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ABSTRACT

       The general objective of this study was to determine the nature and extent of reference group pressures on an individual's decision to drop out of school. A major hypothesis was that the impact of reference groups on this decision will be a function of the extent to which an individual identifies with that group. Consequently a major effort was made to determine the nature and extent of identification with the reference groups of family, peers, and school. Data were collected from 2,030 ninth, tenth, and eleventh graders in two Chicago high schools by use of an administered questionnaire. Results indicated that family influence could partially explain not dropping out, particularly if high family integration, strong identification with parents, or pro-education values held by parents are considered. Peer influence was also found to be important. If a student's friends place a relatively low value on education, he will be more likely to drop out. Teacher's values toward education was not found to be a meaningful variable. However, whether or not students identified with the teacher indicated some influence on students' behavior. (Author/KJ)

A STUDY OF THE SOCIAL INTERACTIONS
WHICH LEAD TO DECISIONS TO
DROP OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL

Edward Z. Dager

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 7-E-082
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF
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Appreciation is also expressed to the Purdue Research Foundation and to the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education for their financial awards.

Summary

The problem of the high school dropout is perhaps one of the major social problems on the contemporary American scene. The thirty percent of our young people who leave school prematurely every year are generally going to be disadvantaged for the rest of their lives, and will probably constitute a continual drain on the nation's economy. A study of the reasons for dropping out of school is a necessary first step if an effective program to combat this problem is to be developed.

The general objective of the present research is to determine the nature and extent of reference group pressures on an individual's decision to drop out of school. A major hypothesis of this study is that the impact of reference groups on this decision will be a function of the extent to which an individual identifies with that group. Consequently a major effort has been made to determine the nature and extent of identification with the reference groups of family, peers, and school.

The scheme of the study involved the controlling of the larger sociological variables such as social class and ethnicity and the gross psychological variables such as I. Q. scores and focusing on the primary group relations in which the student was involved. With controls on these variables, the variables for analysis take this path: values toward education —→ family integration —→ identification with family members —→ internalized values —→ decision about school. Should the family not be integrated, then the peers or the school may become the dominating influence in the decision about school. In each case, however, the peers and school is analyzed to determine whether or not either acts as a modifying influence or as reinforcing agents.

The research instrument used was a forty-four page self-administered questionnaire which contained several indexes and scales. An identification index and a family integration index were constructed specifically for this study and were administered along with several other measuring devices which had been used in other studies. These include an achievement motivation index, a self-esteem scale and a self-concept of academic ability scale. Other items in the instrument were designed to gather information about social background factors; family composition and structure; educational orientation of self, family members, peers, and teachers; geographic mobility; and vertical mobility orientation. In addition, data from high school records (I. Q. test scores, absences, etc.) were utilized in the study.

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The data were collected in May, 1966 from 2030 ninth, tenth, and eleventh grade students of two high schools located in the highly industrialized, urban city of East Chicago, Indiana. Its population (1960) is 57,669 and can be characterized as being approximately one-third white, one-third black, and one-third Latin American. The following year (Summer, 1967), the researchers returned to the school for a list of students who had not returned to school and after the disposition of each student had been thoroughly checked, a validated list of dropouts was obtained (N = 122). A control sample matched for age, sex, school, ethnicity, and I. Q. scores was drawn (N = 122) along with a random sample (N = 122). All findings reported in this study are the result of comparisons among these three samples.

Hypothesis

The following hypotheses may be categorized into three general areas: family influence, peer influence, and school influence:

Hypothesis 1: The more positive the values regarding education held by parents, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 2: Students whose parents both (a) are strongly identified with and (b) place a high value on education will be less likely to drop out of school than students whose parents both (a) are weakly identified with and (b) place a low value on education.

Hypothesis 3: Parental values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as family integration decreases.

Hypothesis 4: A high index of family integration will be associated with a high index of achievement motivation.

Hypothesis 5: The higher the achievement motive, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 6: A high index of family integration will be associated with a high index of academic self concept.

Hypothesis 7: The more positive the academic self concept, the lower will be the dropout rate.

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Hypothesis 8: The more positive the values regarding education held by peer group members, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 9: Peer group values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as the subject's identification with that group decreases.

Hypothesis 10: The more positive the values regarding education held by the school, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 11: School values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as the subject's identification with the school decreases.

Family Influences (Hypotheses 1-7)

These hypotheses were generally confirmed by the data. We have found that dropping out of high school can be at least partially explained by these variables: high family integration, strong identification with parents, or pro-education values held by parents. There is some indication that high family integration is the independent variable and, therefore, the key as to whether or not the children will identify with either or both of his parents and should they be pro-education, it follows that the child will also have those values.

