Low | 9 | 0.5556 | 0.726 | | | |

* Probability $<$ 0.05, one-tailed t-test.

1. School responses against play responses.

2. Job or College responses before age 15-16.

high achievers (n=20) were significantly different in their group mean responses for the future imagery of the self category of school (high mean= 3.60, troublesome low mean= 2.54, t= 2.07, one-tailed probability= 0.024). Similarly, differences remained for the category of PREMCOLL (high mean= 0.20, troublesome mean= 0.54, t= -1.76, one-tailed probability= 0.04). While a trend of group mean difference was found for the GRIND category, the significant group differences between high and low groups did not remain. Table 13 summarizes these differences between troublesome low achievers and high achievers which remained when the subgroup of troublesome low achievers and group means were compared with t-tests.

These additional data analyses with the variable BEHTOT illustrate the role that students' behavior plays in influencing performance on both the facial expression task and the future expectations interview. On the facial expression task, it is a relevant question whether or not a student's behavior is a cause of the prevailing emotional valence of object relations with teachers or a consequence of the emotional valence of those object relations. Students whose behavior is troublesome may not only experience a more negative emotional tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, but may in the process learn to avoid engaging in fantasy activity about school and achievement because of the bad feelings and possible anxiety associated with such future imagery.

Table 13

Summary of Differences Between Groups on Future Imagery of Self When Behavior Ratings are Considered

| Variable | Group | N= | Mean | SD | t value | df | Probability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SCHOOL | High | 20 | 3.6000 | 1.501 | 2.41 | 38 | 0.0105* |
| | Low | 20 | 2.6000 | 1.095 | | | |
| SCHOOL | High | 20 | 3.6000 | 1.501 | 2.07 | 29 | 0.024* |
| Troublesome. | Low | 11 | 2.5455 | 1.036 | | | |
| GRIND[1] | High | 20 | 3.2500 | 1.803 | 2.49 | 38 | 0.0085* |
| | Low | 20 | 1.9000 | 0.362 | | | |
| GRIND | High | 20 | 3.2500 | 1.803 | 2.00 | 29 | 0.0275* |
| Troublesome. | Low | 11 | 1.9091 | 1.758 | | | |
| PREMCOLL[2] | High | 20 | 0.2000 | 0.410 | -1.96 | 38 | 0.029* |
| | Low | 20 | 0.5500 | 0.686 | | | |
| PREMCOLL | High | 20 | 0.2000 | 0.410 | -1.76 | 29 | 0.0445* |
| Troublesome. | Low | 11 | 0.5455 | 0.688 | | | |

* Probability $<$ 0.05, significant one-tailed t-test.

1. School responses against play responses.

2. Job or College responses before age 15-16.

# Chapter Five: Discussion of Research Findings

Discussion of Research Findings

This section will present a discussion of the research findings. An interpretation of the results, and relevance of literature to the findings will also be presented.

Review of Purpose, Objectives, and Findings

Four variables were investigated as factors possibly related to academic achievement in a population of ten and eleven year old, Black and Hispanic children attending an intermediate public school in New York City. The variables investigated were positive identification with the teacher, feeling tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, future time perspective, and imagery of a future self that is realistic and achievement oriented.

It was hypothesized that given a group of high achievers who are functioning up to their academic potential based on two independent teacher ratings, and a group of low achievers who were not functioning up to their academic potential based on two independent teacher ratings, the following would characterize high achievers: 1) they would possess positive identification with teachers, 2) they would recall positive feelings on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors, 3) they would possess future time perspective, and 4) they would possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self.

Results indicated that the mean distance between children's idealized Q sort, their preferred role Q sort, and teacher's Q sort of their ex pectations for children's behavior were significant with t-tests. High

achievers more accurately perceived teacher's expectations for their behavior and more closely conformed to them in their own behavior, suggesting their possession of positive identification with teachers in comparisson to low achievers. High achiever's sum of scores on the facial expression task indicated their possession of positive feeling on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors was significantly more positive than was that of low achievers. No difference was found between groups in future time perspective. High achievers possessed imagery of a future self that was realistic and achievement oriented in comparison to low achievers.

Summary of Findings, Interpretation, and Literature Support.

