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DISADVANTAGED COLLEGE STUDENTS.

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INTERPERSONAL INFLUENCES ON ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT  
AND NON-ACHIEVEMENT AMONG DISADVANTAGED  
COLLEGE STUDENTS

by

LUBA ELMAN

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

1969

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the University Committee in Psychology as satisfying the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Since the Supreme Court decision in 1954 on school segregation, a literature has developed in the social sciences regarding the education of the disadvantaged student. A survey of the literature reveals that the lower socio-economic status (SES) groups demonstrate lower achievement motivation than do middle-class students as measured both in terms of grade point averages (GPA's) and fantasy measures, such as n Achievement on the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT).

Theoretical explanations are that reinforcement for academic achievement may be lacking in lower SES homes, as well as models for academic achievement. Interpersonal theory postulates that for any learning to occur, interpersonal validation must be present, either from primary significant persons (i.e., the nuclear family), or from alternate validators (extra-familial persons). These influencing figures encourage and support new functions being learned, or they do not. If so, the person learning eventually integrates these functions, and if not (or if negative influence is present), then the function remains either dissociated from consciousness or, at best, conflict-laden.

The fact remains that some students of lower SES do make it through college, while others do not. This study was undertaken to attempt to determine the effect of interpersonal influence on actual academic performance as well as on the patterning of achievement fantasy on TAT.

Two groups of college students were pre-selected and identified on the basis of GPA's as either Achievers (GPA of 2.0 or higher) or Non-achievers (GPA of 1.9 or below). There were 17 subjects in each group, matched in pairs on IQ, ethnic background, SES, age, and sex. Subjects were given an eight-card battery of TAT cards, which were scored for n Achievement. They were then given a focused interview of 85 questions, used flexibly, designed to elicit information about interpersonal influence on achievement training, both from Parental and Alternate Influencers. A six-point rating scale was devised for four Categories of information from the interview: Parents' Achievement Striving, Parental Influence, Student's Attitude Toward Achievement, and Alternate Influence. Four judges, who were experienced clinicians, scored one Category each for six cases. The rating scale was found to be reliable and the experimenter's scores were used for all comparisons.

Findings revealed significant differences in the strength of Parental Influence, Student's Attitudes, and Alternate Influence, the Achievers scoring higher on these Categories than Non-achievers. There was also a significant positive correlation between GPA's and these three Categories. No significant differences, nor correlations, were found for Parents' Achievement Striving among Achievers and Non-achievers. There were trends in the

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data leading to speculation that perhaps when parents of lower SES students have had higher achievement striving and cannot put it to use to increase satisfaction in their lives. it produces projection on their part of contempt for higher education.

The TAT findings revealed no statistically significant differences between achievement groups for n Achievement scores. High and low scorers on Parental and Alternate Influence differed significantly on Success-oriented TAT stories, high scorers showing more success-orientation than low scorers. Conflict-oriented stories yielded no significant differences. There was also a trend in the data showing those students who had early and continuous interpersonal influence for achievement told TAT stories containing less Achievement Imagery (AI). This trend was predicted, as it was thought that those students who had integrated the function of academic achievement would be less consciously preoccupied with AI than those whose integration with achievement was more tenuous.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the history of interpersonal influences on academic achievement and non-achievement among disadvantaged college students. In addition, an investigation will be made of the achievement fantasy productions of the same group with the intent of comparing the patterning of achievement fantasy among achievers and non-achievers.

By "disadvantaged" we mean to describe economically and culturally deprived persons. Economic deprivation brings with it its own brand of psychological problems which become part of the culture of poverty. The picture of the child standing with his nose pressed against the outside of a bakery window, or toy store, is symbolic of the special warping that can develop in the "have-nots" when they are confronted by the "haves." Along with this picture goes all the feelings of worthlessness, unfairness, envy, intimidation -- and its counterpart, bulliness -- frustration, rage, and massive despair. The economy of scarcity spreads from its financial base to anything that has value between people. Competition and bitterness is felt to be the currency of life and victimization its consequence. Even tenderness has to be fought for, for one comes to believe that to give means to have something

taken away. The more one gives, the less there is left for you. Often one has to write off the possibility of kindness, compassion, generosity -- even love -- for it is not conceivable in a world where survival itself always feels tenuous. The world outside this special world of poverty is experienced as alien and dangerous. "Their" currency is different and unavailable to the child of deprivation. "They" remain dangerous strangers; the gate to "their" world is locked and the key will never be yours.

Given this sort of global perception of the world at large, we pluck out of the poverty pockets a few chosen adolescents and present them with the opportunity of a subsidized college education. The adolescent of the ghetto is suddenly transported to that world beyond the locked gate. It requires a capacity for sudden re-orientation. He must learn to grasp the middle-class rules of the game. To remain in college he must compete for good grades, learn a new system of values (regardless of whether or not he agrees with them), and new ways of communicating. He must learn skills he never before needed. The road to survival in this strange land has twists and turns never before encountered. One must learn one's way without the benefit of having gradually learned to read the map. Navigation is clumsy and one's sense of direction does not seem to be functioning.

If one watches the traffic on this road, one notices some who seem to find their way rather quickly and relatively effortlessly. To them this land does not seem to be so alien. Others seem to be lost and confused among the boulders and trees. It is just this difference which began to fascinate us. As we watched these students groping for a way that seemed sensible to them, we began to think of what some of the possibilities could be in terms of antecedent experiences. The basic question we formulated is: What are the events that contribute to determining which of these students would make their way through school and which would fall by the wayside?

The population from which this sample is drawn consists of students especially selected by the Research and Evaluation Unit of the College Discovery Program of The City University. For the most part these are students who did not earn grades in high school that were sufficiently high to admit them to colleges through regular processes of selection. For this group selection was based upon a combination of factors which included recommendations from teachers and principals, classification as economically deprived persons based upon familial income of (in general) no more than \$1,700.00 per person per year, and attendance in a high school designated as educationally deprived.<sup>1</sup>

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Whether or not a high school was designated as educationally deprived was based upon an Index of Deprivation

The College Discovery Program offers its students remedial work in areas of academic deficiency and financial assistance which covers the cost of tuition, books, supplies, and a stipend intended to defray some of the cost of living. The students are placed in one of the five City University Community Colleges, the choice dependent largely upon the proximity of the college to the student's home. When a student completes sixty-four credits of work there, and has maintained at least a 2.0 (C) grade index, he may apply for admission to one of the City University Senior Colleges and finish the balance of course work necessary to attain a baccalaureate degree.

As will be indicated in the forthcoming review of the relevant literature, there is evidence that the amount and quality of interpersonal influence is an important factor in determining the academic fate of adolescents. For purposes of the present study, particular attention will be paid to the relationship of Parental Influence on achievement behavior as contrasted with Alternate

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developed by the Board of Education's High School Division. For example, if there is a high degree of reading retardation or low IQ, a high school is designated as deprived. Or, if a high school is other than an academic one, it may carry the classification of deprived.

Influencers (referring to persons other than nuclear family) among two groups of disadvantaged college students: Achievers and Non-achievers. The term "Influencers" refers to the power of persons to positively affect others, observable overtly in its effects as well as the felt significance as reported by the person influenced.

Achievement motivation, as it relates to school success, is defined as: "...the striving to increase, or keep as high as possible, one's own capability in all activities in which a standard of excellence is thought to apply and where the execution of such activities can, therefore, either succeed or fail (Heckhausen, 1967, pp. 4-5)."

## CHAPTER II

## HISTORY OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Interpersonal Influence on  
Achievement BehaviorParental Influence

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 on school segregation forced both professionals and laymen to look at some issues in mass education which had been largely ignored in the past. Confronted with the differences in academic performance among lower- and middle-class students of all age groups, researchers began to explore socio-economic status (SES) as a variable in motivational studies of academic performance. Research literature in psychology, education, and sociology concerned with variables involved in the education of the disadvantaged has grown enormously since 1954.

It has become evident that students from lower SES groups are generally not as highly motivated toward, nor as able to attain academic success as are middle-class students. In an effort to ascertain what conditions promote achievement motivation and/or achievement behavior, researchers have undertaken the investigation of influences on academic achievement by significant people

in the life experience of the student.<sup>1</sup> Heckhausen (1967) conceptualizes the research problem as follows: "One ought...to consider the mediating dimension of reinforcement for accomplishment when he seeks the connection between motivation and achievement in school, college, or career... Different social classes (and their subcultures) provide different types and amounts of reinforcement for performance... (p. 131)."

There may be a developmental sequence to the learning of achievement motivation. This is inferred from the notion that achievement motivation is learned early as a product of social learning (Crandall, Katkovsky, and Preston, 1960).

Our preliminary observations suggest that some children may strongly incorporate parental achievement standards by early grade school age. These incorporated standards often appear to have become completely internalized, with the children relying heavily on them to evaluate their own achievement performance... (p. 794).

Thus it appears that the learning of achievement motivation originates in the child's interactions with persons who are perceived as significant to the child.

As cognitive maturation proceeds in a normal

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The following studies were conducted on middle-class subjects (except where otherwise noted) but are included here because they are concerned with interpersonal events related to achievement behavior which we believe applicable to lower SES groups as well.

sequence, the repetitive experience of success (as reflected by significant others) becomes integrated into the self and is experienced as an effect of the child's own competence, as well as serving to further achievement motivation (Heckhausen, 1967). The behavior is then pursued for its own sake as being satisfying, for the exercise of competence has in itself a reinforcing value (Heckhausen, 1967; White, 1959).

Social learning theory, as formulated by Bandura and Walters (1963), in relation to the learning of achievement behaviors, emphasizes the importance of the influence of parents:<sup>1</sup>

Parent interview studies...suggest that high standards of achievement...are likely to be transmitted from one generation to another ... It thus appears that parental modeling may influence not only the standards that govern achievement behavior but also the direction that achievement-striving takes (p. 175).

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<sup>1</sup> We are aware of the so-called adolescent rebellion syndrome, where parental verbal sanction is given to achievement behavior and nonetheless the student does not relate to academic success as a valuable goal. Though this study is not intended to focus on the adolescent rebellion problem, we would hope to gain some insight into this syndrome in the group of non-achievers to be studied in this investigation. More importantly, we believe that the nature of interpersonal influence on achievement is a more salient factor in lower SES groups and that rebellion, if it does occur in this group, would not overshadow the effect of such influence.

The literature on achievement behavior indicates that students who manifest adequate academic achievement come chiefly from homes where the nuclear family has reinforced such achievement behavior (Heckhausen, 1967). Using thirteen- to seventeen-year old subjects, Argyle and Robinson (1962) found positive correlations between students' achievement motivation (as shown in fantasy material) and their perceptions of the strength of their parents' demands for achievement. Crandall, Preston, and Rabson (1960), working with a sample of three- to five-year olds and their mothers, found that mothers who directly rewarded achievement at home had children who displayed strong achievement striving outside the home. Morrow and Wilson (1961), who equated groups on SES and IQ scores, found support for their hypothesis that academic achievement among bright high school boys is fostered when families encourage positive attitudes towards teachers, toward school, and take an interest themselves in intellectual activities.

One of the important ways parents can influence achievement behavior for their children is by what they do in terms of their own lives. Argyle and Robinson (1962) found achievement motivation in students to be positively related to the reported achievement orientation of their parents, and especially of the same-sex parent. Christopher (1966) who investigated interpersonal relationships and parental value orientation as factors

related to the academic achievement of high school students, found evidence for a positive relationship between perceived parental valuing of achievement and the fact of achievement observed in the student.

Katkovsky, Preston, and Crandall (1964b), in an investigation involving first- to third-graders and their parents, found that the more successful a parent expects to be in an achievement activity, the more likely he is to respond positively to similar activities with his child. In a similar study the same authors demonstrated that the greater the parent valued intellectual achievement for themselves, the more they valued it for their offspring (Katkovsky, Preston, and Crandall, 1964a).

Parental influence on the value of education can also occur behaviorally in their actual educational achievement. Kagan and Moss (1962), in a longitudinal research program of the Fels Institute, have amply demonstrated that concern with intellectual competence, as well as general achievement behavior, are highly correlated with parental educational level.

The predictive power of parental educational level rests on its implications for the total life experiences of the child, in addition to its implications for specific behavior on the part of the father and mother. Parental education is an index to the type of peer group the child will enter, the identification models he will encounter, the opportunity for extra-familial intellectual stimulation and the type of school he will attend (pp. 153-154).

### Alternate Influence

The question remains as to what happens to the expression of achievement when students come from families who do not exert positive influence upon achievement behaviors.

If personality expansion, beyond the restrictions of any family group is to occur, then it becomes important for the person concerned to find people who can be available to respond to them in areas where their families cannot. We believe this to be a crucial factor in the lives of lower SES students where there is often no clear understanding of, models or support for, further education on the part of the parents.

When the nuclear family does not provide adequate modeling for achievement behavior, where might other models be found? Bandura and Walters (1963) suggest that there are alternate sources of such influence available.

In the child-training literature a good deal of attention has been given to parental use of exemplary models, which may be presented to the child through verbal description, pictorially, or, if the behavior of the model is already known to the child, simply by reference to the model and one or more of his characteristics. A wide variety of exemplary models, ranging from national heroes or villains to members of the immediate family and neighbors' children, may be utilized by parents (p. 50).

The use of Alternate Influencers could provide the child deprived of direct familial influence with some meaningful achievement training. Harry Stack Sullivan

(1953), who formulated Interpersonal Theory, states:

In this culture, where education is compulsory, it is the school society that rectifies or modifies in the juvenile era a great deal of the unfortunate direction of personality evolution conferred upon the young by their parents and others constituting the family group (p. 228).

The social order, by requiring formal education, provides a succession of new authority figures... Thus, the child is exposed to such variegated authority-carrying figures as the school teachers, the recreational directors, the crossing policemen, and so on. ...in every case, they are almost certainly quite different from the figures in the home, in their exercise of authority and their regard for and interest in the young juvenile (pp. 228-229).

Pearce and Newton (1963), in their elaboration of Sullivan's theory, formulate a process which they call validation. They postulate that for any learning to occur, there must exist an interpersonal field where there is respect and encouragement from a significant person.

The individual requires validation for every point of progress in interpersonal relationships. Thus the counterpoint of growth is the evolution of the use of validators. ...Through-out this development the central parenting figures constitute the crucial relationships. Validation of experience still flows from them. But while learning is thus initiated in terms of the original significant adults, it requires contact with other people in order to continue and to become fully consolidated.<sup>1</sup>

If parents react with hostility to the student's search for Alternate Influencers, discouragement about formal

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<sup>1</sup>  
Present writer's emphasis.

education and the learning process may reach proportions where the student simply gives up trying. As Pearce and Newton (1963) state it: "...if the parenting figures refuse permission to expand one's source of validation, the later replacement becomes extremely difficult; the more difficult, the more the parents are unwilling to have another person be important to the child (pp. 41-42)."

The use of a potential Alternate Influencer of achievement is also limited by the extent to which that influencer is significantly valued by the student. That is, the student may have come to the point where influence for achievement is no longer expected, or even conceivable. "The lower SES child...lacks pre-school orientation of expectation of reward for performance... The lack of such expectation reduces motivation and also makes less likely the self-reinforcement of activity through the gaining of feelings of competence (Deutsch, 1963, p. 171)."

Another factor which may interfere with the lower SES student's use of Alternate Influencers is the possibility that parents of this group often perceive persons whose experience is outside the range of their own as threatening. It has been shown, for example, that resistance to change is noteworthy in families of lower SES (Freid, 1963; Bryde, 1966). It has also been demonstrated that lower SES families less frequently come into contact with a wide range of persons (Rosen, 1956) who could serve as Alternate Influencers for their children. Further, it has

been observed that lower SES adolescents tend to choose within-family models than more upwardly mobile middle-class adolescents, who tend to choose models outside the family (Douvan and Adelson, 1958).