Of further importance are the findings of a strong relationship between high family integration and achievement values as well as academic self-concept. Although these latter variables are not too highly dependent on the family, they do reflect values and attitudes related, at least partially, to the kind of socialization which prevails in the family setting. The data presented here provide fairly strong support that high family integration provides the necessary conditions for the development of achievement values and a positive academic self-concept.

The above conclusions are generally true for the comparison between the dropouts and the random control group. However, the comparisons between the dropouts and the matched control group does not permit the same order of generalization. For the dropout-random group comparisons, four (hypotheses 1, 3, 6, and 7) of the seven hypotheses were solidly confirmed and one received partial support (hypothesis 2 was supported in the case of the father, but not the mother). On the other hand, only two (3 and 7) of the seven

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hypotheses were supported in the dropout-matched group comparisons. One (hypothesis 2) was partially supported in the case of the mother but not the father), while the remaining four (1, 4, 5, and 6) received no support.

This points up a twofold difficulty of the study. It would have been preferable to return to the schools two years after the students responded rather than one. It is quite possible that the matched control group comprises a sizable number of students who dropped out of school in the second year after the data were gathered. If this is true, and the researchers intend to check this later, then the matched group is, in fact, quite similar to the dropout group because they also will have become dropouts. The second difficulty is less clear but involves the make-up of the matched sample. Since it is a matched group, there is perforce an over representation of Negroes and since the device to measure achievement leans toward the middle classes, the results do not show the differences obtained by using the random group. Obviously, a corrective measure would necessitate an achievement index which is more realistic for this group.

All these qualifications not withstanding, such strictures placed upon the data make it even more notable that the other hypotheses were supported. The findings give very strong support to the integrative-identification-value argument presented.

Peer Influences (Hypotheses 8 and 9)

In general, hypotheses 8 and 9 can be accepted. As was the case with the family, we find that peer group influences play a considerable role in determining whether a student will drop out of high school. Specifically, if a student's friends place a relatively low value on education, he will be more likely to drop out. Furthermore, the friends' valuation of education will have a varying effect on dropping out as the extent of identification varies.

Once again, though, these conclusions, or at least those drawn directly from the tests of our hypotheses, must be qualified. In our discussion of the influence of the family we noted a relative lack of statistical support for the dropout-matched comparisons. Contrarily, we now note a relative lack of support for the dropout-random comparisons when we examine the influence of the peer group. In fact, neither hypothesis is supported for the random comparison, while both are supported for the matched comparison. The explanation for this is related to the explanation given above for the family. Specifically, if the family is a major source of influence (as for the random controls), other sources, such as the peer group,

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will be relatively ineffectual, whereas if the family is a minor source of influence (as for the matched controls), an "influence gap" is created which can be filled from other sources, such as the peer group. We must conclude from our data, then, that as far as our formal hypotheses are concerned there is a mixture of support and non-support. Viewed from a large perspective, however, a perspective which takes into account other sources of influence, the importance of the non-support diminishes.

School Influence (Hypotheses 10 and 11)

Hypothesis ten must be clearly rejected. It apparently is not a meaningful hypothesis since there was little variation among the groups in the way they evaluated the teacher's educational value orientation. They obviously were responding to the position of teacher since most students reported that teachers viewed education as "important" or "very important."

Although teachers' values toward education is not a meaningful variable, whether or not students identified with the teacher indicates some influence on students' behavior. This is especially true for the dropout-matched groups (hypothesis 11). Teachers apparently are a positive influence on students but only for those subjects for whom family influences are minimal.

Other data in this section indicate that the school is an important factor in influencing dropout behavior insofar as it provides the student with some source of satisfaction, whether it be curricular, co-curricular or extracurricular.

In general, the analysis of the data in this study indicates that the family plays an influential role in preventing dropout behavior among the "Anglo" students, but not among the students of the minority group. On the other hand, the peer group, and to some excec... the teachers and school appear to play an influential role in preventing dropout behavior among minority group members but seem not to be meaningful among the "Anglos" as a determining factor.

Some practical implications resulting from the study are included in the final discussion.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM
AND THE LITERATURE

The Problem

This study focuses its attention on high school dropouts, a
group of adolescents which constitutes a major social and economic
problem for contemporary American society. High school dropouts
constitute a problem, if for no other reason, by their sheer quan-
tity. It has been estimated by the United States Office of Educa-
tion and by the National Education Association that the annual
dropout rate for the U. S. in the 1960's will be between 30 and
35 percent (Schreiber, 1964c). Translated into raw figures this
means that approximately 7½ million students, in this decade alone,
will not complete a high school education.