The analysis of the data collected relative to the principle objectives of the study indicated that high achievers in comparison to low achievers possessed more accurate perceptions of teacher's expectations. High achievers possessed idealized role conceptions that were closer to the expectations of their teacher than were those of low achievers. Thus, high achievers possessed positive identification with the teacher in comparison to low achievers.

The group of students as a whole could present teachers' expectations and could more closely present the math teachers' expectations. In the writer's opinion, this finding suggests the math teacher's consistent and clear communication of her expectations. The two English teachers impressed the writer during interviews as being relatively more flexible, tending to bend rules and deviate from standard classroom procedures in

such a way that children tended to like them more and experienced greater amounts of pleasure in their classrooms. Children were gratified in pleasureable ways by the English teachers through plays, parties and trips. However, overall positive feeling was not necessarily greater for all 13 questions of the Facial Expression Task with English teachers. The math teacher was serious and consistent, while the English teachers were creative and more emotional. It seems logical that students could more closely present the math teacher's expectations since they tended to be consistent throughout the school year.

The finding that low achievers' idealized role sort was further away from their conception of how they perceive teachers as expecting them to behave suggests possible role conflict. This is consistent with Henriquez' (1962) findings, and raises the issue of what impact role conflict has upon their achievement behavior. Ruhland and Feld (1977) focused on social comparison processes which show children areas in which they excel, are average, or deficient. If anxiety results from this process, Ruhland and Feld (1977) suggest that children avoid social comparison processes. Role conflict may be managed by children by defensively protecting themselves against anxiety by avoiding not only social comparison processes but fantasy activity about achievement. It may be that the low achievers in the study have this kind of experience.

Teachers may however, express disapproval to low achievers for their student role behavior's larger departure from teacher's expectations. Teacher approval or disapproval can impact children in the classroom (Katz,

1968; Pederson, Faucher, and Eaton, 1978) and may contribute to their not learning up to their potential. If students do behave as expected, teachers may similarly expect them to "not behave" in their learning. Children may fulfill this prophecy, following teacher's expectations (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) with the result that they are low achievers. Students who misbehave may be expected to be poorer students, despite careful judgements about learning potential made during teacher interviews.

Teachers in the study appeared to genuinely possess "good enough" expectations of children that were conveyed during object relations in the classroom. This is true if the perspective of Murray (1984) is applied to the data collected in relation to the second objective of the study. Murray (1984) contends that teachers express positive sentiment toward students who live up to their expectations. The data collected relative to the second obective of the study indicated that high achievers consistently recalled more positive feelings on the part of self and teacher for both the math and English teacher's classroom setting than did low achievers. Teachers in the study did not seem to express positive sentiment toward low achievers for living up to low expectations in line with Murray's (1984) concern where students might be rewarded for failure. Teachers in the study did not seem to possess racial stereotypes that mediated their expectancies of minority students' performance.

High achievers and low achievers significant differences in recollections of feeling tone on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors may indicate that high achievers are likely to not feel

any conflict or anxiety in the student role, but possess more positive feeling on the part of the self. High achievers are not likely to avoid engaging in social comparison processes since they can gain information about their abilities that is not disturbing but informative as they improve their learning strategies. Social comparison processes may relate to achievement requirements in our competitive society (Ruhland and Feld, 1977). The good feelings felt in the classroom on the part of high achievers may be permitting social comparison processes without anxiety, and with an enhancing effect on their achievement and fantasy activity about future achievement.

From the perspective of object relations literature and theory, the postive feelings on the part of self and teacher recalled by high achievers in comparison to low achievers suggests an experience of "good enough" object relations with teacher. For high achievers, object relations appear to be not only good enough, but the presence of positive feeling on the part of self and teacher likely facilitates positive identification of students with teachers. High achievers possession of positive identification with the teacher in comparison to low achievers is logical in light of their possession of more positive feelings while interacting with the teacher. It may also be that these positive feelings and identification with the teacher enables children to possess a clearer conception of how to be a good student. Through interacting with teachers in a conflict-free manner, relative to low achievers experience, high achievers may gain student role behaviors that relate reciprocally with the teacher's role behavior. Higher levels of

academic achievement are likely to result.