Thus, lower SES families may have difficulty in relating to those Alternate Influencers whom their offspring seek out as outside-family models. This effectively would constrict the range of exemplary models available to their children. What effect this would have on actual achievement behavior is one of the important questions of this research.

#### Achievement and Socio-economic Status

Though there has been an increase in the literature on educational problems with the disadvantaged student, there has been a surprising paucity of studies focusing upon the specific variables concerned with achievement training among lower SES groups. One study which does deal with some of these factors is that of Rosen (1956) who investigated achievement in lower and middle SES groups of male high school sophomores. His main hypothesis concerning achievement was that achievement motivation varies in direct correlation with social strata. His results indicate that the middle class is characterized by a larger proportion of persons with achievement-oriented values than are the lower social strata and that achievement motivation scores (based upon McClelland's

scoring system for Achievement Imagery on the TAT, 1953) were positively related to actual academic performance. Rosen argues that since other studies have demonstrated that achievement motivation is likely to be high when the child is urged to obtain, and rewarded for achieving, it would seem that middle class children "...from the beginning of his school career...is more likely than his lower-class counterpart, have standards of excellence in scholastic behavior set for him by his parents (p. 211)."

Deutsch (1963), in describing the learning problems of lower SES children, points out: "Though many parents will share in the larger value system of having high aspirations for their children, they are unaware of the operational steps required for the preparation of the child to use optimally the learning opportunities in the school (p. 168)." He goes on, by way of emphasizing the need for influencers, to say: "The nature of the total environment and the child-adult interaction is such that reinforcement is too infrequent, and, as a result, the quantity of response is diminished (p. 171)."

It has been demonstrated that the parents of lower SES children have less expectation of intellectual success and their children's performance varies in direct relation to their parents' expectations (Brophy, Shipman and Hess, 1965; Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959).

Findings such as those reported above, suggest some of the specific factors involved in lower SES groups which

contribute to lower achievement motivation and less successful achievement behavior. When IQ and achievement motivational levels are controlled, social class membership is not a significant factor in and of itself in determining higher performances on intellectual achievement (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959). Achievement training by parents, in general, seems to be a more effective factor in determining performance success. Other factors involved in achievement training, which are found lacking in lower SES parent-child interactions, were: parental setting of high goals, high evaluation of their children's intellectual competence, and the imposition of standards of excellence upon performance.

The term "cultural deprivation" has often been used as a blanket explanation for why students from lower SES groups do not succeed in formal education. As Mackler and Giddings (1965) point out this is an inadequate explanation, "...for a theory of socio-economic deprivation must account for why certain students succeed and others do not, given the same social background (p. 611)." On this point the literature is confusing. Some argue that parental interest and encouragement of academic achievement behavior among lower SES groups exists frequently (Mackler and Giddings, 1965) and others report that it exists rarely (Brophy, Shipman, and Hess, 1965; Heckhausen, 1967). Part of the confusion may be based upon conflicting and inadequate definitions of parental

interest and encouragement. It seems likely that a careful investigation into the history of lower SES students, some of them achievers academically and some of them non-achievers, would reveal differences in both the degree and sources of achievement influences that has taken place in their lives.

Of special importance for this group would be the examination of parental attitudes and reactions to the significance of Alternate Influencers in the lives of their children. This factor may make an important difference for those students deprived of Parental Influence and may help to explain how some of the lower SES students do manage to succeed academically while others do not.

#### Achievement Motivation in Fantasy

The TAT (Thematic Apperception Test) method of measuring motivation as it is reflected in fantasy has long been established as a research tool (McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell, 1953; Kagan and Moss, 1962; Heckhausen, 1967). It has been demonstrated that such fantasy material can "...reflect the presence and intensity of motivation sensitively (McClelland et al., 1953)."

The literature does, however, present conflicting results in terms of the relationship between achievement motivation (as measured by Achievement Imagery on TAT type projective tests) and actual performance. There are some who report positive relationships between frequency

of Achievement Imagery and actual performance, which is measured varyingly from grade point averages to an assortment of problem-solving laboratory tasks (McClelland et al., 1953; Heckhausen, 1967). Some report no significant relationships between these two variables (Lowell, in McClelland, et al., 1953; Mitchell, 1961; Caron, 1963), while others report inverse relationships (Broverman, Jordan, and Phillips, 1960; McArthur, 1953; Cole, Jacobs, Zubok, Fagot, and Hunter, 1962).

Broverman, Jordan, and Phillips (1960) present an experiment designed to resolve the conflict between two theoretical models in the literature. They argue that the general-expression model of motivation, represented by McClelland and his colleagues, which views motives as concurrently reflected in both fantasy and overt behavior, is a formulation whose validity is questionable in light of the conflicting results found in the literature. They present an alternate formulation, which they call a substitute channel model. Their notion is that fantasy might serve as an alternative or substitute channel for the expression of achievement motivation when this motive is blocked from behavior in real life. The alternative channels model leads to a prediction of inverse relationships between achievement fantasy and actual achievement, while the general-expression model predicts a positive relationship between these two indices of motivation. Using actual life history data as behavioral measures of

achievement striving (striving for advancement and job level with adult males) rather than laboratory tasks, and McClelland's scoring system for n Achievement on a projective test based on Make-a-Picture Story, their results yielded a significant inverse relationship between fantasy expression of achievement motivation and behavioral indices of achievement striving.

Persons unable to express their achievement needs in life-situations will be impelled to seek alternative modes of need expression, not only in fantasy, but also in behavioral striving when tasks simpler and less ambiguous than life problems are encountered. In these cases, lab tasks, like fantasy, may serve as a substitute expression of blocked achievement motivation (p. 378).

Kagan and Moss (1959) view achievement fantasy as "...one index of the strength of the response tendency to strive for a specific achievement goal (p. 363)." They argue that to understand the relationship of achievement fantasy to behavioral measures, one should investigate antecedent, historical data. These authors feel that in many instances the occurrence of achievement themes on the TAT are accompanied by conflict over actual achievement goals resulting from early experience with achievement training. This study, then, in addition to looking at the relationship between achievement fantasy and overt achievement behavior, will focus on an examination of specific patterns of achievement fantasy as they relate to the relative presence or absence of interpersonal influences on achievement behavior in the histories of the students.

It seems likely that differences would obtain in the inner experience (such as that which is revealed in TAT fantasy material) of those students who have been influenced for achievement behavior and those students who have been relatively deprived of such influence in their life histories.

One of the difficulties in working with the McClelland scoring system is that important differences in Achievement Imagery content are ignored for purposes of obtaining a quantitative scoring system. It seems to us that there should be significant differences in achievement behavior between the students who surround their achievement fantasies with negative affect and convictions that their achievement goals are unattainable, and students whose achievement fantasies may include obstacles, but who have some conviction that they are able to be overcome. It is one of the main assumptions of this study that such differences are related to the student's early interpersonal experience with achievement training. Therefore, TAT scoring subcategories will be explored for major trends and their relationship to each student's past history of achievement training will be examined.

## CHAPTER III

## HYPOTHESES

1. Achieving students will report greater strength of Parental Influence on achievement behavior in their histories than non-achieving students as demonstrated by a higher mean rating score on the following interview categories:

- I: Parents' Achievement Striving
- II: Parental Influence on Student's Achievement
- III: Student's Attitudes Towards Own Achievement

2. Achieving students will report greater strength of Alternate Influence, in addition to Parental Influence, than non-achieving students as demonstrated by a higher mean rating score on Interview Category IV: Alternate Influence on Student's Achievement.

In addition, comparisons of the following categories of reported past and current experience will also be made among achieving and non-achieving students:

- a) The developmental sequence of the appearance of interpersonal influencers.
- b) The range of sources of influencers.
- c) The acceptance or rejection of Alternate Influencers for the student by Parental Influencers.

3. Students who report greater presence of early and positive interpersonal influence of achievement behavior in their histories will have less Achievement Imagery (AI) on TAT stories than will students who are only more recently being exposed to such influence.

4. Students who report greater presence of interpersonal influence of achievement behavior in their histories will show greater incidence of the following success-oriented TAT scoring subcategories:

I+: Activity instrumental to goal attainment.

Ga+: Successful goal attainment.

G+: Positive affective state.

Bp: Goal-directed activity blocked with block located in personal deficiency.

Nup: Nurturant press; someone helping or sympathizing with S, aiding in goal-directed behavior.

5. Students who report less strength of interpersonal influence on achievement behavior will show a greater incidence of the following conflict-oriented TAT scoring subcategories:

I-: Activity not leading to goal attainment.

I?: Activity toward goal attainment, but where outcome is doubtful.

Ga-: Frustration and failure related to goal attainment.

G-: Negative affective state.

Bw: Goal-directed activity blocked, with block located in world-at-large.

## CHAPTER IV

## METHODOLOGY

Subjects

A total of thirty-four subjects were finally selected for use in this study. Six subjects from the original forty selected were dropped for a variety of reasons; two because no appropriate match could be found, one had failed out of school and selective service intervened, and three subjects did not return for the second part of the procedure, the interview.

All subjects were selected from the population of 183 students in the College Discovery Program attending New York City Community College, one of the five community colleges within The City University system.

Subjects were identified as either Achievers (N=17) or Non-achievers (N+17) based upon their cumulative grade point averages (GPA's) at the completion of three semester's work at the college. The range of completed credits for the sample is 18.0 to 54.0, with the median number of credits being 38.0. To control for IQ, ethnic background, sex, and age as contributing factors to the results, the subjects of each group were closely matched in pairs for these variables. The IQ scores for each pair of subjects were matched to within plus or minus 5 points. These IQ scores were obtained from The City University Research

and Evaluation Unit, who administered the Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability (Form A). These were given in group administration just prior to the students' admission to college. Ethnic background, sex, and age were obtained from counselor's records. All subjects were between the ages of 19 and 21, most were 20 years old at the time the study was conducted. There was no significant difference between the mean ages of Achievers and Non-achievers.

Cumulative GPA's were on file at the College and easily accessible for use as identification of the Achieving and Non-achieving groups.

All subjects were of lower socio-economic status (SES) and identified as such based upon the Hollingshead, Ellis, and Kirby (1954) two-factor Index of Social Position which utilizes parental educational level and occupation as determinants. These data were reported by each subject on a face sheet they were asked to fill in prior to each interview (see Appendix B). The subjects had reported these same data to the college in the past for purposes of determining their stipend, the amount of which is based upon financial need.

Subjects were invited to volunteer for this study by letter (see Appendix A). Funds were made available so that each subject was paid for his time.

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<sup>1</sup>  
Our thanks to The City University of New York for making this grant available.

## Instruments

### Measure of Academic Achievement and Non-achievement

As stated above, this measure was based upon the cumulative Grade Point Averages (GPA's) for each subject in the sample. The criterion for Achievers was a GPA of 2.0 (C) or better, while the criterion for Non-achievers was 1.9 or below. These criteria were selected because the administrative policy of The City University Community Colleges is that a student must maintain a GPA of 2.0 (C) or better in order to maintain matriculated status.

### Measure of Interpersonal Influence on Achievement Behaviors

A structured interview, centering around the effect of other people on the subjects' achievement strivings and attempts, was used (see Appendix C). The interview was designed primarily to elicit reported facts, historically and currently, relevant to academic achievement training. Focused interviews for purposes of investigating interpersonal interaction as well as personal attitudes have been used successfully by other researchers (Bard, 1955; Brown, Morrison and Couch, 1947; Hoffman and Lippitt, 1960).

The interview schedule is constructed around four major categories of information. The categories, and a brief description of the content of each, follows:

I: Parents' Achievement Striving. Concerns the parents' own level of expectation for themselves as well as their actual achievement attained in areas of formal

education, work and hobby skills, and attitudes and expectations toward their own interpersonal relations.

II: Parental Influence on Student's Achievement.

Concerns parental attitudes and styles of relating to their child's attempts to learn in the school setting. Items include a survey of attitudes towards both success and failure on the part of the student; organization of space, materials, privacy, and primacy for school work; standards for success and failure scholastically for the student; attitudes toward the learning of skills and competencies outside the formal school setting.

III: Student's Attitudes Towards Their Own

Achievement. Concerns the student's attitudes toward the learning process; the quality of relatedness toward achievement in education (i.e., internal conviction about learning being valuable); the extent to which there is reported enjoyment of the learning process and whether or not there is belief that grades are a reflection of one's own efforts.

IV: Alternate Influence on Student's Achievement.

Concerns the reported significance of people outside the nuclear family who the student has experienced as having had a positive influence in the direction of encouragement and support of the educational process, resulting in a felt increase of motivation to achieve. Also concerns parental attitudes towards these Alternate Influencers.

Each of these categories were rated on the following six-point rating scale:

- 0: None
- 1: Mild
- 2: Temperate
- 3: Moderate
- 4: Strong
- 5: Intense

(Procedures for establishing reliability of the rating scale is described in Procedures.)

The interview was structured in the sense that all areas of questioning were covered with all subjects, but was used flexibly enough so that spontaneous questions could be asked to follow up on relevant information being sought for each category of information.

#### Measure of Achievement Motivation (n Achievement)

A battery of eight cards from the Murray (1943) TAT series was used to assess the strength of achievement motivation for each subject.

The particular eight-card battery of TAT cards used in this investigation was chosen because it has elicited achievement thematic material based upon previous research findings (Murstein, 1965; Kagan and Moss, 1962; Heckhausen, 1967; McClelland, 1953). These cards are described in Table 1 below.

McClelland's scoring system (C) deals with Achievement Imagery (AI) on the TAT which refers to a story containing reference to an achievement goal. An achievement goal is

Table 1  
Description of the Eight TAT Cards Used  
in the Present Study

Card No.	Description
1	Boy with violin
2	Farm scene; girl with books in foreground
3BM	Figure on floor; head in arm
3GF	Woman entering room; head bowed
5	Woman looking into room
6BM	Older woman; younger man, hat in hands
14	Silhouette of boy at window
17BM	Man climbing rope

defined as "...success in competition with some standard of excellence (1953, p. 110)." If, and only if, a story is scored for AI, twelve subcategories are then scored once per story and given a weight of +1. An achievement score is obtained for each story by summing algebraically the category scores for that story. "The n Achievement score for any one individual, is the total of the scores obtained on all stories written (McClelland et al., 1953, p. 148)."

The scoring reliability of the McClelland procedure has been found to be satisfactory. Heckhausen (1967) states that "...scorer agreements between .80 and .90 or

better have been reported (Heckhausen, 1967, p. 19)."

In longitudinal studies Kagan and Moss (1962) have found a significant coefficient of stability of Achievement Imagery over a period of ten years (from adolescence into adulthood) and McClelland (1965) has shown that n Achievement scores of college students predict life outcome over periods of ten years or more.

Table 2

McClelland's Scoring System C for Obtaining  
Individual's n Achievement Score

Symbol	Definition	Weight
UI	Unrelated Imagery	-1
TI	Doubtful Imagery	0
AI	Achievement Imagery	+1
N	Need	+1
I	Instrument Activity	+1
Ga+	Positive Anticipatory Goal State	+1
Ga-	Negative Anticipatory Goal State	+1
Bp	Personal Obstacle	+1
Bw	Environmental Obstacle	+1
G+	Positive Affective State	+1
G-	Negative Affective State	+1
Nup	Nurturant Press	+1
Ach Th	Achievement Thema	+1

For purposes of comparing differences in the patterning of AI among Achieving and Non-achieving students, deviations from the traditional use of McClelland's scoring system were necessary. They included examination of the data for the predicted clusters of subcategory scores in order to compare them with interview data. Particular attention was paid to the subcategories referring to success- vs. conflict-orientation in the context of achievement-related stories, positive vs. negative affect, obstacles or blocks to goal-directed activity, and the presence or absence of nurturant press.