When viewed in light of the high value placed on education by
our society (Williams, 1959; Brookover, 1955), it is paradoxical
and puzzling why one-third of our youth are dropouts. The serious-
ness of this problem is further attested to by the hundreds of
studies on dropouts that have been conducted and published (Miller,
Saleem, and Bryce, 1964). These studies have yielded a wealth of
descriptive material. We know, for example, that the dropout will
more likely be from the lower than the middle or upper socioeconomic
class, that Negroes have a higher dropout rate than whites, and so
on. These descriptions, however, do not provide us with anything
resembling a total, let alone a highly satisfactory "middle range,"
explanation. There are, for example, thousands of lower class
Negroes every year who do complete high school. It is apparent,
then, that the crude sociological variables such as race, class,
etc., are, by themselves, insufficient to explain this phenomenon.
What is desperately needed is the identification and understanding
of the more dynamic social-psychological factors which work to
produce a differential impact on students of the same class or race
with regard to the decision to drop out of school or to stay in.

It is the purpose of this study to examine some of these
dynamic factors. In so doing we shall not omit consideration of

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the grosser sociological and psychological variables, but throughout the bulk of this study these variables will be controlled in an attempt to understand those factors which operate _within_ a particular ethnic category or I. Q. range or social class. Previous research points to two broad factors which shall serve as the major independent variables in this study.

1. One body of research leads to an examination of certain components of the social structure: the family, the peer group, and "school climate." These components, for our purposes, will be treated as _reference groups_. Reference groups are here defined as those groups which serve "as the point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in forming judgments about one's self . . . (or) that group whose perspective constitutes the frame of reference for the actor" (Shibutani, 1955, pp. 562-563). Reference groups are "groups whose norms are used as anchoring points in structuring the perceptual field . . . . Through direct or vicarious participation in a group one comes to perceive the world from its standpoint" (Shibutani, 1955, p. 563). The importance of a reference group, then, is that to a greater or lesser degree it "tells" the individual how he should see the world; it provides him with a "definition of the situation." Each of these reference groups--family, peer, and school--acts as a socializing agent, and each can have a part in determining the educational decisions of high school students. A first general purpose of this study, then, is to examine the impact of the above-mentioned reference groups on the potential dropout's decisions regarding his continued education. Special attention will be paid to the definitions held by these groups, especially concerning education, as perceived by the potential dropout himself. It will be generally hypothesized that there are characteristics of these reference groups that greatly influence the decision to drop out of school or to stay in until graduation.

2. A second related body of literature points to the social-psychological concept of _identification_ as a major variable linking the values of the reference group to the values, and hence to the behavior, of the individual. In general the stronger the identification with a reference group, the greater will

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be that group's influence on the individual. Identification can be defined as "an acquired, cognitive response with a person (S). The content of this response is that some of the attributes, motives, characteristics, and affective states of a model . . . are part of S's psychological orientation" (Kagan, 1958, p. 298).

The concept of identification has a number of different meanings in social psychology (Bronfenbrenner, 1958). Following Winch, we shall focus our attention on identification as product as opposed to process. Identification as product refers to that behavior of the identifier which is assumed to be in some relationship to the behavior of a model (Winch, 1962). The nature of this relationship is that the identifier takes unto himself certain traits of the model.

An intriguing question surrounding discussions of identification deals with motivation. Why does a subject identify with some particular model or with some particular trait? Winch suggests that part of the answer to this question can be found by examining the functional, or instrumental, bases of identification. In discussing familial identification, he points out that the family performs many functions (emotional gratification, position-conferring, nurturance, and control) which benefit the individual. The motivation for identification is thus, partly sheer instrumentality. The parent helps the child attain a goal (e.g., tying one's own shoes); this instrumentality leads to identification. The instrumentality of identification has been discussed by others besides Winch (Frued, 1960; Parsons and Bales, 1953).

It was mentioned above that gross variables, such as I. Q., are by themselves insufficient to predict who will drop out of high school. For example, a recent study of more than 9,000 Indiana dropouts revealed that 62% had an I. Q. score of 90 or higher (Pruett, Shertzer, and Clardy, 1967). Why had these people quit when, by surface appearances, they possessed the mental ability to complete high school? The answer, we suspect, will be related to the values possessed by those subject, values which developed basically through identification with certain reference groups.