While cultural deprivation and blame-the-victim researchers have focused on minority students' lack of conceptions of required student role behaviors and deficits, it becomes apparent that even where children may not have received parental training in traditional classroom student role requirements, such conceptions can be acquired. Identification with teachers who convey student role requirements can provide students with conceptions of how they should behave and achieve in the student role. This process of identification is more likely to occur where students have experienced positive feelings on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom encounters with the teacher. The math teacher's consistency in conveying her expectations and the predictability of her behavior may be related to student's greater identification with her. These factors may be more important than children experiencing positive feeling along the lines of pleasureable and gratifying feelings of having fun.

The analysis of the data collected relative to the third objective of the study indicated that there was no difference between high achievers and low achievers in future time perspective. This finding suggests that in the low-income population of Black and Hispanic students, high achievers were not distinguishable from low achievers on this variable of future time perspective. In addition, high achievers in this sample were not like middle-income subjects in Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980) who regardless of race were distinguishable from low-income subjects in their possession of future time perspective. In light of Freire, Gorman, and Wessman's (1980)

findings that class differences were relevant to future time perspective wheras race was not a factor, this finding of no difference in the present study is not surprising.

The administration of this task did permit an opportunity for the investigator to observe some problems with the instrument that might account for findings for low-income subjects. In Freire et. al. (1980) their low-income subjects averaged 106.2 mm on the first time estimate of three hours, while subjects in the present study were similar (high mean=123.30 mm, low mean= 103.40 mm). However, the ceiling effect observed in the present study, wherein early selection of large time intervals forces the subsequent choices of time interval estimates, may account for significant differences falling off for all later time estimates in Freire, Gorman, and Wessman (1980). This ceiling effect forces one to interpret and examine the first three hour time estimate as meaningful. It was theoretically congruent with Freire, Gorman, and Wessman's (1980) expectations that low-income subjects would have long estimates of three hours when compared to middle-income subjects. As a result, they could be seen as focused more in the present. However, it may be possible that their low income subjects and all the low-income subjects of the present study had difficulty organizing their approach to the task. Not intuiting that estimates of five and eighty years were to come, students in the present study tended to make inversions or were often forced to mark the end of the 197 mm line for the last three or four time estimates.

The technique of time estimates should be modified to permit children

to realize the entire range of time estimates to be judged from the onset. Utilization of one line for all graphic estimates of time, or of a large piece of paper with six lines might permit more logical behavior on the part of subjects. Students in the present study often seem shocked, surprised, and appeared to view the task as absurd once the ceiling was reached (197 mm).

The analysis of the data collected relative to the fourth objective of the study indicated that high achievers possessed imagery of a future self that was more achievement oriented and realistic in comparison to low achievers. This was in line with Freire, Gorman, and Wessman's (1980) finding that middle class children's image of their own future behaviors emerged as more achievement oriented, more certain, and more realistic in comparison to lower class children. A trend in the data indicated that low achievers possessed imagery of a future self that was not inclined to imagine future academic achievement and that was more uncertain about the future.

Low achievers may tend to avoid imagery of school and academic achievement due to the greater anxiety or bad feelings they possess in relation to school. Fantasy activity involving school or achievement may be avoided along with social comparison processes due to this anxiety as Ruhland and Feld (1977) have suggested. High achievers may on the other hand more freely engage in fantasy activity that is more achievement oriented and realistic because such activities are free from anxiety and therefore not avoided. The greater possesson of positive feeling on the part of self and teacher during classroom behaviors would support a process of

conflict free fantasy activity about the future in relation to achievement activities and school or college events.

Additional data analyses were performed in light of behavorial ratings of children obtained from teachers. When troublesome low achievers and well-adjusted low achievers were compared to high achievers, well-adjusted low achievers were not distinguishable from high achievers on the variables of feeling tone on the part of self and teacher, and imagery of the future self that was achievement oriented and realistic. Despite their rating as low achievers, the additional rating of well-adjusted was very meaningful. When well-adjusted as oppossed to troublesome, low achievers were similar to high achievers in their recollection of the feeling tone of object relations with teachers and in fantasy activity about future school or achievement behaviors. A child's behavior may not dictate whether or not a child learns up to potential. But, behavior can certainly impact the feeling tone of interactions with teachers. It also appears to relate to how children tend to imagine their future behavior. If bad feelings are attached to the classroom setting, this school and achievement imagery in general will not be readily forthcoming when the child projects himself into the future through fantasy activity.