#### Procedures

Following the preliminary work of discriminating achieving students from non-achieving students and matching the groups for IQ, ethnic background, age, and sex, a letter was sent to each potential subject. The letter stated that a research project had been undertaken at their college concerning the academic career of college students and their participation was invited. They were informed that the procedure would involve an interview of approximately two hours in one session and an hour of their time for another session (for TAT procedure). An addressed, stamped post card was included in the letter indicating the subject's willingness to participate in such a project and their schedule of free time. Telephone calls were then made to arrange for specific time with each subject.

For purposes of reducing experimental bias on the interview, the investigator did not have knowledge beforehand as to which group each subject belonged, Achievers or Non-achievers. Assistance had been arranged so that selection and matching of subject groups was accomplished without the investigator knowing the subjects' achievement category. Subjects were randomly selected for the interview by an assistant, from each of the two groups.

Subjects were seen individually for the interview in a private office of the community college involved. At the start of each interview, subjects were informed of the purpose of the research as follows: "I am conducting a study having to do with different factors in the life history of students who attend college. None of the names of the students with whom I talk will ever be connected with the material we discuss here, nor does any of this material in any way effect your standing in school. I will be asking you many questions covering the time span from elementary school to the present. If you do not understand what I am asking, please feel free to ask me for clarification. If you feel tired at any point and would like a short break, we can arrange that."

Since each interview was tape-recorded so that verbatim records were available for scoring, the subjects were then told: "As you can see, I am about to tape-record our discussion. This is for my convenience, since it would be difficult for me to take exact notes and talk

with you at the same time."

Since the interview was sharply focused around achievement training and behavior, all TAT's were administered prior to the interview so that TAT stories would not be contaminated by the interview experience.

To establish reliability, verbatim typed transcripts of interviews were given to four judges who were experienced clinicians. The experimenter had rated each interview on all four categories prior to this, without knowledge of the subject's achievement status. The time interval between the actual interview and the experimenter's rating of them ranged from two to nine weeks, with the median being approximately four weeks.

Because information on any of the categories could emerge from various points in the interview, the experimenter had gone through each protocol and blocked out those data pertaining to each category, labeling each category of information clearly for the judges. The rating scale for the interview categories was explained in a training session with each judge. The sample interviews obtained from pilot work were used at this time to illustrate the application of the rating scale with anchor points given to judges as examples of categories falling in either extreme of the rating scale. Each judge was then assigned one category to rate for six interview transcripts. The six cases chosen for each judge represented a case for each score for that category. Inter-

rater reliability coefficients between the judges' ratings and the experimenter's were then computed. Judgments used in computing the actual data were those of the experimenter.

The TAT procedure involved group administration of slide-projected images of the eight-card battery. Similar to the McClelland procedure, each subject was handed eight sheets of paper fastened together, along with a covering sheet of instructions. On the instruction sheet, four sets of questions were printed to ensure complete coverage of a plot for each card. They were:

1. What is happening? Who are the persons?
2. What has led up to this situation? That is, what has happened in the past?
3. What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?
4. What will happen? What will be done?

The experimenter then read the following instructions:

"This is a test of your creative imagination. A number of pictures will be projected on the screen before you. You will have twenty seconds to look at the picture and then you are asked to make up a story about it. Notice that there is one page for each picture. The same four questions which appear on your instruction sheet apply to each story. They will guide your thinking and enable you to cover all the elements of a plot. I will keep time and tell you when it is about time to go on to the next story. You will then have about thirty seconds to finish your story before the next picture is shown. There are no right or wrong answers, so you may feel free to make up any kind

of a story about the pictures that you choose. Try to make them vivid and dramatic, for this is a test of creative imagination. Do not merely describe the picture you see. Tell a story about it. Work as fast as you can in order to finish in time. Make them interesting. You will have five minutes to write each story. If you need more space you may use the reverse side of the page. Are there any questions?"

Next, the room was darkened for twenty seconds while the first picture was projected. After twenty seconds the picture was turned off and the lights turned on for the subjects to begin writing their stories. When the subjects had been writing for five minutes, the experimenter said, "Try to finish up in thirty seconds." The procedure continued in this manner for all eight TAT cards.

These instructions approximate what McClelland et. al. (1953) describe as the "neutral condition" for the administration of the TAT. The word "neutral" is used to denote a condition in which the measure of achievement motivation may be presented without extensive attempts to manipulate the motivation of the subjects. The purpose of such a condition is to neither depress nor increase the level of motivation, but rather to keep it "normal," so as to obtain a measure of the motivation subjects bring with them to the situation (McClelland, et. al., 1953).

## CHAPTER V

## RESULTS

Summaries and Excerpts of Interviews with  
Subjects of Different Achievement Levels

To give the reader a more direct flavor of the quality of the interview, samples of the interaction between the investigator and the subjects, and examples of the kinds of material evoked by the interview, the following summaries and excerpts of two transcripts are presented.

The interviews were edited so that material pertaining to each Category was kept together as much as possible. Scores for each Category are noted at the beginning of each section.

The first subject presented, Edward,<sup>1</sup> is an Achiever. His GPA was 2.93 at the time of the interview and his IQ score, 99. The second subject presented, Frank, is a Non-achiever with a GPA of 1.66 and an IQ score of 108. They are both Negro, soft-spoken in manner, well-dressed, and both were age 21 at the time of the interview.

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<sup>1</sup> The names are pseudonyms to protect the identities of the subjects.

An Interview with an Achiever: Edward

Category I: Parents' Achievement Striving (Score=1).

Edward's mother was born and brought up in a rural area of the deep South. She was one of eleven children in her family. She attended school to the third grade, at which point she had to drop out in order to help tend the farm and look after the younger children. Edward reports:

She told me that when she was younger that she had a great love for reading and school, but with eleven children in the family she had to drop out...and try to make ends meet with farming, you see. She was greatly saddened by this and so...in order to get away from home...she got married. It happens that way with many people raised in the South.

With Edward's father she share-cropped the land and gave birth to three children. The first was a girl, Edward was the second child, and another girl was born when Edward was five years old. Of her life during this period, Edward states:

...This type of work she strongly detested because it's a way of keeping you -- well, you know, share-cropping is another form of slavery. She strongly detested this because the man she was working for would always be 'kind' enough to loan them more money, to keep them in debt and keep them there, and she sensed this.

Then, when Edward was approximately seven years old, a cousin of his mother's brought the family up North to Detroit. There, the last child of the family was born, a boy. Following the birth of this last child, Edward's parents separated, his father returning to the South

where he still lives with his mother. For the first few years in Detroit Edward's mother worked in a laundry when she could find someone to mind the children. When she couldn't, she received aid from the Department of Welfare. After a year or two in Detroit, she met a man, through her cousin, who became Edward's stepfather. The family moved to New York in 1963 when Edward was in the ninth grade of junior high school.

Edward's mother reads the Bible occasionally, watches soap operas on television, and is an avid radio listener. She mostly listens to gospel programs and the news. Mother sees both family and friends. They go out together, visit each other's homes.

Edward's actual father had gone as far as third grade in school in the South. He visits his father every other year when he makes a trip down South to see his grandmother. But since he was about eight years old, when his father and mother were divorced, Edward feels it was his stepfather who raised him.

Edward's stepfather has had no education whatsoever. He was born in Missouri, spent some time in Arkansas and most of his life in Detroit. For fifteen years he worked on the assembly line in the automotive industry in Detroit, earning a decent living and owning his own car. After fifteen years, the plan he worked for cut back its labor force drastically and Edward's stepfather was laid off. He had a small shoe shine parlor for a while in

Detroit and following that had a job as an elevator operator which he still has, here in New York. The move from Detroit to New York was motivated by the hope that the stepfather could earn a better living here.

Throughout the interview, Edward refers to his stepfather as "father," and when asked if his parents have any plans for the future, Edward states:

My father is trying to get a home... He often talks about maybe getting his own farm or something, because he feels he is best suited for this type of work. He is very much interested in farming and livestock and so forth... But the way things are going now, I can't really predict. We almost mainly live day by day and I think this is a big hang-up with most people of lower income families, you know. You can't really plan a future -- you just have to live day to day.

Edward's stepfather often expresses his feeling of being limited in terms of what he can do in life because of his lack of education. He tells his stepchildren that what they want to do in life is up to them, but Edward says that one can tell he thinks his line of work is "nothing" and that he wouldn't want his children to be doing the same thing.

When asked who his parents most respect and admire, Edward stated:

Well, in Detroit they always talked about their Reverend. They were members of his Church. And, of course, there was my cousin, James. They thought a lot of him. As I said earlier, my mother met my father through him. He was the one who asked my mother if she wanted to come North. I admire him a lot, too, because he brought us

North, you see... And Martin Luther King, my mother thinks was God-sent. My father likewise. Malcolm X, they thought he was very good, too.

Category II: Parental Influence (Score=5).

Edward reports that his mother always pushed for her children to get good grades in school and if they were bad, she would be upset.

E: Can you remember what your parents' attitude was toward your earning good grades in elementary school?

S: They always pushed for all of us to do well in school. Mother didn't have that much time to come out and check on us with the instructors and everything, but she was always trying to push us.

E: How did she push you?

S: She would always tell us that if we didn't get good grades...we would be deprived, and if we got good grades, she would always praise us.

In the second grade, Edward failed. Mostly, he reports the failure to be due to his having been "mischievous" as a child and not doing what he was asked to do by the teacher. When asked what his mother's reaction to his failure was, Edward said:

S: Well, she was angry about it...there was a punishment awaiting.

E: Who was she angry at?

S: At me. She felt I was just playing around at school. And I was.

E: What in general was her reaction to getting bad grades?

S: Well, she'd always want us to go further than she went, and so it really upset her. Sometimes she wouldn't say anything, but you could tell she was really upset about it when we would come in with a failing mark or something.

When asked what his parents' attitudes toward good and bad grades was during junior and senior high school, Edward reports:

Well, this feeling that we should try harder. They felt we should be trying harder. My father would always tell us that 'You see what I'm doing -- it's up to you if you want to do this, too. It's up to you,' but from the way he said it, you could always tell that he didn't consider this type of work anything. My mother always wanted us to be something -- a doctor, or lawyer, or something. Not very many people in the family have gone on to any kind of higher education.

And when speaking of his parents' attitudes toward his attending college, Edward states:

E: How do they feel about your being in college?

S: It's very exciting to them. They always manage to get the name of the college wrong, but you can tell they're very proud and, of course, it's something that's never been before. It has been in the family, but I don't know if she ever dreamed of her children going. It seems she's very excited because she always brings it up on occasion in conversation with friends and relatives.

Edward also states that his parents have done whatever they could do to make it easier for him to go to college. His mother takes care of the household chores so that Edward's school work comes first. They have always respected his choice of friends, they have welcomed them when he brings them to his house. Earlier, the curfews and restrictions

they placed on his social life were reasonable and as he grew older the curfews changed accordingly and the restrictions lifted. They have always been sensitive toward, and communicative about the school people who actively encouraged Edward toward going further in school. They seem to feel rather grateful to anyone who helped their son get through school.

Category III: Student's Attitude Toward Achievement (Score=4). Edward traces his attitude toward his own academic achievement back to his second grade experience of having failed.

S: In the second grade...I started off by failing 2A. Not because I was doing badly in the subjects, but because I wouldn't do what the instructor told me to. I always remember that and I guess I always will. She was calling everybody's name -- all those who passed -- and, of course, I was left seated. And from then on, I just made up my mind that I wouldn't fail again.

And later in the interview the following interchange occurred:

E: At what point did you get more involved with doing the homework and becoming a serious student?

S: This goes all the way back to that year that I failed, second grade... It really hurt to be left back there and I just made up my mind from there that I would try to pass. It was another way of distinction. I didn't excell or exceed any other people in the athletic field... I was always mediocre in those things, and so I wanted to do well in school. Ever since then I've been doing pretty good.

Most of Edward's interests and hobbies centered around school. In junior and senior high school he was a

member of the Safety Patrol, a student teacher, and often appointed monitor. He was invited several times through this period by teachers to talk to other students in the auditorium or in the classroom. Some of these were assigned speeches and others were simply an invitation to share some of his experiences with the teachers and his peers.

When asked if he had ever been tempted to drop out of high school, Edward replied:

E: Were you ever tempted to drop out of high school?

S: No, it never occurred to me. Well, it did cross my mind, but I really didn't think about it, because so many of us do drop out and, of course, I was determined to at least get a high school education. That was the goal when I was in the tenth grade. I wanted that diploma.

Edward had only the vaguest thoughts about college during his senior year in high school. He knew he didn't want to go into the service, and he knew he didn't have enough training to get a job that would give him a sense of pride and some satisfaction. He was invited to apply for the College Discovery Program by a high school teacher and eagerly responded to the opportunity. In discussing his experience of college so far, and his thoughts and plans for his future, Edward states:

E: What would you like to get out of college, Edward?

S: Well, of course, a greater understanding of life, I guess. I've been thinking of how I could help the community. I think most of the people who are in the Discovery Program, since we are from

low income families, I feel sure they will go back into the community and offer something to the community.

E: How would you like to contribute? What would you like to do?

S: I would like to go into teaching, first of all. I think this would be sort of a stepping stone to better relationships in the community. I would like to be able to -- like my high school instructor who recommended me for the Discovery Program -- like to be able to inspire others like me to go on to college. This is open now and they can see there is more to life than just working five days a week and partying on the weekend.

E: What do you expect life to be like for you ten years from now?

S: I hope to be -- to have a home and hope to be pretty well established teaching. Maybe I might move out of the field of teaching. I might move into some kind of public relations work, maybe -- trying to help others as they have helped me.

E: Is that what you would like to be doing?

S: Yes. Of course, I have thought about civil rights a great deal, too. Maybe I could move in there somewhere. Maybe if I'm teaching -- you see with history as a major you always have a background and you can always swing into law or any other field. I am sure that history will work for me because we're concerned with a background. Identify -- this is the main thing for people who are on the move up.

Edward currently is struggling to formulate his own position on the question of civil rights and black militancy. He talks with the younger people of his community about politics and civil rights and feels keenly that they are looking to him for some answers.

They feel that since I am going to college, I should know, but this doesn't always hold

true.

Of course, a lot of young people now are militant. I am wondering right now if this is the thing. Is violence the thing? Malcolm X changed, you see. After he had travelled and all -- maybe it comes with more education, this understanding, this non-violent thing. Maybe it's more educated. Maybe it's more narrow-minded to say that violence is the only way. But these are the problems that he was confronted with and I felt that I could identify with him.

King was like the preacher who could get across. You see a well-educated man. Someone who went to Morehouse College at the age of fifteen and who didn't want to be a Minister. He changed his mind because he saw how he could be both emotionally and intellectually happy, so he went into this field... First of all, he had an education, so naturally, he could identify with some of the middle-class Negro. And then he came up from the bottom, so right away he could deal with the grass roots. Then he had this religion, which seems to be with the whole black population -- this deep religious feeling. He could unite the poor people -- all people.

When Edward is asked who he most respects and admires, the list is relatively a long one. He talks about Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Sammy Davis, Jr., Robert Mitchem and Gregory Peck. He also talks about James Brown:

...not just because of his singing, but because of what he's trying to do. I like to see a person like James Brown who started off as a shoeshiner, you know, and climbed all the way to the top. I think what I like most about him is that he remembers the community where he came from. He's always coming back to the community.

When Edward was asked if any of his friends currently attend college, he replied:

S: Yes. Most of them that I graduated with are going to college now. Of course, I met other people through friends that graduated.