A second motivating source of identification is emotionality, or what we shall loosely term "need satisfaction." The needs of which we speak here may be primary or secondary. For ease of illustration, however, we will deal only with the former. A useful device here is the learning theorists' concept of secondary reinforcement. In the present context, secondary reinforcement would operate somewhat in this fashion: As the parent (or parent-surrogate) goes

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about his task of satisfying the infant's basic needs, he is also engaging in various forms of social behavior. Since the neonate is unable to differentiate his social from his biological world, it follows that he is also unable to differentiate his biological gratification from its social source. That is, to the child, the satisfaction he receives and the parent's accompanying social behavior are one. The parent's behavior becomes meaningful and important and acquires reward properties. This leads the child to model his behavior after the parent's. As the child takes on characteristics of the parent, we say he is identifying.

It has been shown that identification can affect many aspects of human behavior. For example, in a general sense, identification can influence the sex-role that a child will adopt (Brown, 1956; Payne and Mussen, 1956). More particularly, and more important for our purposes, identification can be expected to lead to the acquisition of values.

On assumption that the most significant relationships through which an adolescent is influenced occur within his family, peer, and school groups, and that identification with these groups facilitates the transmission of values, this research hopes to discern several basic social-psychological reasons for dropping out of school. A general scheme of the interplay among reference groups, identification, values, and behavior is presented in Figure 1.

Related Literature

The Family

In many respects the family is the single most important socializing agency for the child. Generally, the family has initial access to the child, and for the first few years this access is quite exclusive of other influences. It is hardly surprising, then, to find that the family plays an important role in determining whether or not a child completes high school.

An excellent study of dropouts in Quincy, Illinois, revealed that stay-ins more often than dropouts (60% and 12% respectively) had parents who were strongly opposed to their children leaving school early. Dropouts' parents tended to be either indifferent to their children's dropping out or did nothing to prevent it (Bowman and Matthews, 1965). Similarly, a study in Detroit showed positive attitudes of parents toward education, high school, and teachers to be significantly related to keeping potential dropouts in school until an older age (Dresher, 1953-1954). Comparing the attitudes of lower class mothers, one researcher found that the

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Family's attitudes toward education	Family integration
Peers' attitudes toward education	Identification	Internalized values, esp. re education	Dropping out of school
School's attitudes toward education		External pressures (e.g., pregnancy)	Staying in school

Includes self-concepts, achievement values, etc.
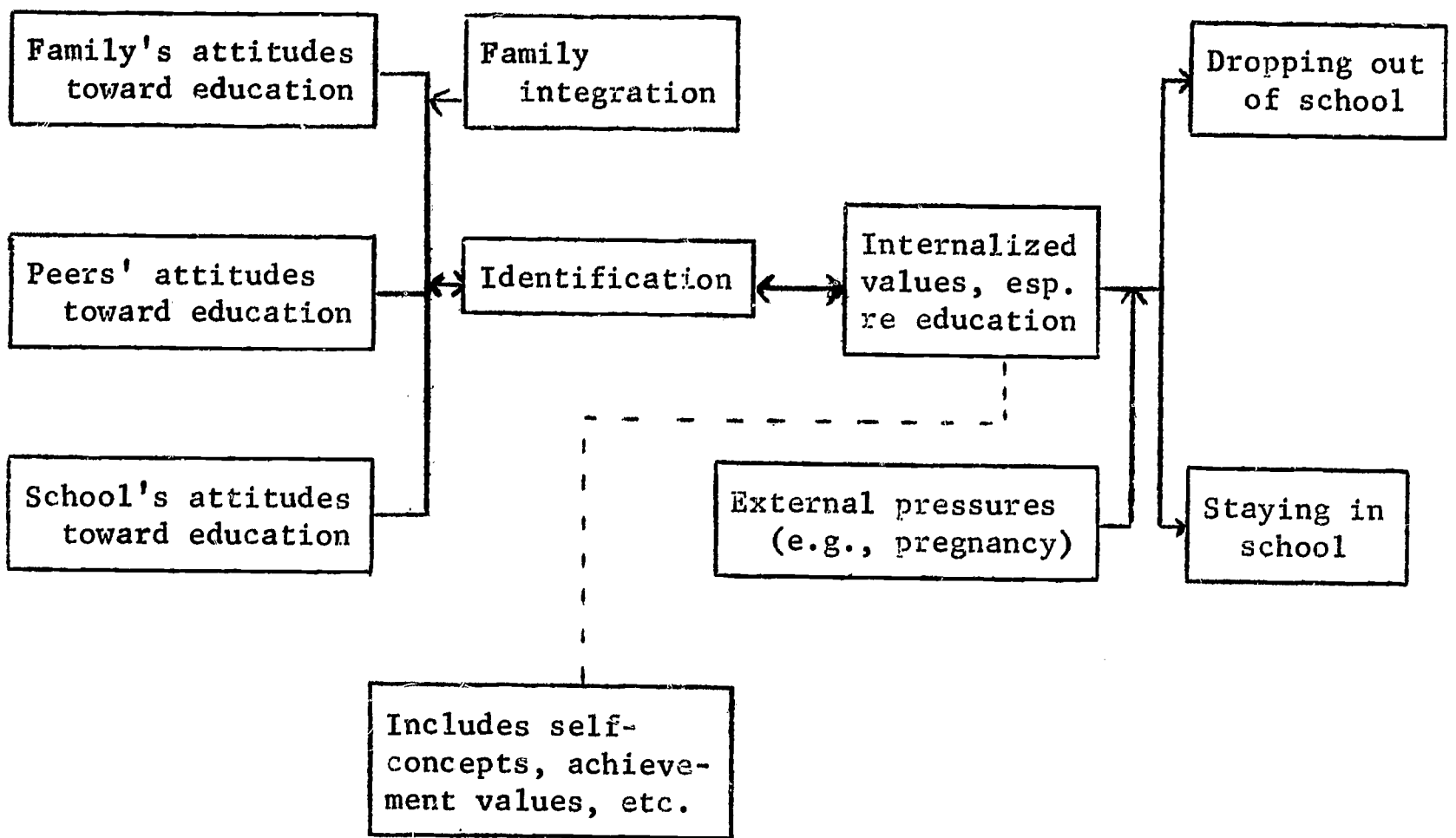
FIGURE 1. General Schema