A child's behavior might cause object relations with teachers to take on a negative valence as teachers express disapproval for such behavior, or assume a general negative attitude toward the child. A child's behavior could alternatively, be a consequence of the emotional valence of object relations with teachers. However, it seems from the perspective of Murray

(1984) discussed earlier, object realtions with teachers were "good enough" since teachers seemed to possess appropriate, positive expectations of children and did not reward behavior that was troublesome. Teachers seemed to express appropriate approval or disapproval given appropriate or inappropriate behavior in the classroom. Although the data can not definitively answer the question of what came first, bad behavior or negatively toned emotional interactions with teachers, the variable of behavior has meaning for low achievers. Depending on low achievers status as troublesome or well-adjusted, they could approximate high achievers in the emotional tone of object relations with teacher and in future imagery if they were well-adjusted.

# Chapter 6: Conclusion

# Conclusion

## Summary of the Investigation

The review of literature indicated a need for a culturally sensitive approach to the investigation of those factors related to the academic performance of low-income minority elementary school children who have the ability to achieve but may not be learning up to their potential. A great deal of research has examined the problem of the lower academic achievement and scholastic performance of minority children of varying socioeconomic status. This research has been from the perspective of cultural deprivation, blame-the victim, educational deprivation, cultural-difference, and culturally sensitive perspectives. Given a population of children from the same socioeconomic level who all have the ability to learn where some are learning at their potential while others are not, the question of the problem low achievers are facing sems to go beyond previous empirical work in depth and nature of the question posed.

The work of cultural deprivation researchers who have compared minority children to White and middle-income children have established what these children lack in terms of a tradition of scholastic learning provided by parents and one's culture. Blame-the-victim researchers have elaborated on what minority children's family and culture have not provided them with, asserting that the background of a deprived culture does not equip children to learn in the classroom. Educational deprivation re-

searchers have revealed those processes occuring in the classroom which may fail to appreciate the specific needs and characteristics of minority children. Cultural-difference researchers have emphasized those cultural characteristics of students that may contribute to different levels of achievement among culturally different children. Culturally sensitive investigators have carefully considered the role of a students' cultural background in their empirical work, illustrating the importance of this variable when assessing performance on culturally derived instruments.

The current research is closest to that body of literature which reveals the way in which the development and psychological experience of minority children can be impacted by social comparison processes, interactions with teachers, and the quality of object relations with teachers. It became clear that future aspirations, fantasy activity involving those expectations, and achievement behavior in the classroom and larger competitive society could be impacted by interpersonal events occurring in the classroom. The present study represents a significant and meaningful contribution to this body of research.

High achievers recalled more positive feeling on the part of self and teacher during typical classroom behaviors. The experience of more positively affectively toned object relations with teachers may contribute to identification with teachers and to higher levels of academic achievement.

Groups of high and low achievers did not differ in future time perspective. High achievers did however, possess realistic and achievement oriented imagery of a future self in comparison to low achievers. High

achievers may have engaged more freely in fantasy activity about future achievement without anxiety due to the positive feelings experienced while in teacher's classrooms. High achievers future imagery may also have been more realistic and certain due to less defensiveness and anxiety.

Delimitations of the Study

The research investigated factors related to academic achievement in a sample of low-income Black and Hispanic elementary shool children who are fifth grade students in New York City.

The population of fifth grade students participating in the study is representative of those low-income Black and Hispanic students residing in New York City and choosing to attend public school. The population should also be representative of those minority children residing in other large urban centers throughout the Northeast.

The selection of a fifth grade population insured that children were able to read and comprehend the measures of instrument utilized in the study. In addition, the use of a fifth grade population of ten and eleven year old children avoids the upheavals and disequilibrium of adolescence.

The deliminations may restrict the study's ability to extrapolate from the results to students living in rural areas, other parts of the country, or to children of early school age or of highschool age. Results may be more easily extrapolated to Black and Hispanic children of a similar age and income level. Middle-class Black and Hispanic children, and adolescent Black and Hispanic children may be quite different in their response to the instruments of measurement utilized to investigate these variables.