E: Are these high school friends you're talking about?

S: Yes.

E: How often do you get together with them?

S: Once a week.

E: What sorts of things do you do?

S: About a month ago we got together to start a party. We gave a party that was very successful. Sometimes we just meet and discuss a big event that's coming up. Sometimes we just sit down and talk politics or talk about girls. That's about it. We all meet -- two of the fellows come in from Brooklyn so I meet them and we go uptown and meet two more up there.

Edward is also involved in a new club that was founded this past year at the college. It is an Afro-American club and he is its Public Relations Officer. They have sponsored several cultural affairs at the college, each of which has been extremely successful, and Edward has made a contribution to each of them.

Category IV: Alternate Influence (Score=5).

Edward has several aunts and several cousins who either have attended college or are currently attending college. Most of the extended family live in the South, but two of his aunts live in the East. Edward used to visit them often until this past year when his school work became too pressing. He describes his relationship as a close one with these two aunts and reports them as urging him on to complete his college education. Both aunts are

teachers.

Edward has always had a social life. During elementary school he "hung out with a lot of gangs." They talked about their mutual problems which Edward states was helpful because there were always some who were older who gave some sensible advice when it was needed. His group seemed to be centered around sports activities, or talking out "on the streets," with movie-going being the thing to do on Saturdays.

During the early part of junior high school, before coming to New York, Edward began spending his after school time at the local recreation center playing ball with his friends. The center was located in the nearby high school and was a meeting house for the local teenagers. When he came to New York he located a Community Center in his neighborhood where he met new friends. He played for the basketball team in his junior high school and became quite friendly with his coach, Mr. C.

My whole family knew Mr. C in junior high school because he would come over the house. My brother and I both went through the same school and we both served on the basketball team, so like the whole school knew us. Mr. C would stop by sometimes and talk with us. We strongly identified with him, most of the young people from the Harlem area. We identified with him because he came up the same way we did -- lower income family. And he'd always tell the kids that if he could do it, they could do it. He was always trying to push the young people into some kind of direction. He was always trying to get them some kind of scholarship or something, so they could go on to college.

Edward reports that both in junior and senior high school there were several teachers who told him they thought he was college potential and that he should give it some serious thought. One of these teachers asked Edward to give an orientation speech to the incoming freshmen in high school and Edward felt pleased at the confidence shown him. During his senior year in high school Edward met a history teacher, Mr. B, who was of special importance to him.

Mr. B...is Vice Chairman of the History Department and he was my Negro History instructor and, of course, we would always stay after school and talk with him about the different clubs and everything. He would encourage us to go up to the library uptown here and read some of the books. He would always throw out different questions. One question he never answered was, 'Were Negroes included into the Constitution?' He never answered that question, and it was stuff like that that we would always stay after class and talk over with him.

Edward states that his current plan to teach history stems from his experience with Mr. B. It was this teacher who recommended Edward to the College Discovery Program. Edward still goes back to junior and senior high school to visit with these teachers.

An Interview with a Non-achiever: Frank

Category I: Parents' Achievement Striving (Score=1).

Frank's mother was born and raised in the South where she attended school up to the eleventh grade. She worked before her marriage as a domestic, but has not worked since.

There are eight children in the family, of which Frank is the fourth oldest.

She does not keep up with the news on any media, although "years ago" she used to read the newspaper. In recent years she has been very involved with Jehovah's Witnesses and most of what she currently reads is related to that religious organization.

E: What sorts of things does your mother read?

S: Different sorts of things, about the mind. Like Your Inner Self and all that. She reads about it in the...faith magazines. All that stuff. Plus horoscopes and astrology.

When asked with whom his parents associate most, Frank replied:

S: My mother doesn't associate with anybody. When people come to see her she talks to them, she's friendly. But she doesn't want to bother with anybody.

E: So who comes? (Laughs)

S: (Laughs) Nobody, really! (Laughs) Except once in a while, once in a blue moon, somebody comes. My father, he's at his shop most of the time. He doesn't associate with anybody either, unless it's the people up at his shop, and I don't know who they are.

E: So they have absolutely no social life?

S: Not that I know of.

Frank's father was born and brought up in the South, also, where he went to college for two years. Frank doesn't know why he stopped after two years, nor what he had planned on as a major. He thinks perhaps father worked his own way through those two years.

Frank's parents were married in 1945 and shortly afterwards came up North. His father had a succession of jobs such as driving a truck, being a superintendent of a building, etc. In 1951 he took some correspondence courses to learn to repair radios and later took additional courses to learn to repair television sets. Five years ago, Frank's father became self-employed in the radio-TV repair business. Frank thinks father got into that field "in order to be his own boss." In speaking of his father's business, Frank states:

S: The people he fixed radios and TV's for wanted credit... Money that should have gone into the house would go into buying materials and parts for people's sets. A lot of these people wanted credit and a lot of these people were no good. It was in the project, you see, and a lot of the people didn't want to pay and those that did, took a long time, and that's where most of his money went. Into buying -- it got tied up in people's sets.

E: Now, eventually he built up a business?

S: Well, he's only been in business about five years. As far as I'm concerned, he should close it. If he got out of that neighborhood he could do very, very well. If he got a section around here... once people found out about him, he could do very, very well. Because he fixes televisions very well and for a lower price than the average repair man. But he's in a neighborhood -- it's uptown, Brooklyn -- same story. People there want credit and if he doesn't lower his prices, they won't go to him, they'll go to somebody else.

E: Why doesn't he move?

S: He can't, because his rent is so high. Where he is now, the rent is cheap. But if he goes around here, he may have to pay \$250.00 a month for rent -- something like that.

E: But if you're right that the business would increase so that --

S: Yes, but he needs -- I guess he'd need a loan or something so that he could get the rent paid. And once people found out about it -- we could advertise -- and then he could do very well.

E: Is that part of his plan?

S: I think he'll be there ten years from now and by that time he'll be retired. He'll probably be too old to life those heavy televisions.

E: How old is he?

S: I think he's about 54. Ten years from now he'll be about 65.

Frank remembers father reading only the newspapers, and that only occasionally. He has no memory of seeing his father ever read anything else, except for the correspondence courses.

Father has a reputation for being handy around the house. Some years back, Frank's father bought a sewing machine and taught himself to use it. The machine, it seems, continually "jammed up" and because of it, father never taught mother to use it, for fear "things would get messed up." They still have the same machine, it still jams up, and mother still doesn't know how to use it.

When asked whom do his parents most respect and admire, Frank declared:

S: I can't think of anybody. I don't go around asking them who they admire.

E: Well, but you can observe.

S: Yes, well, let me see. I don't know who they most admire.

Category II: Parental Influence (Score=1). When Frank was asked about his parents' attitudes towards his earning good grades in elementary school, he answered:

S: They weren't strict or anything. They were pleased if I got good grades, but if I didn't they just figured I was no good.

E: They figured what?

S: They figured I was no good. Just another no-good kid, I guess.

E: How did they express this?

S: I don't know. Like if I got good grades they would be proud. If I didn't, they'd say, 'You're no good, anyway.'

Frank had his own room at home where, whenever he did his homework, he studied. Although he reports his father as being "handy around the house," Frank's desk broke, was never repaired, and was eventually thrown out. He ended up doing most of his homework on the floor, "in front of the television set."

When Frank was asked if there was anyone he could ask for help on his homework, he replied, "I could ask my brother or my sister, but if I didn't get it the first time, they'd start yelling at me, calling me stupid. So I didn't bother them. They were very impatient."

Frank reports during the later grammar school years he became interested in noticing how motors worked and would take his toy motors apart to see how they were put together. When asked what his parents' attitudes toward that were, Frank stated:

S: They didn't mind. They knew that I could fix things around the house. I did that. And they said I was smart -- I mean, as far as fixing things were concerned.

E: Any other way?

S: (Laughs) Not in particular! They didn't think I was stupid, though -- not retarded.

Frank reports that whenever his parents had some chore for him to do, no matter what school work he was involved with, he had to drop it and do the chore first. "Homework was always last."

Frank was often ill during school and had a bad attendance record all the way through. During his last year in high school, his attendance record was so bad that they "kicked him out." It was Frank, not his parents, who wrote to the officials to get back into school.

When asked about his parents' attitudes towards his grades in college, Frank states:

S: I guess about the same, probably.

E: Do they keep track of them?

S: Nope. Well, my father wants to know if I'm passing or failing, because if I'm failing he wants me to get a job and work full-time. But if I'm passing, then he doesn't have anything to say. I guess he's glad. I guess.

E: Does your going to college inconvenience them in any way?

S: Not really. If I left home they wouldn't even notice the difference, financially speaking. I'm no burden on them because I don't eat that much food. My father pays rent, he'll pay the same rent whether I'm there or not. So I'm not a burden. He doesn't buy anything for me, I buy my own clothing. I'm no burden.

E: How do they feel about your going to college?

S: I guess they're both proud, because I was the first one. All my other brothers and sisters, like my two older sisters, didn't finish high school. My brother, he attended graduation, but he had one subject he had to make up and he never did make it up. So it all comes to me, I'm the first one... So that makes them feel that at least somebody is going somewhere, probably.

E: Have they done anything to make it easier for you to go?

S: My father doesn't do anything but provide me with a home and food. He doesn't give me money for anything. He says if I want money I'll have to go at night. If I need money for college expenses I'll have to go at night. Otherwise, if I can make it on my own, as far as books and things like that are concerned, he's not going to bother me.

Category III: Student's Attitude (Score=1). Frank reports that during grammar school his first grade teacher played the piano and he became interested in learning to play. However, without a piano to practice on at home, he could not get lessons from the school. Since finances were tight at home, he could neither afford the piano nor lessons. His interest in it continued throughout school, but with somewhat less intensity. During the time of his interview for this study, Frank had a full-time job for the summer and had the thought that now he could buy himself a second-hand piano if he wanted to, but that he "no longer felt enthusiastic" about the project. In fact, he thinks he "might be bored with it now."

When Frank was asked how he spent most of his outside of school time during elementary school, he replied,

"I guess sometimes I did my homework. A lot of times it would take me a long time to do my homework, because every time I made a mistake, I used to tear up the paper and start all over again. I wanted everything to be perfect, so it took me a long time to do that."

Frank felt he did fairly well in elementary school up to the fifth grade. During that year he was hit on the head by a swing in the part and Frank expresses some vague notion that perhaps that accident had some effect on his ability to do math because following the accident he always had trouble with math. However, outside of a bruise on the side of his temple where the swing struck him, Frank reported there were no other symptoms.

On his attitude toward success in school, Frank had a great deal to say:

...I found out in psychology that there were certain people, who, because of their environment, feel unworthy of achieving success. So I figure that maybe that was the problem with me. I don't know what caused it, but like I would have nothing to do and I wouldn't take out my books and start reading, even though I had masses of homework to do. I wouldn't do it.

I didn't really care too much about high school. I guess it was that same problem about not wanting to graduate, because I would be a success. I was about to be successful, to be the first successful member of the family to graduate. So maybe subconsciously I didn't want this to happen.

In high school Frank chose a vocational school and took an electrical trades course rather than an academic one.

E: So when you first started high school you weren't planning on going to college?

S: Nope. I was very, very much against it. Very strongly against it.

E: Why?

S: I don't know.

But later in the interview, Frank discusses his and his mother's interest in Jehovah's Witnesses, and the reason for his feeling strongly against college emerges.

S: My mother started studying with them when I was about six years old and I used to study with them on and off. So I thought I was going to be a Minister. But not in the sense that you would think of a Minister -- somebody who wears a long, black robe, stays in Church all the time. A different type of Minister. And that's why I was very much against going to college. As I thought about it, I decided maybe I'd postpone being a Witness for a while.

E: What has that to do with college?

S: Well, because in college they teach courses in philosophy and logic. And these arguments they present are supposedly logical. And evolution and all that -- you begin to doubt maybe there's a Creator. Or you may doubt the religion you're in. Because they give you ideas about how religion came to be and maybe a lot of it is true. A lot of people look at the facts, weigh them and they become athiests or agnostics.

E: How do you feel about it now?

S: Well, I have an open mind. I listen. I'm afraid, though! I may become an unbeliever.

E: Are you still active in Jehovah's Witnesses?

S: Someday I intend to return. Maybe after I get out of school I'll return to that.

Category IV: Alternate Influence (Score=0). When asked about having friends during elementary school, Frank stated:

S: Most of the people I knew I didn't particularly care for... You ever hear the expression 'to rank on somebody?' Yes, well, I figured this: anytime anybody will rank on you that they're not worth being bothered with.

E: Were all the kids like that?

S: All of them, yes. All the ones I came in contact with. School. So I never -- when I saw them, I was with them, but I never sought them out.

In both junior and senior high school, Frank's pattern of being a loner continued.

S: I didn't associate with anybody in my neighborhood when I was in high school. Because by then I didn't want to have anything to do with -- when I was little, I put up with these people. But as I got older, I didn't want to be bothered at all. So when I see them I say, 'Hi,' and that's all. I have nothing to say.

E: Did you find other people to see?

S: Well, in high school there were one or two people that I liked. The rest of them were kind of the people in my neighborhood and I became very picky about people and how they acted and everything. If they didn't act a certain way, I didn't want to have anything to do with them. And so I found one or two people in school that would interest me. Other than that, nobody.

E: Did you spend time with them outside of school?

S: Nope. Just in school.

E: Sounds a bit lonely. How about now?

S: Same thing now, too. Those that I don't like, I don't have anything to do with. And as far as outside of school is concerned, once in a while when they have something at the school and I don't have to pay for it, I get tickets for two and I go with that person.

E: Outside of that?

S: Outside of that, nothing.

Frank never went to anyone's house and no one ever visited his house. This was true of him all the way through school and is still true.

S: ...I'm very narrow minded about people. When I see certain qualities in them that I don't like.

E: How would you know? It doesn't sound like you ever explored.

S: Well, you see it all started with these people. Like my mother used to tell my sister all the time, 'Stay away from these people,' these girls she used to hang around with, 'Because they're not your friends, they're just going to get you in trouble.' And I listened to that. I guess my mother had a very strong influence on me. And so, when I saw these people insulting me, supposedly in fun, I didn't like it, because I don't like to do it to other people. I figured well, they're probably not any good, just like my mother said. I'm not a mama's boy, but they had a very strong influence on me and as I saw people -- like they use a lot of bad language and everything. I don't want to be bothered with people like that. And most people I meet are like that so I usually -- everything is on the surface, slight acquaintance.

When Frank was asked to name one to three people, outside of his family, who he had felt to be encouraging to him in relation to school, he couldn't think of anyone. When he was asked if there were teachers he had been fond of in school, he reported there had been one, in elementary school that he had been fond of, but he had changed his mind about her. He was asked to tell the experimenter about the experience.

- S: When I was in the fifth grade, I had a teacher that I liked a lot. And that was the first class I liked, because I didn't like school before the fifth grade. I looked forward to going to school when I got in the fifth grade and that was the only time I looked forward to going to school. Before that I hated it. Then afterwards it wasn't too bad, but I didn't look forward to going.
- E: What about her did you like?
- S: I don't know. Maybe it was that time in my life. Maybe it would have happened with any other teacher.
- E: What happened to make you change your mind?
- S: About her?
- E: Yes.
- S: Oh, well, my mother went to see her one time and she said I was very aggressive and I was very resentful of the other kids doing any task for her. Like, she would ask the kids to help her and she said I acted as if I didn't want them to help her. I was the only one that wanted to help her. Now, I don't recall that. And I thought about that. I thought she had a lot of nerve to say that, because -- because of that I don't care too much for her. And also she was making references to some kids, who, at the time, she used the expression -- when talking to another teacher about these kids -- she said, 'Yes, and they're so ill-mannered.' At that time I didn't know what ill-mannered meant. I thought it meant that maybe when you were ill, you had nice manners because you were so sick you couldn't be nasty! I was ten years old at the time. That's what I thought ill-mannered meant. So I remembered that. It always stuck in my mind and I realize now that she was saying they had no manners. And she was always nice to these kids. I guess she figured we were small, we wouldn't know what she was talking about. But she said what she had to say in front of the kids. And I remember that and I thought, well, she was deceitful. And even though those kids were ill-mannered, she shouldn't have talked about them as far as I'm concerned.