dropouts' mothers' attitudes toward education were quite different
from the stay-ins' mothers' attitudes. The dropouts' mothers "teach
their children that life is a long series of trying situations to be
avoided if possible. . . . achievement is neither valued in itself,
nor is it seen as the road to a better life" (Liddle, 1960, p. 277).
Most parents of dropouts were thus basically indifferent to their
children's education. This general conclusion is drawn by a number
of other studies (Schreiber, 1964c; Strom, 1964; Porter, 1963; Murrin,
1961).

On the other hand, at least one study indicates no difference
in parental attitudes toward school, that most parents tend to
verbalize pro-school attitudes and tend to verbally disapprove of
their children dopping out (Mannino, 1962). These same parents,
however, do not manifest encouragement and interest with regard to
their children's education. Despite this piece of negative evidence,
the bulk of the research indicates that home attitudes have consider-
able influence on whether children drop out of school.

This finding, though, is a bit too general to provide us with a
meaningful explanation of the family's influence. In an attempt to
delve deeper into the dynamics of this social influence situation,
Lucius F. Cervantes has conducted a study of 150 dropouts and a
group of 150 controls, matched on age, sex, I. Q., race (all white),
high school, and general socioeconomic background (Cervantès, 1965a,
1965b, 1965c). Two of Cervantes' hypotheses are directly related to
the present research. We shall first examine an hypothesis related
to our use of the concept of identification. If we can assume that
identification with a model is facilitated by primary relations with
that model, it should then follow that when primary relations are
present, value transmission is facilitated. In particular, we might
suspect that primary relations especially facilitate transmission of
positive values regarding education. Thus, Cervantes develops the
following hypothesis: "the family background of the dropout is less
characterized by primary relationships than is the family background
of the high school graduate" (Cervantes, 1965a, p. 218). Cervantes
then analyzes the primary relations of his two samples in terms of
their (1) acceptance as a total person, (2) depth of intercommunica-
tion, and (3) giving of personal satisfaction. In each case, he
found dropouts to be significantly different from graduates; each
question that reflected the "climate of primary relations" in the
home distinguished the dropout from the graduate. For example, with
regard to depth of intercommunication, one question asked, "Does
your family talk things over with each other very often?" To this
query, four out of five dropouts reported very infrequent or infrequent
communications as opposed to one of five graduates (Cervantes, 1965a,
p. 221).

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Cervantes has succinctly stated his conclusions:

> Previous studies have noted that the family back-
> grounds of dropouts generally differ from those of
> graduates. The present study has . . . gone a step
> further by specifying exactly how the domestic environ-
> ment of the lower-class academic achievers differs
> from that of the non-achievers. It remains to point
> out the link between socialization in a home where
> primary relations are dominant and success in the school
> context.