The delimitations of the study to deal with the variables of positive identification with the teacher, the feeling tone recalled during typical classroom encounters on the part of self and teacher, future time perspective, and future imagery of the self arose from the attempt to empirically address Tompkins' (1962, 1963) affect, imagery, and consciousness. An investigation of children's identifications with parents, object relations at home, or other home variables impacting orientation to time and to future planning would yield valuable findings. However, restricting the focus to those variables amenable to investigation in the actual school setting, without interviewing parents, etc . . . served practical purposes of time and resources.

The study also focuses on a comparison between students who were all seen as possessing the basic ability to achieve based on their placement in the top two sections of the fifth grade. Children who are not within the upper continuum of possession of basic ability to achieve, may nonetheless, be very much influenced in their achievement behavior by the variables investigated. The study's findings shed considerable light on possible factors that could be addressed in improving educational outcomes.

Discussion of the Practical Implications

There were a number of research findings derived from the study which may have practical implications for psychologists, educators, and researchers involved in the area of academic achievement. The role of the authority of the teacher in providing students with conceptions of the student role should not be underestimated. Processes of identification with

the teacher do occur and permit students acquiring adequate and appropriate conceptions of the role requirements of being a student in the traditional public school classroom. Object relations and the quality of interpersonal interactions between child and teacher are important in facilitating identification with the teacher.

The events that occur in the actual classroom emerge as important variables to consider and investigate. The nature of these events can impact school achievement and can be points for meaningful intervention in attempts to improve academic outcomes. Researchers should not assume that student's school performance is solely the result of the child's object realtions at home, with significant parental figures, nor should they assume that family and cultural life are the sole determinants. These factors may be important, but by fifth grade, teachers will have exerted a powerful influence as adult authorities who provide students with information about success as a student. All children in the study could effectively perceive teacher role expectations, although high achievers not only more accurately perceived them, but more closely conformed to them in their own behavior.

Educational deprivation researchers are on track in choosing to investigate processes occuring in the school setting in their search for factors related to academic achievement. Culturally sensitive researchers must bring their perspectives to bear on the interpersonal dynanmics transpiring in the classroom, while continuing to appreciate the cultural characteristics possessed by children.

The significance of research findings.

The most important finding which emerges from the investigation is the evidence that interpersonal events that occur in the classroom are highly significant for their psychological impact on the child and relationship to academic achievement. Psychologically, students in the classroom experience a potentially broad range of affects during interactions with teachers that carry meaning for experience and learning in school. The affective tone that colors interactions with the authority of the teachers exercises a powerful influence on students motivation to achieve in that classroom and actual achievement level attained. In this way, the psychological life and academic achievement of children is directly impacted.

The psychological impact upon the child can also be understood through appreciating the role of nonmaterial reinforcements that are provided in school. Facial expressions alone provide systematic reinforcement and information about "How I, the teacher, actually feel toward you as I watch you perform tasks in class, and move around in the classroom." Memories of these feeling-toned object relations with teachers can constitute an effective form of self-applied punishments (negative feeling tone) or of rewards (positive feeling tone) as these memories are recalled when priming for responses to tasks in school (Barbarin, 1979). When the experience is one of rejection, students may not set high goals in relation to school or the larger society (Goff, 1971).

The expectations that teachers convey may provide the data for

prophecies which children fulfill in their performance behavior (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968). However, the point of focus to understand this phenomenon may be the actual interactions between students and teachers as in this investigation; or upon the reinforcement differentially distributed to students (Murray, 1984; Rubovits and Maehr, 1973). In order to adequately address the problem of Black and minority Americans lower academic achievement, researchers, psychologists, and educators may need to focus in a specific way upon the quality of feelings and of verbal and behavioral messages conveyed to children by teachers.

Cultural deprivation theorists may hesitate in accepting the notion that they miss central and meaningful events in the classroom and educational setting, by focusing on deficits brought to the school by culturally different students. But, the actual deprivation which may directly impact academic achievement and the psychology and development of the child may transpire in the classroom by way of negative interpersonal experiences with school authorities.

The importance of processes of identification.