E: What did your mother think of her?

S: She said that she shouldn't have said that about me.

When Frank was asked if there had been teachers in high school he was fond of, he named the two who had recommended him for College Discovery Program. When asked if his parents knew these two teachers:

S: These teachers? My mother met both of them, yes.

E: What did she think of them?

S: She thought they were both nice people. They do appear to be nice. She had one meeting with them. She said they were very nice, from what she could see.

E: That implies that underneath there may be something else?

S: Of course! Because people appear nice, but you don't know what they are really. Like when you get married. You think you like the person so much and then you find out what they're really like and maybe you find you've made a mistake. Even without marriage, maybe people go around appearing to be nice, and maybe they're not so nice after all. I come into contact with people like that. One example, I was talking with somebody over the phone. This was a couple of months ago. And his sister wanted to use the phone afterwards. And I didn't hang up the phone because sometimes I listen to the phone after a person hangs up. I listen because I can hear talk in the background, distance, and I'm trying to hear what it is. So sometimes I do that. And his sister took the phone and couldn't get the line... If you don't hang your receiver up then it keeps their line open for a while. Eventually you get shut off. But she tried to use the phone and she sounded so sweet on the phone when I talked to her, when I asked for this person. Then I heard her cursing and carrying on with her brother because she couldn't get the phone working. So that's an example of people who are supposedly nice.

E: You mean people aren't supposed to --

S: I don't mean that people are all evil, but you should have heard the language she was using. She was so sweet over the phone and then to hear her use that language, you'd be surprised -- it was the same girl.

### Subjects

Since subjects were matched for IQ, there was no significant difference found between IQ means among Achievers (Mean IQ = 109.53) and Non-achievers (Mean IQ = 108.41). Ethnic background was also controlled, each Achiever having been matched with an appropriate counterpart falling within the Non-achiever group. There were a total of sixteen Negroes, eight Puerto Ricans, and ten "others." This last category was comprised of a variety of white students, most of whom had at least one parent who had emigrated to the United States from Europe. There were ten males and seven females in the sample for each achievement group.

The one dimension on which the groups were pre-selected was GPA. The mean GPA for Achievers was 2.55 (C+) while the mean GPA for Non-achievers was 1.65 (C-/D+). The differences between these means was found to be significant at the .001 level of confidence.<sup>1</sup>

The range of GPA's were from 1.02 to 1.98 for Non-achievers and from 2.03 to 3.32 for Achievers. For the

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<sup>1</sup>  
All tests of significance used in this study are non-directional.

entire population of College Discovery students attending New York City Community College, the mean GPA is 1.93, with a standard deviation of .68. The range for the entire College Discovery group is from 0.00 to 3.50. Thus, our sample represents a virtually continuous distribution of GPA's with either end of the extremes missing (that is, very low and very high GPA's).

Table 3  
General Characteristics of the  
Subjects in the Sample

Characteristic		Achievers (N=17)	Non-achievers (N=17)	P*
Age	Mean	20.18	20.12	NS
	Standard Deviation	.39	.49	
IQ	Mean	109.53	108.41	NS
	Standard Deviation	5.55	5.67	
GPA	Mean	2.55	1.65	.001
	Standard Deviation	1.32	.29	
Ethnic Background				
	Negro	8	8	
	Puerto Rican	4	4	
	Other	5	5	
Sex				
		$\frac{M}{10}$	$\frac{F}{7}$	$\frac{M}{10}$ $\frac{F}{7}$

\*t Test

Most of the subjects came from intact homes. The differences between father-present and father-absent homes are not significant, as can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4  
Father-Present and Father-Absent Homes  
Among Achievers and Non-achievers

	Achievers	Non-achievers	$\chi^2$	P
Father Present	14	15	.0008	NS
Father Absent	3	2		

Socio-economic Status (SES)

The wage-earners' occupations for Achievers' families included three unskilled workers, five semi-skilled workers, four skilled workers, one clerical worker, one Civil Service employee, two managerial positions with small business, and one Minister. For Non-achievers' families, the occupational classifications were six unskilled workers, five semi-skilled, three skilled, two Civil Service employees, one clerical, and one managerial position with small business.

Hollingshead, Ellis, and Kirby's (1954) two-factor Index of Social Position (ISP) was used to classify subjects' SES. In their Index, Class I is considered the elite, Class II would represent upper middle-class,

Class III, middle class, Class IV is upper lower-class, and Class V, lower class. All subjects in this sample fall into either Class IV or V as summarized in Table 5.

Table 5  
Index of Social Position for  
Achievers and Non-achievers

ISP	Achievers	Non-achievers	$\chi^2$	P
Class IV	12	11	.0005	NS
Class V	5	6		

In order to further analyze these data, the raw ISP scores for the subjects were examined for differences between means for Achievers and Non-achievers. As can be seen in Table 6, there is no significant difference between means of ISP raw scores among Achievers and Non-achievers. The raw score means for both groups would fall into Class IV status.

Table 6

Index of Social Position Scores for Each Class\*  
Among Achievers and Non-achievers

ISP		Achievers	Non-achievers	<u>t</u>	P
Class IV (N=23)	Means	71.50	71.27	.08	NS
	S. D.	6.71	7.53		
Class V (N=11)	Means	95.60	91.00	1.86	NS
	S. D.	3.29	4.52		

\*The higher the score, the lower the class status.

In addition, the educational level of the wage-earner of the family was examined for differences between Achievers and Non-achievers. As Table 7 indicates, no significant difference was found among the two achievement groups.

Table 7

Educational Level of Wage-earning Parent  
Among Achievers and Non-achievers

	Achievers	Non-achievers	<u>t</u>	P
Means	8.88	9.71	.80	NS
S. D.	3.42	2.59		

Interview Findings

Reliability of Interview Scoring

Four judges were used to establish reliability of the rating system for the interview material. Each judge received six interview transcripts on which he made rating judgments for one category. Judge A scored six subjects for Parents' Achievement Striving (Category I), Judge B scored his six cases for Parental Influence on Students' Achievement (Category II), Judge C, Student's Attitude Toward Achievement (Category III), and Judge D, Alternate Influence on Students' Achievement (Category IV). Each judge's scores were ranked and compared with the experimenter's scores for that subject and that category. All correlations in Table 8 were significant at either the .05 or the .01 level of confidence.

Table 8  
Rank-Order Correlations for Reliability  
of Interview Scoring

Interview Category	Judge and E Correlation	P
I Parents' Ach.	.83	.05
II Parental Infl.	.92	.01
III Students' Att.	.82	.05
IV Alt. Infl.	.88	.01

The experimenter's ratings were then used for all statistical comparisons in the study.

### Interview Categories and GPA

As summarized in Table 9, for Category I (Parents' Achievement) there was no significant difference found between the means of Achievers and Non-achievers. For Categories II (Parental Influence), III (Student's Attitudes), and IV (Alternate Influence) significant differences between means of Achievers and Non-achievers were found.<sup>1</sup>

Table 9  
Differences Between Mean Rating Scores on  
Interview Categories I, II, III, and IV  
for Achievers and Non-achievers

Interview Category		Achievers	Non-achievers	Mean Diff.	P*
I: Par. Ach.	Means	1.76	1.88	.12	NS
	S.D.	1.15	1.37		
II: Par. Infl.	Means	3.59	1.88	1.71	.002
	S. D.	1.18	1.16		
III: Stud. Att.	Means	4.00	2.35	1.65	.002
	S. D.	.79	1.21		
IV: Alt. Infl.	Means	4.18	2.35	1.83	.002
	S. D.	.88	1.32		

\* Mann-Whitney U Test of Significance

<sup>1</sup>

A non-parametric statistic was chosen because the experimenter did not feel the assumptions of a normal distribution could be made for these data.

These findings indicate that there are significant differences with respect to achievement in parental involvement, student orientation, and availability of Alternate Influencers among Achievers and Non-achievers.

Rank-order correlations were performed to discover the extent of association between GPA and scores on the Interview Categories. These findings are summarized below in Table 10.<sup>1</sup>

Table 10  
Rank-Order Correlations Between GPA  
and Interview Categories

GPA and:	r	P
I: Par. Ach.	-.007	NS
II: Par. Infl.	.74	.001
III: Stud. Att.	.84	.001
IV: Alt. Infl.	.74	.001

These findings indicate a positive relationship, significant beyond the .001 level of confidence, between GPA's and scores on Interview Categories II, III, and IV; the subjects with the higher ratings on these Interview Categories have higher GPA's.

<sup>1</sup>  
Spearman's rank-difference method of correlation was chosen as it is the only correlative method whose assumptions (as described in Peatman, 1963, and McNemar, 1949) are not violated by these data.

Taking those subjects who scored low (0-2) on Category II (Parental Influence), the difference between the means for Achievers and Non-achievers was not found to be statistically significant (Mean Difference = .57). However, for these same subjects, the differences between the means for Category IV (Alternate Influence) was significant at the .02 level of confidence. Table 11 summarizes these findings.

Table 11  
Means on Category IV (Alternate Influence)  
for those Subjects Scoring Low  
on Category II (Parental Influence)

Category IV: Alternate Influence	S's with Low Parental Influence		P*
	Achievers (N=4)	Non-achievers (N=11)	
Means	4.25	2.09	.02
S. D.	.43	1.27	

\* Mann-Whitney U Test of Significance

To determine the degree of association between Interview Categories, an intercorrelation among them was performed, summarized in Table 12. Only two significant relationships resulted from the intercorrelations. Parental Influence (Category II) and Student's Attitude (Category III) were found to be significantly related ( $p < .01$ ) for the Achievers. The second correlation found to be statistically significant was that between Category

III (Student's Attitude) and Category IV (Alternate Influence), also for Achievers only ( $p < .05$ ). For the Non-achiever group there were no significant correlations found among the Interview Categories.

Table 12  
Intercorrelations Among Interview Categories

Interview Categories	Achievers		Non-achievers	
	r	P*	r	P*
II and III	.06	NS	.29	NS
I and III	-.24	NS	.18	NS
I and IV	.10	NS	.27	NS
II and III	.67	.01	.17	NS
II and IV	.37	NS	.19	NS
III and IV	.53	.05	.11	NS

\* Spearman's Rank-Difference Method of Correlation

The Significance of Early, as Compared with Later, Influence

In responses bearing on Categories II and IV, subjects indicated the age period during which they first experienced Parental and Alternate Influence. Subjects scoring 3 or better on Interview Category II (Parental Influence) and on Category IV (Alternate Influence), where elementary school was the age period mentioned in terms of the appearance of influencers, were classified as Early Only. Those, who in addition, also reported influencers present during junior high school and/or later,

were classified as Early and Late. Those reporting influencers present only during junior high school or later were classified as Late Only. And finally, those subjects whose score on Categories II and IV were 2 or less, were classified as Neither. This information was examined to determine the possible significance of the timing of these influences in the development of an achieving pattern and is summarized below in Table 13.

Table 13  
Age Period of Referral to  
Achievement Influence

Age Period	Achievers (N=17)		Non-achievers (N=17)	
	Parental	Alternate	Parental	Alternate
Early Only	1	1	2	0
Early and Late	13	13	3	3
Late Only	0	2	1	5
Neither	3	1	11	9

In order to compare the frequencies of Table 13 statistically, the cells were collapsed so that Early and Late were compared with all other classifications combined. The argument for such a combination is that the Early Only and Late Only classifications do not refer to continuous periods of influence. The Neither classification is combined with these two classifications because these are students who report a far less intense

interaction with influencers, and for this reason, may also be considered discontinuous.

The resulting 2 x 2 comparison produced a  $\chi^2$  of 9.56 for Parental Influence (Table 14) and the same  $\chi^2$  for Alternate Influence (Table 15), both significant beyond the .01 level of confidence.

Table 14

$\chi^2$  for Age Period of Earliest Referral to Parental Influence Among Achievers and Non-achievers

Age Period	Achievers (N=17)	Non-achievers (N=17)	$\chi^2$	P
Early and Late	13	3	9.56	.01
Early Only				
Late Only	4	14		
Neither				

Table 15

$\chi^2$  for Age Period of Earliest Referral to Alternate Influence Among Achievers and Non-achievers

Age Period	Achievers (N=17)	Non-achievers (N=17)	$\chi^2$	P
Early and Late	13	3	9.56	.01
Early Only				
Late Only	4	14		
Neither				

In both cases, Achievers report more consistent Influence, starting early (beginning with elementary school at least) and continuing through junior and senior high school, than do Non-achievers.

Parental Acceptance or Rejection of Alternate Influencers

It was also possible to determine for each subject whether their parents were predominantly accepting or rejecting of Alternate Influences, by culling out specific items on both Categories II (Parental Influence) and IV (Alternate Influence). These data were examined to see if such acceptance or rejection was associated with the students' achievement status (GPA). These results are presented in Table 16. The findings indicate no significant relationship, though there is a trend in the hypothesized direction.

Table 16

Association of Parental Acceptance or Rejection  
of Alternate Influence and Achievement  
Status

Achievement Status	Parental		$\chi^2$	P
	Acceptance	Rejection		
Achievers	12	5	1.91	.20
Non-achievers	7	10		

TAT Findings

Correlation of GPA and  $\bar{n}$  Achievement Scores

A rank-order correlation was done among GPA's and  $\bar{n}$  Achievement scores. The results yielded a non-significant correlation ( $r=.04$ ).

Table 17

Rank-Order Correlation Among GPA's  
and  $\bar{n}$  Achievement Scores on TAT

	r	P
GPA and $\bar{n}$ Achievement	.04	NS

When the mean  $\bar{n}$  Achievement scores of the Achievers were compared with those of the Non-achievers, they were found to be identical: the mean  $\bar{n}$  Achievement scores for each group was 7.76.

Early Influence and Achievement Imagery (AI)

To test the hypothesis that students who were early influenced toward achievement behavior (those scoring 3 or better on Categories II, Parental Influence, and IV, Alternate Influence) would show less AI on TAT stories, a median  $\chi^2$  was performed. The results were not statistically significant. The frequency of AI for this group is independent of the age period of exposure to influencers. However, it should be noted that more than twice as many

subjects who were early influenced fell below the median for AI than above. It seems that the appearance of late influencers has less of an effect upon AI than do early influencers.

Table 18

Median  $\chi^2$  for Early (Early Only + Early and Late)  
and late (Late Only + Neither) Influencers  
and AI on TAT

AI	Early	Late	$\chi^2$	P
Above Median	7	5	.04	NS
Below Median	15	7		

When the age period of reference to influencers was compared with  $\bar{n}$  Achievement scores, the result was also not significant.

Table 19

Age Period of Reference to Influencers  
and Mean  $\bar{n}$  Achievement Scores on TAT

$\bar{n}$ Achievement Scores	Early (N=22)	Late (N=12)	t	P
Means	7.55	8.17	.24	NS
S. D.	6.06	9.06		

Parental and Alternate Influence Compared with Success-  
Or Conflict-Oriented TAT Subcategory Scores

Subjects who scored high on Category II (Parental Influence) were compared with those scoring low, with respect to their means, for the following success-oriented TAT subcategories:

I+: Instrumental activity leading to goal attainment.

Ga+: Positive anticipatory goal affect.