> Every successful student needs three prerequisites.
> First, . . . a strong self-image that is the product
> of being accepted as a worthwhile person and of various
> success experiences . . . . Secondly, . . . the intel-
> lectual alertness, the vocabulary, and the reading
> potentials that only extensive intercommunication with
> sympathetic confidants can supply. Third, . . . to
> derive pleasure from team work, competition, and the
> discipline inherent in orderly social interaction. The
> import of this study is that these academic prerequisites
> are more readily acquired by the child who has been
> brought up in a family that is a primary group (Cervantes,
> 1965a, p. 223).

Cervantes' second hypothesis of interest is as follows: "the
family background of the dropout is characterized by fewer and less
creative family friends (i.e., those who have the ability to assist
toward educational attainment) than is the family background of the
high school dropout" (Cervantes, 1965c, p. 106).

In examining Cervantes' first hypothesis we saw how primary
relations racilitate educational attainment. However, this follows
only if the values of the family are pro-education. It could very
easily be argued that a primary-related family could just as well
produce a dropout if the family's values were anti-education. Exam-
ination of Cervantes' second hypothesis indicates that his assumption
in the first instance was valid. Cervantes found seven significant
differences in family backgrounds of dropouts: (1) less extensiveness
(i.e., dropouts' families have fewer friends); (2) less intensiveness;
(3) less homogeneity of friends, values, and aspirations; (4) less
care in avoiding "problem unit" friend families; (5) less focus on
the father; (6) less creativity (see above definition); and (7) less
solidarity. Most important for our purposes is the finding of less
"creativity."

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When the teen-agers were questioned as to what
expectations they perceived their families' friends to
have of them academically, three times as many graduates
as dropouts replied that they thought their families'
friends wanted them to go to college after high school.
Three times as many graduates as dropouts likewise
thought that the family friends had made a positive
contribution to their academic achievement . . .
(Cervantes, 1965c, p. 116).

Cervantes is thus arguing that the family friend system of the
graduate is far more likely to be marked by pro-education attitudes.
When this value position is found in a network of primary relations
it follows that the education values stand a very good chance of being
transmitted to, and accepted by, high school age members of the system.

It is not to be assumed, however, that there is a perfect one-to-
one relationship between primary relations in the family friend system
and graduating from high school. Certainly we can expect to find some
dropouts who come from families with strong primary bonds, some who
come from families that espouse pro-education values. We must there-
fore seek out other dynamic factors which are likely to influence
academic achievement.

One such factor has been suggested by the work of Glen Elder and
his associates. Elder (1965, p. 83) hypothesized that, "Educational
attainment is negatively related to the degree of parental dominance
in adolescence." More specifically, Elder (1965, p. 84) suggests
that, "high educational attainment is most prevalent (sic) among
persons who report democratic relations with their parents and
equalitarian relations between mother and father." Both of these
hypotheses were supported in an analysis of educational attainment and
family power structure for samples from the United States, Great
Britain, West Germany, Italy, and Mexico. Place of birth (rural-
urban) did not influence the findings, nor did religion (Protestant
vs. Catholic). With regard to social class, the relation between
parental control and educational attainment was generally stronger
in the middle than in the working class.

Like Cervantes', Elder's explanation is not, nor does it pretend
to be, total. However, the two points of emphasis they present are
almost certainly related, as Elder points out by noting, "that the
relation between family structure and educational attainment depends
heavily on educational opportunity and values" (Elder, 1965, p. 94,
emphasis added).

With regard to the general Cervantes-Elder findings there is
some negative evidence. A study of occupational aspiration found

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that unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships in the family of orientation were related to <u>high</u> aspirational levels, and satisfactory relationships were related to low aspirational levels (Dynes, Clarke, and Dinitz, 1965). However, the difference might be explained by the fact that the Dynes <u>et al</u>. sample was composed primarily of upper-middle class respondents, while Elder's sample was made up largely of working and lower class individuals. But Elder does claim that his middle class subjects had the higher educational attainment, so there is a basic contradiction that can perhaps be resolved only by going beyond social class as a differentiating variable.