As children bring their behavioral, cultural, and personality styles to the classroom and are impacted by reinforcements dispensed by teachers in the classroom, student's developing ego identities are shaped and or reaffirmed (Kernberg, 1976). Identification with teachers may build upon earlier identifications with parents, significant community authorities, or with other students. They may, in a conflict free manner, help build a harmonious structure of ego identity (Erikson, 1956). Or alternatively, there

may be conflict, splitting, or a keeping separate of incompatible sets of identifications (Freeman, 1981; Kernberg, 1976); as in the case of a students' bad feelings about being a poor student in the teacher's eyes, but a good and capable oldest son who receives positive reinforcement from parents, for example. Depending on a child's sets of identifications brought to the school and the affective valence of those acquired from teachers, children's developing system of ego identities may move toward consolidation as harmonious structures or toward conflictual and perhaps anxiety laden structures.

The resulting structure is in actuality a very complex personality with important cultural and socioeconomic experiences that impact and guide response to task stimuli in the classroom and on national achievement tests. Feelings and attitudes about school and educational achievement in our competitive society may be ambivalent for many reasons, such as racial tension despite upward mobility, that dictates the dispensement of societal rewards like jobs and housing (McAdoo, 1978).

Despite the frustrations of parents who may experience disappointment in their own striving for jobs, promotions and upward mobility, the value of dreams and an image of one's future self emerges as very important. Children must be encouraged to nurture and work toward a dream. Children must be told that what one does today has implications for promotion to the next grade, for high school, ond one's preparation for a goal in the future. Children should be encouraged to set realistic and achievement oriented future goals.

The classroom as a dynamic context for learning

Within the classroom, students may observe for the first time patterns of dispensement of rewards and punishments that may or may not include patterns of racial bias. Observation in this dynamic context of teacher's behavior, of other children's behavior, and of one's impact upon others and their response to one's self occurs. Students engage in social comparison processes (Ruhland and Feld, 1977). They also can experience role conflict in light of the observations assimilated.

Children who are low-achievers, as in the present study, or troublesome and working class (Henriquez, 1962) may experience role conflict when they know what teachers want but behave in ways that reflect student's own values and attitudes that are different from teacher expectations. There may be a range of ways students with varying cultural, family, socio-economic, and personality backgrounds experience this role conflict and interpret their situation. Some students may feel badly about themselves. They may have a lower self esteem or experience disappointment in themselves. Alternatively, they may devalue and resent their achieving classmates. They may resent teachers for showing more positive sentiment toward high achievers. Children may feel good about themselves for other abilities they value. They may feel good about themselves for maintaining allegiance to family and cultural styles that are reinforced by extended family and culture group members. They may feel more comfortable with and receive more positive reinforcement from significant adult authorities outside of the school. Sports figures, television, and advertising may

support images of themselves that they value and cultivate outside of and separate from a sense of self as a student. Academic achievers may be viewed as feminine and as having little power in their lives (Powell and White, 1972).

Mainstream middle class America may value, establish, and require an image of the educated, striving, competitive adult. But the reality of social comparison processes in the dynamic context of the classroom may not be conducive to the cultivation of this future image of the self for all students.

The responsibility of educators however, is to insure that object relations with all students are "good enough", so that a negative interpersonal experience with teachers is not a factor responsible for low achievement. Processes that guide and direct what students do and what they value are complex and varied. But, teachers must perform ethically as significant authorities in the classroom who do not harm children psychologically through callous projection of racial or biased sterotypes or expectations, or through destructive object relations.

In summary, crucial interpersonal events occur in the dynamic context of the classroom. Facial expressions, the affective tone of object relations between self and teacher, and between other children and teachers, and between students can be observed and internalized by children as memories which influence attitudes, values, and academic achievement. This affect laden history of motion pictures in the mind can be empirically captured through instruments such as the Q sort and Facial Expression Task. The articulation of research findings permits understanding the interpersonal

context of the classroom as a point of intervention for ending the mis-education of children in America's classrooms.

Focus of interventions to improve academic achievement.