B+: Positive affect in relation to achievement.

Bp: Goal obstacle located within the person.

Nup: Presence of nurturant press.

The results, as shown in Table 20, revealed only one significant difference among these means, and that was for Goal Obstacle located within the person (Bp). This finding is in the hypothesized direction that subjects who scored high on Parental Influence more often thought of goal obstacles as being within themselves, rather than under external control.

The same groups, High and Low on Parental Influence, were then compared with respect to the following conflict-oriented TAT subcategories:

I-: Instrumental activity leading to failure to achieve.

I?: Instrumental activity with doubtful outcome.

Ga-: Negative anticipatory goal affect.

G-: Negative affect in relation to achievement.

Bw: Obstacle to goal located in world-at-large.  
 These results yielded no significant differences between  
 subcategory means.

Table 20  
 Comparison of Success-Oriented TAT Subcategories  
 Among High and Low Scorers on Parental Influence

TAT Subcategories	Parental Influence		P*	
	High (N=12)	Low (N=8)		
I+	Means	.83	.88	NS
	S. D.	.72	.99	
Ga+	Means	1.00	.63	NS
	S. D.	.95	.92	
G+	Means	.58	.63	NS
	S. D.	.47	.74	NS
Bp	Means	.50	.00	.04
	S. D.	.67	.00	
Nup	Means	.50	.88	NS
	S. D.	.79	.84	

\* Mann-Whitney U Test of Significance

Table 21

Comparison of Conflict-Oriented TAT Subcategories  
Among High and Low Scorers on Parental Influence

TAT Subcategories	Parental Influence		P*	
	High (N=12)	Low (N=8)		
I-	Means	.33	.25	NS
	S. D.	.65	.71	
I?	Means	.67	.63	NS
	S. D.	.65	.79	
Ga-	Means	1.00	.88	NS
	S. D.	.95	.83	
G-	Means	.83	1.00	NS
	S. D.	.97	.93	
BW	Means	.67	.75	NS
	S. D.	.75	1.00	

\* Mann-Whitney U Test of Significance

Next, two comparisons were made among TAT subcategories and those scoring High or Low on Alternate Influence (Category IV). The first comparison was with the success-oriented TAT subcategories. As can be observed in Table 22, significant differences were found in subcategories I+, Ga+, and G+ in the hypothesized direction that more intensely influenced subjects would show more positive affect associated with goan attainment.

Table 22

Comparison of Success-Oriented TAT Subcategories  
Among High and Low Scorers on Alternate Influence

TAT Subcategories	Parental Influence		P*	
	High (N=17)	Low (N=5)		
I+	Means	.94	.00	.01
	S. D.	.75	.00	
Ga+	Means	1.18	.00	.01
	S. D.	.88	.00	
G+	Means	.76	.00	.02
	S. D.	.66	.00	
Ep	Means	.29	.00	NS
	S. D.	.59	.00	
Nup	Means	.59	.80	NS
	S. D.	.79	.45	

\* Mann-Whitney U Test of Significance

The second comparison was made with the conflict-oriented TAT subcategories and High and Low Scorers on Alternate Influence (Category IV). These results, seen in Table 23, revealed no statistically significant differences.

Table 23

Comparison of Conflict-Oriented TAT Subcategories  
Among High and Low Scorers on Alternate Influence

TAT Subcategories	Alternate Influence		P*	
	High (N=17)	Low (N=5)		
I-	Means	.35	.00	NS
	S. D.	.70	.00	
I?	Means	.65	1.40	NS
	S. D.	.69	1.14	
Ga-	Means	.82	1.40	NS
	S. D.	.95	1.14	
G-	Means	.88	1.00	NS
	S. D.	.93	1.10	
Bw	Means	.82	1.40	NS
	S. D.	.73	1.14	NS

\* Mann-Whitney U Test of Significance

Finally, the subjects were divided into Low, Middle, and High Achievement groups (see Appendix E for criteria) to determine whether or not the Middle group was perhaps obscuring differences between the extreme groups. Comparisons were made with corresponding TAT means for subcategories. Inspecting Table 24 it can be observed that mean differences are small. The largest difference between means (aside from those already presented) occurs between n Achievement scores for Middle and High achievement groups. Since testing yielded no statistical significance between these means, no further statistical comparisons were made.

Table 24

TAT Subcategory Mean Scores for Three Achievement Groups

TAT Scores	Achievement Groups					
	Low (N=9)		Middle (N=15)		High (N=10)	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
UI	-4.67	1.58	-4.47	1.06	-4.80	1.03
TI	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
AI	2.11	1.45	1.80	.86	2.40	.84
N	1.67	1.41	1.53	.99	1.90	1.37
I+	1.11	1.12	.93	.75	.80	.72
I?	.78	.83	.60	.91	.70	.67
I-	.00	.00	.13	.35	.60	.84
Ga+	.89	1.17	.93	.88	1.10	.99
Ga-	.89	.60	.60	.83	1.30	.95
G+	.89	1.06	.67	.62	.60	.70
G-	.89	.78	.67	.72	1.10	1.14
Nup	.67	.71	.53	.64	.50	.85
Bp	.11	.33	.07	.26	.50	.71
Bw	.67	.87	.80	.94	1.00	.82
Ach Th	1.89	1.32	1.40	1.15	2.00	1.25
<u>n</u> Ach	8.00	7.45	7.27	5.92	9.80	6.44

Analysis of PatternsIndividual Patterning of Low, Middle, and High Scorers on Interview Categories Among Achievers and Non-achievers

Table 25 presents the individual paterning of Low (0-1), Middle (2-3), and High (4-5) scores on Interview Categories among Achievers and Non-achievers. (Since Category I did not yield statistical significance it was omitted from this table.)

Out of seventeen Achievers, ten of them scored High on all three Categories, while none of the Non-achievers show this patterning.

The Non-achievers generally show more scatter in their paterning than do the Achievers. Nine of the Non-achievers show at least one Low score, while only one of the Achievers scored Low on one Category (Parental Influence).

Subject 15 of the Achievers and subject 21 of the Non-achievers show the same pattern of Low on Category II (Parental Influence) and High on Categories III (Student's Attitudes) and IV (Alternate Influence). The Achiever received a score of 1 on Category II while the Non-achiever received a score of 0. The main difference between these two subjects is that the Achiever's parent is largely inattentive to her school progress, but the Non-achiever's parent actively interferes with her school progress.

Table 25  
Individual Patterings of Interview Scores  
Among Achievers and Non-achievers

S No.	Achievers			S No.	Non-achievers		
	Interview Category II	Interview Category III	Interview Category IV		Interview Category II	Interview Category III	Interview Category IV
1	M	M	H	18	L	M	M
2	H	H	H	19	M	M	M
3	H	H	H	20	M	M	M
4	M	M	H	21	L	H	H
5	H	H	H	22	M	M	M
6	H	H	H	23	L	M	M
7	H	H	H	24	M	M	L
8	M	M	M	25	M	H	H
9	H	H	H	26	M	M	M
10	H	H	H	27	H	M	M
11	H	H	H	28	M	L	L
12	H	H	M	29	M	M	H
13	M	M	M	30	M	M	M
14	H	H	H	31	L	L	L
15	L	H	H	32	L	L	L
16	M	M	H	33	L	M	L
17	H	H	H	34	L	M	M

### General Observations

In general, Achievers kept to their appointment schedules more than Non-achievers. They were also less suspicious of the study in attitude. All of the subjects were offered feedback from the investigator, in the form of a summary of what was learned from the particular subject with respect to the variables studied in this research. Most of the subjects expressed an interest in hearing the results, but to date, only some of the Achievers have in fact asked for an appointment with the investigator. None of the Non-achievers have so far followed through.

One very striking and consistent finding was one which was not directly asked for in the interview. Many subjects volunteered the information that their future plans included the expressed desire to go back to the black community and help the youngsters coming up in that community, the way they received help and support from their Alternate Influencers. This statement was made by all the Negro male Achievers and by no other person in the study.

Clinical Impressions from the Interviews

Relationship Between Interpersonal Influence and  
Academic Achievement

The Achiever. This study finds a significant relationship between interpersonal influence on achievement behavior and actual academic achievement for students of lower SES who live in ghetto areas.

The picture of the Achiever, as it emerges from these data, is one of a person who, from early in life, has received from his parents the conviction that he can and will learn in the academic setting. His accomplishments are noticed and responded to, not as a reflection of his parents' status, but as a reflection of his own worth, his own importance as a person in his own right. His failures are taken as an indication that he did not trouble enough to put in more time and energy in specific areas of study, not as evidence that he is not capable or worthy of doing better. He grows up with the experience of having significant people care for and about him. He learns in this interpersonal milieu that there are things he can do to make his life better in some measurable way. He grows up with the conviction that curiosity is useful and beneficial to him, the putting forth effort to learn increases his sense of self-respect.

He learns something else of great importance. He

learns to seek out, to expect and value the interest and caring of people outside his family. He learns that others in the academic world, be it teachers, tutors, or peers, can collaborate with him in his quest for accomplishment, for further learning, for satisfaction of his curiosity, for expansion of his feeling of self-worth. He becomes receptive to new experience and can benefit from the opportunities which it represents to him.

A striking example of this line of thought is the constancy with which achieving subjects spontaneously stated that their plans for the future included making a contribution to the black community by helping the younger members of that community the way their "basketball coach," or "seventh grade teacher," or "official high school teacher" did for them. This statement was made by all Negro male Achievers and by no other group. It is a statement reflecting the conscious recognition and cherishing of the people who served as Alternate Influencers for them and the willingness to serve in the same capacity for others.

There were four Achievers in this study who did not receive this foundation from parents, but who were receptive to people outside the nuclear family. In these cases, the students' parents, who did not themselves relate to the students' academic experience, related to the Alternate Influencers who could. They were approving of and respect-

ful toward others who could provide the experience of cooperation and collaboration for their children. This leads to the speculation that the nature of the interpersonal interaction between student and parent incorporated the qualities leading to feelings in the student of self-worth, though the interaction was not particularly focused around the academic experience.

The Non-achiever. If the Non-achievers had received no influence for achievement, it is doubtful that they would have attended college for even a semester. They would most likely have ended up as high school dropouts. The fact that there is a group of Non-achievers in attendance, is evidence of some influence in the direction of achievement, which is borne out in this study. Non-achievers report either more fragmented experience with influencers (i.e., only in elementary school or only in junior or senior high school or even later), and/or far less intense experience with influencers.

The Non-achievers have had some experience at achievement striving and some minimal influence in their lives from significant people. Their achievement striving, however, and their influencers, have been more conflict-laden, more ambivalent than the Achievers' experience. They are generally more depressed, more isolated, and more discouraged than the Achiever group. They are less aware and more confused about their academic deficits and how

to go about making them up. They are less insightful than the Achievers about their difficulties at home which interfere with their school work and less hopeful that they can reorganize their lives away from home.

The Non-achiever comes from a background where his own feeling of accomplishment and self-worth has been jeopardized. He has been made to experience himself as incompetent. He is very unconvinced that he can do anything to change that picture of himself and has only a vague idea at best that one's self-image is learned and open for remediation. He has grown up in an interpersonal milieu which has fostered fear and mistrust of strangers (usually defined as anyone outside the family), a conviction that people are not interested in cooperating or collaborating with him on academic improvement, and he comes to new experience with an entrenched belief that no one really thinks he is worthy of encouragement. One can only speculate that this becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy as far as the student is concerned. Experience which would demonstrate the opposite would probably tend to be distorted and derogated.

Partially because education is compulsory, and partially because people from ghetto areas are somewhat intimidated by "officials," "authority figures," some Alternate Influence occurs. But to the degree that the parenting figures interfere with the student's positive relationships with these influencers, to that degree,

the student must struggle with the difficult task of  
distorting and repudiating his own experience.

## CHAPTER VI

## DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The Interview CategoriesCategory I: Parents' Achievement Striving

It was hypothesized that one of the ways in which parents influence the achievement behavior of their children, is by the example they set with respect to their achievement striving in their own lives. Our findings yielded no significant differences between Achievers and Non-achievers for Category I, and further, no significant correlation between this Category and GPA's. In this group, whether or not parents demonstrate achievement striving by means of their own lives, bears no relation to actual achievement of their children.

Further, in our study, parental achievement did not significantly correlate with Parental Influence on their childrens' achievement behavior. This finding disagrees with those of Katkovsky and his associates (1964b), who found a significant correlation between parents' attainment value for their own achievement and parental participation and encouragement of achievement with their children. However, it must be noted that these investigators did not correlate parental attainment of achievement with their childrens' actual achievement behavior

and their sample was composed largely of middle-class school children.

The finding of our study that parental achievement is not related to the students' actual achievement, raises an important question. Parental achievement does seem to be predictive of their offsprings' actual achievement in a middle-class population but this does not appear to be the case for lower class groups. What then could account for the discrepancy which seems to be class-related? In our study, the means for parental achievement for Non-achievers is slightly higher than for Achievers (1.88 vs. 1.76) and the correlation between Parental Achievement and Student's Attitude Toward Achievement for Achievers is in a negative direction (-.24), though it does not reach statistical significance. These findings, in addition to some of the content of the interview material, leads to the conjecture that for this population, the parents' attainment of higher educational levels, and other manifestations of achievement behavior, may lead to even further discouragement.

For example, one of the non-achieving male Negro subjects, whose father had a year of college, reported:

...my father, he never wanted me to go to an academic high school. He always felt if you went to an academic high school and got a diploma, you had no specific training. He wanted me to go to a trade school where after I came out of it, the school itself, I'd be making money. If you just have an academic diploma, you can't really do anything.

This subject's father had to leave college because of financial pressure and had a series of jobs afterwards such as short-order cook, factor assembly, and flower-sprayer.

Another subject, a young lady of Portugese descent, reports that her parents undertook a chiropractor course of study, both of them receiving degrees in that field. Both her parents speak several languages fluently, have travelled abroad extensively while in the entertainment business when they were younger. This subject's father is now employed as a superintendent of a building and her mother works as a clerk-typist. The subject reports doing badly in a typing course in junior high school. "I didn't do too well in typing and my mother was very disappointed... My mother was very disappointed and still is that I didn't take a business course." When asked why, the subject said, "Well, she thinks that I would have possibly done better than what I am now. And she thought that maybe I would enjoy it, if I stuck to it." Later in the same interview, she asked how her parents felt about her being in college, this subject stated:

Well, sometimes they think -- well, I know my father is glad about it. But sometimes he calls me stupid. Because he says that I should be out working or because some of my grades aren't as good as they should be. He says you don't use your head, like you should. And my mother...I don't really know what she means. One time she says it's good that I'm in college. It's good that I'm getting an education. And they she'll say I should have gone to a business school. Because to her it seems that that's what's good for me.

The higher educational levels of these parents appeared never to have been put to use to change the family's way of life. Whether this was due to lack of opportunity, job discrimination, personality deterioration, or other reasons, may only be surmised. But it certainly seems reasonable to assume that the child is faced with the example set by parents that striving to achieve makes no difference in the way one lives. In this kind of situation parental achievement would not lead to an increase in the student's motivation to similarly achieve, and may in fact lead to a great deal of despair about the usefulness of intellectual achievement. It is conceivable that these parents may project a good deal of bitterness and disillusionment about learning and formal education.

The case reported here of the Non-achiever, Frank, is a good example of the dynamics of despair. Frank's father had two years of a college education, which he has never put to use, and which, at least in terms of Frank's perceptions, he does not seem to value, either for himself or for his son. The overwhelming conviction of this family, stated explicitly or communicated implicitly, is that one is trapped in a bottomless pit of insoluble dilemmas; one's life cannot be changed to include more satisfaction in living, including material gains. For Frank, then, to function in such a way that would overturn the basic convictions of himself and his family, would likely evoke a great deal of anxiety and

disorientation. His remaining a Non-achiever can be interpreted as direct compliance to his family's discouragement about themselves and the world in which they live.