Another element of family structure to be considered is what we shall term the integrated family. Since we are suggesting that the family <u>as a primary group</u> is central to our analysis we should expect that families lacking integration will produce a disproportionately high number of dropouts. The literature provides partial support for this notion, since a number of studies report that a disproportionate number of dropouts come from homes broken by death or divorce (Miller, Saleem, and Bryce, 1964). In the present research we shall not only be concerned with physically disrupted or broken homes, but propose to use the wider concept of <u>family integration</u>. By an integrated family we mean one that can effectively deal with common, everyday problems; one that is marked by cooperative, smooth operation; one that evidences relatively little tension. "Family integration," then, carries a very different meaning from a physically "broken" family. One family may be broken physically but remain integrated; another may be physically intact but not integrated. (We expect, though, that intact families will tend to be integrated, and broken families to be not integrated.) It should be emphasized that family integration is not assumed to be a determining factor <u>per se</u> of dropping out of school; rather, it is expected that family integration will facilitate identification with family members. This, in turn, will facilitate the transmission of values, whatever they may be.

The importance of the family must not be understated. It is from the family that most people acquire their initial set of values, their initial identity, their initial self-image. And each of these factors is partially influenced by the type of family situation in which the individual is reared: a family with a high degree of parental dominance will more likely develop a child who is less successful in educational attainment (Elder, 1965); a first-born child may be more anxious (Schachter, 1959); physically broken homes may produce more delinquents, and so on. The complex variety of family structures and atmospheres have a real influence on personal development.

In summary, evidence from related literature points to the family as a crucial force in determining whether or not an individual

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remains in school. Taken together this literature suggests that certain aspects of the dropout problem might be better understood by examining the following questions.

First, to what extent does the potential dropout identify with his family? For the family to have any real bearing on adolescent behavior it would seem necessary that the adolescent in some fashion accepts the family, i.e., that he identifies with it. Consequently, in this study several measures of identification with the family have been used in the research instrument.

Second, what values, especially values concerning education, are held by the dropout's family? If identification occurs, it would follow that the values of the family will be transmitted to the adolescent. By focusing on these values, one could hope to learn something about dropout dynamics. This study will attempt to determine the impact of these values.

Third, to what degree is the family integrated? Whatever the values held by the family, the impact of these values will be all the greater if the family is integrated.

Peers

As strong a force as the family may be, it by no means is the only influence on the values and behavior of adolescents. A second major reference source is the peer group. After the first few years of life, and especially after a child enters school, the family begins to lose its nearly exclusive hold on the child's socialization. As a child ages he begins to become oriented to his peers. If the family adjusts itself to this developing shift, the shift will not be total and some orientation to the family will remain; a failure of the family to adjust will lead to total peer orientation (Kinch and Bowerman, 1951). Regardless of the degree of adjustment and the extent of the shift towards peer orientation there can be little doubt that by the time a youngster reaches high school his peer groups exert a powerful influence on him. Speaking of American youth Rosen says, ". . . at no other time is the peer group as important to the individual as it is in adolescence" (Rosen, 1955, p. 161).

The importance of peer group influences on adolescent behavior can be seen in a number of studies. One author, speaking of student's values, noted that:

> Each set of (the student's) values defined an
> intricate pattern of behavior . . . in which the

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> student's sophistication determined his ultimate status. <u>The result was a tendency to conformity and group control of a wide range of behavior usually regarded as a relatively unpatterned and spontaneous area of action</u> (Gordon, 1957, p. 99).

In Gordon's study, the group influenced behavior in a wide variety of areas, from dress to morality.

There is no reason, though, to assume that within as large an organization as a high school there is only one source of values. If there are a number of distinct age-related groups in a school there are likely to be a number of distinct value sets. It is our general hypothesis that dropping out of school is related to identification with a peer group that does not have a positive value toward education.

We can expect the same general relationship between an individual's values, behavior, and identification with certain reference groups, as was discussed above for the case of the family, to hold for the individual and his peer group. Indeed, almost by definition, the peer group is a reference group. The major variable in this case is likely to be the intensity with which one identifies with his peers. Therefore, in this study an attempt will be made to determine (1) the extent to which the potential dropout identifies with his peers, and (2) the set of values, especially values related to education, that is held by those peers.

With regard to peer relationships a number of studies point out that the dropout can be described as below average in social and personal adjustment (Liddle, 1962; Strom, 1964; Matthews, 1962). It is sometimes noted that the dropout's relations with his fellow students are marked by tension, suspicion, and strain (National Education Association, 1960), or that he is rejecting of, and rejected by, his classmates (Strom, 1964). Previous research has also indicated that the dropout tends to associate with others in the same position and that he lacks stay-in friends (Greene, 1965; Porter, 1963).