Attempts to improve the academic achievement of minority and low-income Americans in public school should concentrate on insuring that educators are made aware of the importance of interpersonal relations with teachers. As a part of teacher education and training, teachers must be made aware of the power and significance they hold for student's academic lives. Teacher training and certification should insure that teachers do not enter low-income school districts with a set of destructive myths about the school environments and children in such settings. Teachers should not be permitted to maintain false conceptions of what cannot be done in light of the cultural deprivation of children and their presumed intellectual inferiority. Teachers must be made aware and systematically educated to the impact they as teachers can indeed exercise as sufficient communicators of student role conceptions to students that can permit students experiencing school success. They must be ethically informed and educated to their potential psychological impact upon children's developing sense of self as well.

Current discussion of ways to improve the American system of public education must come to include a constructive plan for establishing ethical and professional standards of conduct that are included in teacher training. Society must take seriously the financial cost of training and adequately compensating teachers so that a responsible body of ethical professionals is

established to spearhead vast improvements in American public education. The training and education of teachers, but also of the lay public, must debunk ghetto school myths of unteachable, emotionally disturbed, mentally deficient, and hyperactive minority and low-income students.

An additional key component of educational reform in American public schools must include expanded and adequate assessment of those home, psychological, or developmental problems that may exist for some students. School psychology services, referral for psychological treatment of families and children, and neuropsychological assessment and remediation of learning disabilities must be expanded to responsibly meet the needs of students and improve levels of academic achievement.

The history of the mis-education of Black and minority Americans in society's public schools must be replaced with access to equal educational opportunities. Intangible factors--that are more than adequately documented by a growing body of social science research -- should not be permitted to continue to harm minority children in ways unlikely to be undone. The education of America's students should be placed in the hands of well-trained and ethically certified professionals. It may only be through such well financed training and compensation of teaching professionals that a transformation of the historical mis-education of Black and minority pupils can occur. Equal educational opportunities must be provided so that vocational and socioeconomic gains can be viable possibilities for all students, regardless of race.

The present investigation represents a significant contribution to

understanding mis-education as it occurs in classrooms. The research findings can be utilized in efforts to end mis-education. Evidence suggests that "good enough" object relations with teachers where positive identification with teachers occurs, a positive affective tone during interactions with teachers is experienced, and where engagement in realistic and achievement oriented imagery of student's future selves is forthcoming, a constuctive and nurturant educational experience is occuring. Knowledge of and further investigation of these factors related to academic achievement in low income minority elementary school children can help turn the tide of mis-education toward a healthier more constructive era of education in American public schools.

# APPENDIX A

## Q SORT

Delay and Control of Impulses: Own Needs.

33. I try to follow all rules.
34. When I get mad I count to 10.
35. I try to do what I'm supposed to do, even when I don't want to.
37. The most important thing is to be smart in school.
39. I always try to keep calm.
40. I'm never too busy to be neat.
42. When I lose a game I try to smile anyway.
43. Even when I want to give up I keep trying.
44. I try to keep feelings to myself.
45. I often save for things I want.
46. You can't expect to get everything you want.
47. I sometimes do a job over again and again in order to get it right.
49. I'm very good at controlling myself.
52. I usually agree with my parents.
56. I would rather be alone than get into trouble having fun.

Delay and Control of Impulses: Needs of Others.

4. I can usually remember to be polite.
7. When there's something interesting to do I often skip my lunch.
8. I often find myself breaking some rule.

9. I don't eat when I'm not hungry.

10. I hate to sit for long periods.

12. When I get money I spend it right away.

13. If I have something to say I say it no matter what.

14. I'm often late for school.

15. When I play I lose track of time.

25. I'm often scolded for talking out in class.

38. I often play instead of doing my work.

Immediate Gratification of Impulses: Needs of Others.

16. Nobody pushes me around.

17. If someone yells at me I yell back at them.

18, If somebody hits you, hit them back.