Category II: Parental Influence on Students' Achievement

The results for this Category yielded highly significant differences among means between Achievers and Non-achievers ( $p < .002$ ) as well as a significant correlation between this Category and GPA's.

Achievers have parents who are much more actively and positively related to the students' attempts to do well at school. This includes: paying attention to grades earned, treating poor grades as an indication that the student needs help for difficulties in areas of learning, encouraging positive and helpful relationships between the student and teachers, peers, counselors, tutors, etc., cooperating by organizing conditions under which the student can most optimally do his school work, and an awareness of the idea that earning good grades, learning, is a function of time and effort.

Conversely, Non-achievers have parents who do not relate as positively to their childrens' achievement efforts in the active manner indicated above.

Mackler and Giddings (1965) indicate that parents of the disadvantaged are interested in education and in seeing that their children receive it. Deutsch (1963) also suggests that lower SES parents share in higher aspirational

values with respect to education for their children, but are unaware of the operational steps to help them achieve these goals.

We understand Deutsch's use of the phrase "operational steps" to refer to parental cooperation with the student on such matters as appropriate study conditions, aid in organizing additional help for the student in areas of academic deficiencies, and understanding the students' social needs in and around the school setting. In our study, the average educational level of our subjects' parents did not exceed the 9th grade and no correlation was found between parental educational level and achievement status of their offspring. In addition, there was no significant difference found among means of parental achievement striving between Achievers and Non-achievers. Therefore, parents of the achieving subjects were more cooperative with their children with respect to academic achievement than were parents of Non-achievers. There are significant differences between the parental behavior in the two achievement groups regardless of whether or not the parents state they share in higher aspirational values. It would appear relevant in studies of parental relatedness to their childrens' achievement striving, to inquire whether or not they have made an effort to learn in what ways they could be helpful.

As far as this study is concerned, then, it is the orientation toward achievement rather than the fact of

achievement which is related to achieving behavior.

Category III: Student's Attitudes Towards Achievement

A significant difference was found for Student's Attitude Toward Achievement among Achievers and Non-achievers ( $p < .002$ ). This difference was in the hypothesized direction that Achiever's attitudes would be rated higher than Non-achievers. In addition, a significant correlation was found between this Category and GPA's ( $r = .84$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

Further, since Category II (Parental Influence) and Category III (Student's Attitude) were found to be significantly related ( $r = .67$ ,  $p < .01$ ), as well as Category III and Category IV (Alternate Influence;  $r = .53$ ,  $p < .05$ ), our hypothesis that the development of a sense of competence is related to positive and encouraging experience with significant others, seems highly tenable. This finding applies to Achievers only. The intercorrelations among Categories for Non-achievers were all found to be non-significant.

Category III refers to the student's intensity of relatedness to the process of formal education. It includes such dimensions as his attitude towards his own standards of performance, his level of expectation for himself, his orientation toward organizing help if needed in difficult areas, and his feeling toward his competencies or lack of competencies.

The more positive these attitudes, the more intense the quality of relatedness of the student toward learning, the higher are his grades. Achievers have more positive attitudes towards learning than Non-achievers, all of which were differentiated significantly in the hypothesized direction.

The finding that this Category was significantly related to Parental and Alternate Influence is of special interest. Bandura and Walters (1963) suggest that high standards of achievement are transmitted from one generation to another; that parental modeling governs achievement behavior as well as the direction that achievement-striving takes. Using the findings of this study to elaborate this argument, one is led to the inference that parental influence results in the student's incorporation of these values and attitudes into his own personality and is able to elaborate and expand the basic feeling of his own competency in intellectual areas beyond the level of competency of his parents. In addition, he is able to relate better, than his non-achieving counterpart, to Alternate Influencers as part of the process of this expansion. That is, since the average educational level of Achievers' parents in this study is just short of ninth grade, the achieving student has had to learn skills beyond the level of his parents' capacity. It is our belief that this expansion occurs in the context of

1

Alternate Influencers<sup>1</sup> in the students' lives and is reflected in the re-affirmation and expansion of competency within the students' attitudes towards themselves with respect to formal education and the learning process.

Category IV: Alternate Influence

The difference between mean scores among Achievers and Non-achievers for Alternate Influence was also found to be statistically significant ( $p < .002$ ) as well as significantly correlated with GPA's ( $r = .74$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

That is, Achievers were found to report a greater incidence of people outside the immediate family whom they had felt to be not only significant persons to them, but who were encouraging and supportive of their efforts to achieve academically.

A comparison of Achievers and Non-achievers, who were low-scoring for Parental Influence, yielded significant differences on their scores for Alternate Influence. For this group, whether parents do or do not exert positive, intense influence on achievement for their children, is not as crucial as whether or not there have been Alternate

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All of the Achievers cite teachers or other professionals (social workers, school counselors, religious leaders, etc.) among their Alternate Influencers. The eight Non-achievers who were rated 3 or more on the Alternate Influence Category also cite professionals among their influencers. All of these Alternate Influencers have at least a baccalaureate degree, while the Achievers' mean parental educational level is 8.88 and for Non-achievers is 9.71.

Influencers in their lives who have.

There is a trend in the data which sheds some additional light on this Category, and that is the finding (though not statistically significant,  $p=.20$ ) that Achievers' parents were more accepting of Alternate Influencers than were Non-achievers' parents. Since our study dealt with the reports of the student, it is possible that some students were more aware than others of the ways in which their parents accepted or rejected Alternate Influencers. To other students, this process could have been more obscure.

It could also be possible that if these subjects had been interviewed while still in elementary school, these data would have emerged more clearly. By young adulthood the students' attitudes toward Alternate Influencers (or potential Alternate Influencers) are more thoroughly introjected and reported as part of their own confictions about the inconceivability of expectations for encouragement and support of academic achievement by people. Deutsch's (1963) formulation is that when encouragement for achievement is no longer expected, it results in a reduction of motivation. One of the subjects for this study said it perhaps a bit more eloquently: "When you feel that nobody really cares whether you do well at school or not, why should you break your back trying to make grades?"

### TAT and Interpersonal Influence

In general, the content of fantasy material for the subjects of this study was not concerned with n Achievement as McClelland (1953) defines it. Most of the themes of TAT stories were concerned with leaving home, survival, depression, rage, and terror. It would appear that when literal, physical survival is perceived by subjects as being in question, it is so compelling, so overriding, that it is difficult to conceive of these subjects as also being concerned with less salient aspects such as achievement imagery. It is a luxury that one can't afford.

### GPA's and n Achievement Scores

No statistically significant correlation was found between GPA's and n Achievement scores ( $r=.04$ ). This finding lends no support to either the general-expression model of achievement motivation, as formulated by McClelland and his associates (1953), or the substitute-channel model of achievement motivation as set forth by Broverman, Jordan, and Phillips (1960).

McClelland and his colleagues (1953) argue that the relation of n Achievement scores to GPA's, though of practical importance, are of dubious theoretical significance "...since grades in college are affected by so many unknown factors (p. 237)."

We believe a case can be made for the theoretical importance of GPA's as well as their practical importance.

It has been the assumption of this study that GPA's reflect achievement motivation, as required by the current educational system. They are a reflection of time and effort put into course work, of awareness of the requirements of any particular course, and of the particular demands and biases of any teacher. As such GPA's reflect one's desire to do well, whatever conflict (if any) there may be with respect to success in this setting, and a degree of interpersonal skill which is necessary to be able to relate to the person teaching the class as well as dealing with one's classmates in the school situation. The theoretical significance, as far as this writer's biases are concerned, is based upon the interpersonal field out of which these factors and skills emerge.

If our assumptions about GPA's are justified, then the finding of the non-significant association with n Achievement scores may be interpreted quite literally, that n Achievement scores are not related to motivation for academic success for this sample.

#### Early Influence and TAT

None of the hypotheses for this study dealing with early influence and AI nor n Achievement scores were found to be tenable. There were no significant relations found between early influence and scores on either of these TAT categories. Since some significant results were found among other subcategories (discussed below) and

high and low scorers on interpersonal influence, it may be that the time of influence is less important for this population than the strength of influence.

#### Success-Oriented vs. Conflict-Oriented TAT Stories

Dividing the sample into those scoring high (4-5) and those scoring low (0-1) on Interview Category II (Parental Influence), a significant difference was found in the hypothesized direction on one TAT subcategory, that of Ep, which is an obstacle to achievement goal located within the person (rather than in the world-at-large). Subjects who reported greater strength of parental influence on achievement told stories where, if there was an obstacle to goal attainment, located that obstacle within themselves. It is our belief that in terms of academic achievement, this is a more hopeful and more reality-oriented statement. It implies that there is something the person can do to overcome the obstacle rather than perceiving it as being external to themselves and under others' control.

Other significant differences on Success-Oriented TAT stories were found among high (4-5) and low (0-1) scorers on Category IV (Alternate Influence). Those who reported greater strength of Alternate Influence on achievement told stories on the TAT which included the perception that if positive action were taken towards goal attainment, one's goal may be achieved. They also told more stories

which positively anticipated goal attainment and where affect was positive with respect to goal attainment.

It is of particular interest to this writer that Alternate Influence produced more differentiation than did Parental Influence with respect to Success-orientation on TAT stories. That is, those who reported greater strength of significant relationships in their lives with people outside the immediate family, were more able to fantasize achievement in positive ways accompanied by positive feelings.

Comparisons of conflict-oriented stories yielded no significant patterns in this study. Inspection of the differences between means for these TAT subcategories (see Tables 24 and 26) show a clearer patterning for Alternate Influencers (which does not reach statistical significance) than for Parental Influence. Those scoring higher on Alternate Influence show consistently less conflict orientation than do low scorers on Alternate Influence. The same does not hold true for high and low scorers on Parental Influence.

Pearce and Newton (1963) suggest that for any thought, idea, feeling, or fantasy to be available to consciousness, it must have or have had an available interpersonal validator (who is not necessarily present as an immediate audience for the content of consciousness) and that this is a necessary condition for learning to occur. Bandura and Walters (1962) speak of exemplary models in roughly

the same way. They add (as do Pearce and Newton, 1963) that these models are, at least in some measure, acceptable to the parents as approved figures. In light of our findings, it appears that the relationship between Alternate Influencers and the conceivability of goal attainment with concomitant positive feelings about it, is more significant than the relationship between Parental Influence and goal attainment. It also appears that those who lack Alternate Influencers show more conflict-oriented achievement stories on TAT (though this comparison did not reach statistical significance).

#### Implications of the Study

The most cogent implication of this study stems from the importance of the part Alternate Influencers play from the first moment of exposure to the school system. In most cases where there has been significant, positive Alternate Influence, the influencers have been those associated with the school system. There is, even within the present educational system, opportunity for powerful and positive impact on the lives of young people struggling between hope and despair.

Beyond that there remains a segment of this population where some experience with Alternate Influencers has occurred, but the influence has been tenuous and inconsistent. For these persons it is particularly relevant for the personnel dealing with members of this population

to be keenly aware of and sensitive to the need of the student in order to consolidate and expand these tenuous and fragmented earlier experiences with Alternate Influencers.

Speculation leads to little doubt that teachers can play a tremendous role in the lives of students. To make a reality of this potential, it is important to have classes organized in such a way that it is possible for teachers to relate to each student. In addition, teachers need to be made aware of their potential significance, and to become aware that encouraging their students, even if the student is not an achiever at that time, may make a vast difference to him in later years.

By and large, the Non-achievers of this study come from families who do not encourage or support the educational process. In order for Alternate Influencers to become significant people for this group, it may mean a vast amount of reorganization of these students' lives. Such reorganization may involve the necessity of living away from home as a precondition for forming significant interpersonal relations with Alternate Influencers, for in the majority of cases, the non-achieving student has parents who have enforced the student's isolation from people who have aspirations significantly different from the family.

Another major implication of this study is based upon

the inference that more hopeful parents raise more hopeful children, more discouraged parents raise more despairing children. If discouraged people had decent housing, better wages, and more open opportunity, they would no longer be discouraged. When people are oppressed they live in a world of fear, rage, and bitterness and this is transmitted from generation to generation, not only through the interaction between parent and child, but also enforced and reinforced by the culture.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

Three lines of research, in the context of this study, might be explored. The first is concerned with examining further the question left open by this study: What differences exist between those students who did not receive positive influence from parents and those who were receptive to Alternate Influencers compared with those who were only partially receptive? To carry out such research, much more detailed inquiry should be made into the specific interactions between parent, child, and Alternate Influencer.

The second line of research which may be fruitful, is concerned with comparisons of middle and lower SES groups of Achievers and Non-achievers in both classes. It may be profitable to discover whether the patterning of interpersonal influence uncovered in this study, holds for other SES groups as well.

The third line of research would be more complicated and a more difficult one for which to develop measures, but may be the most profitable of all. That is, to work intensively with small groups of Non-achievers, a trained group leader being available to students as an Alternate Influencer. The focus of each group (which would be conceived of as T-groups) would be around academic achievement and increasing motivation of the students via the relationship formed with the group leader. Before- and after-treatment measures could be taken of shifts in the relative presence or absence of positive interpersonal interaction through various projective tests, and measures could be taken of actual achievement performance such as GPA's. A control group could be formed comprised of a similar Non-achievement group of students, who do not have such group opportunity. It may also be interesting, though difficult, to take group interaction measures of, for example, an early group meeting, a meeting half-way through the duration of the group's existence, and one towards the end. Part of what makes this a very complicated research plan is the personality of the researcher who would be running the group. To be an Alternate Influencer, one must have some capacity to recognize and relate to the needs of the students, which are not always clearly and simply manifested. One must also be able to cherish and respect the student and his attempts to learn as well as to be compassionate in the presence of his failures

in the process. It is not an easy task, but could be a rewarding learning experience for both the student and the researcher.

#### Limitations of the Study

One limitation of the study concerns its generalizability to other than lower SES groups. The impetus for this study stems in part from interpersonal theory and in part from the writer's experience with doing psychotherapy with this population. It is quite probable that to conduct such a study with middle-class students, a different evaluative scale would have to be devised to handle the more complex (in terms of achievement motivation) population. Certainly before the theoretical conclusions can be generalized, further research should be conducted.

A second limitation of the study is its focus on the relative presence or absence of interpersonal influence. Negative influence has as much, and perhaps even greater, an impact on a student's career in college as do degrees of positive influence. For practical reasons, a single piece of research must narrow its focus somewhat in order to detail its findings. Because of this, the current study limited the kinds of questions necessary to evoke the more difficult to obtain data of negative interaction. Though some of these data did emerge, the study was also limited by not including in its design a way of processing

such data.

A third limitation of the study is the implicit value given in it to the process of academic achievement. It is a philosophical limitation rather than methodological, but the issue could be debated seriously. One argument for academic achievement as valuable is the belief that it can be an important economic baseline for further development. A college degree represents only one way to attain a satisfactory way of earning a living, certainly there are others.

## APPENDIX A

## LETTER TO POTENTIAL SUBJECTS

Dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_:

I have undertaken a research project at New York City Community College concerning factors involved in the academic career of college students. I would be very much interested in having you participate in this research. Since I realize students are usually busy with studies and/or outside jobs, I have arranged to pay each volunteer five dollars for their time.

The procedure involves an interview with me which should take no longer than two hours, and an additional session on another day of about one hour, to take place before the interview. I will be scheduling volunteers after March 25th at the Towers, second floor.