19. The toughest guy is the best one.

20. When somebody bothers you, you have to fight.

21. Some kids are afraid of me.

23. I get into trouble with bossy teachers.

24. When I don't like somebody I really let them know it.

27. When a kid spoils something of mine I often sock him.

28. Nobody gets away with cheating me.

30. Parents have to hit kids when they're bad.

31. I can't help laughing when someone falls.

32. When I'm mad everybody better watch out.

11. I'm the first to offer when someone asks for help.

22. I like grown-ups to depend on me.

26. People like me because I never fight.

36. I can usually get everyone to like me.

41. I will go to any trouble in order to keep a promise to someone.

48. No one can get me to do something I know is wrong.

50. I try to live up to what others expect of me.

51. When I can't get along with a person I stay away from them.

54. I can't stand boys who fight.

55. Never argue with a grown-up.

57 I admit when I'm wrong.

58. I try to please my friends.

59. I try not to let others know when I'm mad at them.

60. When I have an argument I usually remember that the other person might really be right.

Immediate Gratification of Impulses: Own Needs.

1. I have a bad temper.

2. When I want something, I get it.

3. When I don't feel like working, I usually don't.

5. I often cannot help doing things that I know I'll be punished for.

6. I hate to wait for what I want.

53. Policeman and teachers are alike: they're usually against you.

## APPENDIX B

May 22, 1984

Dear Parent or Guardian,

Your child has been selected for participation in a special project for students representative of the top students in the fifth grade. Parental permission is required to allow children to be interviewed by a visiting teacher.

Selected children will meet with the visiting teacher for approximately one hour of classroom time. Your permission will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

_____

Principal

Cut below and return to school

---

I give permission for my son/daughter to meet with the visiting teacher for participation in this school project.

_____

Signature

Academic Achievement

## APPENDIX C

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between the Total English and Teacher Score and the Thirteen Question Items of the Facial Expression Task

| | n=40 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENGLSUM[1] | | 0.5897 | 0.6860 | 0.6513 | 0.5869 |
| | Probability | 0.000* | 0.000* | 0.000* | 0.000* |
| | n=40 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 |
| ENGLSUM | | 0.4266 | 0.3949 | 0.4595 | 0.4024 |
| | Probability | 0.003* | 0.006* | 0.001* | 0.005* |
| | n=40 | E9 | E10 | E11 | E12 |
| ENGLSUM | | 0.4105 | 0.6705 | 0.5969 | 0.4247 |
| | Probability | 0.004* | 0.000* | 0.000* | 0.003* |
| | n=40 | E13 | | | |
| ENGLSUM | | 0.5491 | | | |
| | Probability | 0.000* | | | |

* Probability $<$ 0.05, two tailed t-test.

1. ENGLSUM is the sum of choice of facial expression on the part of self and teacher for the English teacher's classroom setting.

Academic Achievement

APPENDIX D

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between the Total English Teacher Score and the Thirteen Question Items of the Facial Expression Task

| | n=40 | E1 | E2 | E3 | E4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MATHSUM[1] | | 0.7242 | 0.5017 | 0.8032 | 0.7991 |
| | Probability | 0.000* | 0.000* | 0.000* | 0.000* |
| | n=40 | E5 | E6 | E7 | E8 |
| MATHSUM | | 0.4894 | 0.2760 | 0.2688 | 0.5394 |
| | Probability | 0.001* | 0.042* | 0.047* | 0.000* |
| | n=40 | E9 | E10 | E11 | E12 |
| MATHSUM | | 0.4960 | 0.5400 | 0.6095 | 0.7371 |
| | Probability | 0.001* | 0.000* | 0.000* | 0.000* |
| | n=40 | E13 | | | |
| MATHSUM | | 0.6037 | | | |
| | Probability | 0.000* | | | |

* Probability $<$ 0.05, two-tailed t-test.

1. MATHSUM is the sum of choice of facial expression on the part of self and teacher for the Math teacher's classroom setting.

# APPENDIX E

## INSTRUCTIONS TO TEACHERS FOR RATING STUDENTS AS FUNCTIONING UP TO THEIR LEARNING POTENTIAL OR NOT UP TO THEIR LEARNING POTENTIAL

The purpose of this interview is to obtain your opinion about some of the students you teach. I would like you to decide whether or not each child I ask you about is learning at a level commensurate with your expectations given that child's intellectual endowment. I want you to decide whether each child is functioning adequately in accordance with your expectations based on their ability. Decide if the child is functioning up to his or her potential or is not functioning up to potential. Okay let begin with (student's name). In your opinion, is _____ functioning up to his potential or is not functioning up to his potential. (Interview continued until teacher had made a judgement about each child.)

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