Enclosed is a post card for your use in noting your free time. Would you fill in your unscheduled hours with a check mark for each of the days noted on the card and mail it to me? I will telephone you soon to arrange a specific time and date.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Luba Elman  
Psychologist  
College Discovery Program

## APPENDIX B

## FACE SHEET

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Birth \_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 PHONE \_\_\_\_\_

1. I began college in \_\_\_\_\_ of 196\_\_.
2. Not counting the present semester, I have a total of \_\_\_\_\_ credits at this college.
3. If a language other than English is spoken at home, which did you learn first?

\_\_\_\_\_ or English?

Which is (or was) spoken most often at home?

\_\_\_\_\_ or English?

4. What is your father's occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Approximately what is your family's yearly income (based only on what your parents earn)?

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX C

## INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Parents' Achievement Striving

1. How far did each of your parents get through school? Mother? Father?
2. What is your father's occupation? When did he first start working in that field? Did he ever do anything (like undertake special study) to make himself better at his job? Has he had promotions?
3. What other jobs has he held? Why did he change jobs?
4. Has your father ever had any special interests aside from his work? For instance, does he have any hobbies? How did his interest in this come about? For how long has he been interested in it?
5. Has your mother ever held a job? When? For how long? Doing what?
6. Has your mother ever had any training for any sort of special skill, work or hobby? Did she ever use it? How did she get interested in it? When was this and how long was she involved with it? Why did she stop (if she did)?
7. Do either of your parents read for pleasure? What kinds of things do they read? Mother? Father? Do they keep up with the news?
8. Were their reading habits ever different from what they are currently?
9. Who do your parents associate with most? How often are they in contact? What sorts of things do they do together? With whom do they associate outside of the family and in what context? Have they made any new friends in the last five years?
10. Is there anyone in your family who has attended or is attending college? Who? For how long? Studying what? What is your relationship with them? Your parents relationship with them? How often did you have contact with them?

11. Besides your parents, who else lived in your house? Who else had significant responsibility for taking care of you? What was their attitude toward you in general?

Parental Influence on Student's Achievement

Elementary School

12. What were your parents' attitudes toward earning good grades when you were in elementary school?
13. What was their attitude toward bad grades?
14. Was there anyone with whom you could discuss difficulties in school? What was their attitude? An example? Was it helpful to do so? In what way did it help (or not help)?
15. In school, did you have any special interests or hobbies during this period? When did you become interested? How did you learn about it? For how long were you interested in it? Were you good at it? What about it did you enjoy most? Describe your parents attitudes, reactions to your involvement with it.
16. Outside of school, what did you do after school? How did you spend your out-of-school time? (Repeat above if it follows.) What about it did you enjoy? Was there anything else you would have liked to do?

Junior High School

- 17.
- 18.
19. (Repeat questions 12 through 16)
- 20.
- 21.

High School

- 22.
23. (Repeat questions 12 through 16)
- 24.

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If there are parental surrogates that have been significant to S, questions 1 through 10 will be asked about them.

25.  
26. (Repeat questions 12 through 16)

College

27.  
28.  
29. (Repeat questions 12 through 16)  
30.  
31.  
32. What would your parents like you to do after you leave school? Why do they think that's a good field for you? How do they feel about your being in college? Does your going to college inconvenience them in any way? What have they done to make it easier for you to go?

Students' Attitude Toward Own Achievement

33. When did you first begin thinking about going to college? How did it come about?  
34. What would you like to get out of college? Do you think that you can get what you want? How do you feel about your grades?  
35. What sort of grades did you make in elementary school and how did you feel about it? What were your best and worst subjects?  
36. How about grades for Junior High School?  
37. And High School? Were you ever tempted to drop out of High School? Why? What changed your mind? Why did you decide not to?  
38. What do you hope to do when you finish school? Is that your long range plan for your life? Can you remember what you wanted to be when you grew up when you were in Junior High School?  
39. What about the field of \_\_\_\_\_ most interests you? What influenced your interest in it?  
40. Have you had any direct experience with this or related fields? What about it made you feel you could be competent in it?

41. Have you ever known anyone who was in that field? Do you, or did you have any contact with them personally? In what context did you know them?
42. What do you expect that you will be doing ten years from now (i.e., what will life be like for you then)? Is that what you'd like to be doing?

#### Elementary School

43. Tell me about when and how you learned to read. What were your parents' reactions to it? Did you learn in school, outside of school? Who taught you? What was it like? Was it easy or difficult for you?
44. Did you do any unassigned reading then? Were you allowed the time and privacy to do it? Where did you get books to read? Who bought them? If they were borrowed from a library, how did you learn to use it?
45. From whom did you learn arithmetic? How did you feel about it? How did your parents feel about it?
46. In your elementary school, did you have homework assignments? If so, where did you do them?
47. If you needed help with your homework, was there anyone you asked? How did that go? What was it like?
48. Did you usually get your homework done?
49. Which subject(s) gave you most trouble at school? What did you do about it? Which were easiest? Which were most interesting?
50. How did you get your school supplies? From whom? Under what circumstances?

#### Junior High School

- 51.
52. (Repeat questions 46 through 50)
- 53.
- 54.
- 55.

56. What did your parents' do to facilitate:
- a) Spending more time on homework? For example, if mother wanted you to perform some household chore and you had to study for an exam or write a paper, what typically would happen?
  - b) Spending more time on extra-curricular school activities?
  - c) Spending more time at libraries?
  - d) Did you ever study with a friend? If so, what were your parents' reactions?
57. Did they do anything to actively interfere with any of these?
58. Did you bring friends to your home? Did you spend time in your friends' homes?

#### High School

59.  
60.  
61.  
62. (Repeat questions 46 through 50; 56 through 58)  
63.  
64.  
65.  
66.

#### College

67.  
68.  
69.  
70. (Repeat questions 46 through 50; 56 through 58)  
71.  
72.  
73.  
74.

#### Alternate Influencers

75. Can you name one to three people, outside of your immediate family, who have been helpful (encouraging) to you in relation to school?

76. At what age did you meet them? How? What contact did you have with them? Over how long a period?
77. What are their occupations or intellectual interests? How far did they get in school?

Parental Reactions to Alternate Influencers

78. Did (do) your parents know them? How did they feel about them? How did they show it?

79. Can you think of teachers you have been fond of in:

- a) Elementary school
- b) Junior High School
- c) High School
- d) College

Do your parents know about them? If so, how do they feel about them?

80. To whom do you go now for help in studying or writing a paper? Has that been helpful? In what way? What do your parents think of asking \_\_\_\_\_ for help?

81. Do any of your friends attend college? For how long have you known them?

- a) How much time do you spend together, approximately?
- b) What sort of things do you do together? What do you talk about with them?
- c) Do your parents know them? How do they feel about them?

82. Can you think of one to three people your parents most respect and admire? What about them do they respect and admire? How do you feel about these people?

83. Who do you most admire and respect? What do (or would) your parents think of them?

Pre-School Experience

84. Did you go to nursery school or kindergarten? Did you play with other children (besides family) before school began?

85. What was your experience of the first day of school?

## APPENDIX D

JUDGEMENT CRITERIA FOR  
INTERVIEW CATEGORIESI: Parents' Achievement StrivingDefinition of Achievement

Achievement is defined here as the acquisition or elaboration of skills (intellectual or otherwise) used for either earning a living and/or satisfaction in their exercise. It includes level of expectation as well as actual achievement.

Examples of Extreme Scores

1. A parent who works, but is promoted on jobs by seniority only; has little or no interest in acquiring interpersonal skills; is uninterested in keeping up with current events; is uninterested in reading for pleasure or knowledge; is unrelated to the learning process for themselves. THIS PARENT WOULD RECEIVE A RATING OF 0.

2. A parent who attempts to learn a trade or improve on one for work or hobby; who undertakes to expand skills or interests (for whatever motivation) either formally or informally; who pursues and values a social life outside of their own family; who is interested in keeping abreast of current events; who reads for pleasure or knowledge. THIS PARENT WOULD RECEIVE A RATING OF 5.

"Overall" Score

In scoring for "overall" a rule of thumb is that this rating should represent an average between Mother's rating and Father's rating. However, it is important to keep in mind the evaluation of which of the two parents is perceived as the strongest influencer by the student. If you feel that the relationship with one parent is a much more significant one in terms of interpersonal impact, the "overall" scoring should reflect this qualitative impression.

Range of Cases

The cases you have been given represent the full range of ratings for this Category (from 0 to 5). It is suggested

that you read through all six interviews first before rating your Category in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample.

PLEASE COMPARE THEM ONLY IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND NOT TO EITHER MIDDLE-CLASS OR "IDEAL" STANDARDS.

## II: Parental Influence on Student's Achievement

### Definition of Achievement

Achievement is defined here as the acquisition or elaboration of skills (intellectual or otherwise) to be used for either earning a living and/or satisfaction in their exercise. It includes level of expectation as well as actual achievement.

The areas of achievement involved are: a) academic (i.e., scholastic, intellectual), or b) other (e.g., sports, creative arts, etc.).

This category deals primarily with the parents' capacity to relate to their child's development of competence in both academic or other areas. It includes helping the student in troublesome areas of school work, cooperating with the student on materials and conditions for study, and some sense of enjoyment of the exercise of the student's competence, historically as well as currently.

### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. A parent who is indifferent to, or actively interfering with the student's attempts to learn to make good grades; to learn academic skills and course content; who refuses to allow the student proper conditions, time, and privacy in which to study, and who interferes with the student's search for Alternate Influencers; THIS PARENT WOULD RATE A 0.

2. A parent who follows the student's course of learning and competing for good grades (especially in the early years), with an eye toward offering or organizing and encouraging aid in areas of difficulty for the student; who takes pride in the student's successes in school; who encourages the use of Alternate Influencers on the student's part; THIS PARENT WOULD RATE A 5.

### "Overall" Score

You are asked to come up with a rating for Mother, a rating for Father and an "Overall" rating in each area, a) Academic and b) Other.

In rating "Overall" a rule of thumb is that this score should represent an average between the rating for Mother and the rating for Father. However, it is important to keep in mind the evaluation of which of the two parents is perceived by the student as the strongest influencer. If you feel that the relationship with one of the parents is a more significant one in terms of interpersonal impact, the "Overall" score should reflect this qualitative impression.

### Range of Cases

The cases you have been given represent a broad range of ratings for this Category. It is suggested that you read through all six cases before rating your category in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample.

PLEASE COMPARE THEM ONLY IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND NOT TO EITHER MIDDLE-CLASS OR "IDEAL" STANDARDS.

## III: Student's Attitudes Toward

### Own Achievement

#### Definition of Achievement

Achievement is defined here as the acquisition or elaboration of skills (intellectual or otherwise) to be used for either earning a living and/or satisfaction in their exercise. It includes level of expectation as well as actual achievement.

The areas of achievement involved are: a) Academic (i.e., scholastic, intellectual), or b) Other (e.g., sports, creative arts, etc.).

This category deals primarily with the student's intensity of relatedness to the process of formal education. It includes his attitude towards his own standards of performance, his level of expectation for himself, his orientation toward organizing help if needed in difficult areas, and his feeling toward his competencies or lack of them.

This category also deals with achievement in other than academic areas, such as sports, creative arts, etc. You are asked to come up with two ratings for each student: one rating for academic achievement and a second for achievement in other than academic areas.

#### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. A student who does not seem very involved with learning to do well in school; who does not mind barely getting through; who does not seem to have very high standards of performance for himself and who does not seek out help for areas of difficulty, WOULD RATE A 0.

2. A student who seems vitally concerned with doing well; who expresses some personal or valued purpose in education; who is concerned about time and effort in study being reflected in his grades; who expresses some pride and satisfaction in doing well and some idea that with help and additional work, one could do better in areas of difficulty, WOULD RATE A 5.

#### Range of Cases

The cases you have been given represent a broad range of ratings for this Category. It is suggested that you read through all six cases before rating your category in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample.

PLEASE COMPARE THEM ONLY IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND NOT TO EITHER MIDDLE-CLASS OR "IDEAL" STANDARDS.

### IV: Alternate Influencers on Student's Achievement

#### Definition of Achievement

Achievement is defined here as the acquisition or elaboration of skills (intellectual or otherwise) to be used for either earning a living and/or satisfaction in their exercise. It includes level of expectation as well as actual achievement.

The areas of achievement involved are: a) Academic (i.e., scholastic, intellectual), and b) Other (e.g., sports, creative arts, etc.).

### Definition of Alternate Influencers

Refers to people other than nuclear family who the student experiences, or has experienced, as particularly encouraging to him in relation to achievement.

This category deals with judgements of significant relationships (as reported by the student), where they have been useful to the student in relation to school work, level of expectation, exploration of various areas of self-expression.

You are asked to come up with two ratings for each student: one rating for Academic achievement and a second for achievement other than academic.

### Examples of Extreme Scores

1. This Category is rated 0 under two conditions: One, if there is a lack of experiencing any impact of Alternate Influence by the student, and secondly, if there has been parental interference of the use of available Alternate Influencers for the student.

2. An Alternate Influencer who follows the course of the student's attempts to learn with an eye toward offering or organizing or encouraging aid in areas of difficulty for the student; who takes pride in the student's successes; who encourages the student to reach for higher levels of expectation for himself, WOULD RATE A 5.

### Range of Cases

The cases you have been given represent a broad range of ratings for this category. It is suggested that you read through all six cases before rating your category in order to get acquainted with the range for this sample.

PLEASE COMPARE THEM ONLY IN RELATION TO EACH OTHER AND NOT TO EITHER MIDDLE-CLASS OR "IDEAL" STANDARDS.

## APPENDIX E

## ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THREE ACHIEVEMENT

GROUPS: LOW, MIDDLE, AND HIGH

Comparison of Interview Category Mean Rating Scores  
of Three Achievement Groups

Interview Category	Achievement Groups		
	High (N=10)	Middle (N=15)	Low (N=9)
I Par. Ach.	1.60	2.13	1.55
II Par. Infl.	4.00	2.47	1.33
III Stud. Att.	4.50	3.00	2.00
IV Alt. Infl.	4.60	3.20	1.90

Analysis of Variance for  
Category I: Parents' Achievement of  
Three Achievement Groups

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	2.59	2	1.30	.83	NS
Within Groups	48.35	31	1.56		
Total	50.94	33			

Analysis of Variance for  
 Category II: Parental Influence  
 of Three Achievement Groups

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	34.30	2	17.15	14.06	.01
Within Groups	37.73	31	1.22		
Total	72.03	33			

Analysis of Variance for  
 Category III: Students' Attitude  
 of Three Achievement Groups

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	30.44	2	15.22	28.72	.01
Within Groups	16.50	31	.53		
Total	46.94	33			

Analysis of Variance for  
 Category IV: Alternate Influence  
 of Three Achievement Groups

Source	SS	df	MS	F	P
Between Groups	34.93	2	17.47	16.03	.01
Within Groups	33.69	31	1.09		
Total	68.62	33			

t Test Findings for Interview  
Categories II, III, and IV  
for Three Achievement Groups

Interview Category	Low vs. Middle		Middle vs. High		Low vs. High	
	<u>t</u>	P	<u>t</u>	P	<u>t</u>	P
II	2.48	.05	3.16	.01	5.67	.001
III	2.49	.05	4.98	.001	6.36	.001
IV	2.48	.05	3.02	.01	6.65	.001

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## AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

The candidate (Luba Elman) was born in Chicago, Illinois on November 28, 1930. She received her B.A. from The City College of New York in August of 1963.

She worked as Research Assistant in a cross-cultural study concerned with Quechua Indians in Peru from 1960 to 1962, and in research with brain-damaged patients at Coler Hospital in New York in 1963. She taught Introduction to Psychology at The City College of New York in 1964 as a teaching fellow, and was an instructor at Queens College teaching Theories of Personality in the summer of 1964.

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