Examining a higher level of educational attainment, it has been found that a student "is more likely to expect to go to college, to have a strong desire to go to college when he does expect to go, to want to go when he does not expect to go, and actually to attend, when his best friend does rather than does not plan to go to college; these relationships are stronger when the choice is reciprocal" (Alexander and Campbell, 1964, p. 375). These findings, however, do not answer certain problems. Most notably we do not know <u>when</u> the friendships were developed. Were potential dropouts close friends

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before they left school? Or once having left school, do dropouts tend to find each other?

By far the most complete study of peer influences on high school students has come from the work of James Coleman and his associates (Coleman, 1960, 1961, 1965; McDill and Coleman, 1963, 1965). Coleman has pointed out some of the powerful forces operative within the "adolescent subculture." He has shown, for example, that whether or not academic achievement brings social rewards determines, to a certain extent, whether those who "go out" for scholastic achievement will be the most intelligent members of a student body or simply rather mediocre people who are willing to work at an unrewarding task (Coleman, 1960). In an article more directly related to our present purposes, McDill and Coleman (1963) demonstrate the influence of peer group values on college plans of high school students. One of their major findings is the existence of a negative relation between achievement orientation and social status, combined with a positive relation between intentions of going to college and social status. Their research shows the peer group's influence on members of the "leading crowd." In other words, planning to go to college will increase, in the eyes of his peers, a student's status at school and thereby make school more attractive to him. Students without college aspirations are less likely to be rewarded with high status and school is less likely to be an attractive place for them.

The points made by McDill and Coleman can be applied to the case of the potential high school dropout. This person, generally a below average student (Greene, 1965; Liddle, 1962; Matthews, 1962), gets very little social (or other) reward from the school for his academic activities. Furthermore, and of greater importance, since his friends are likely to be in a similar position, his peer group will offer virtually no rewards for academic success.

In summary, we can expect the peer group to influence the student's behavior to the extent that the student identifies with the group. Particularly a student who identifies strongly with a peer group which holds a relatively favorable attitude toward education will be less likely to drop out than if the group held a negative attitude toward education.

The School

For most students the school cannot be considered as a single reference group. Rather, the school consists of a number of diverse groups, each of which varies in importance from individual to individual. For many students the general heading of "school" will include the peer group, as discussed above. In addition, there might

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also (but not necessarily) be a reference group that we will label "classmates." That is, the student body of any school might create a general atmosphere that affects the behavior of any individual student. Coleman (above) deals with certain aspects of this influence. Finally there is the school itself. Any school exists, in part, as a formal organization with administrators, rules, procedures, division of labor, and all the bureaucratic trappings. As such, it influences the behavior of its students. It is quite possible that dropping out of school might be partially explained in terms of the student's relation to this organizational structure.

Of particular importance to the dropout-school relationship is the general finding that dropouts, by almost any set of criteria, are unsuccessful members of the system. First in terms of the formal demands of the system, dropouts are unsuccessful: they are often retarded in reading ability (Porter, 1963; Greene, 1965), often have been retained (Schreiber, 1964c), are often absent (Porter, 1963; Greene, 1965), and, probably of greatest importance, come to _feel_ _that_ _they_ _cannot_ _find_ _any_ _rewards_ _within_ _the_ _formal_ _educational_ _system_ (Strom, 1964; Liddle, 1962). There is little in the way of formal rewards to hold the individual in the system.

But the school is not merely a formal system of rules attempting to hold the student in a "prison." There are other facets of the school which may be attractive to the student and help to keep him in school. The school is multifunctional for the student. In addition to academics, the student may participate in a number of extra-curricular and co-curricular activities, such as an athletic team or a drama club. We might expect that those who cannot attain the formal (academic) rewards of the system might turn their attention to seeking non-academic rewards. But if this is true, it is also true that the dropout does not have a record of participation even in non-academic school activities (Liddle, 1962; Porter, 1963; Greene, 1965). As a result of his lack of success in both the academic and non-academic worlds of the school, the potential dropout comes to feel that he cannot find personal acceptance of a chance to be successful at _anything_ that is school related. This extremely uncomfortable psychological state may explain why a large number of students choose to leave the system as soon as possible. "Failure in the academic, social, and extra-curricular life . . . results in a situation so unpleasant that even though adolescents are well aware that good jobs are hard to find, 1,000,000 continue to leave every year" (Porter, 1963, p. 364).

Demonstration of the importance of the feeling of being accepted by the school can be found in studies which report on the effects of programs of special attention by school personnel to the potential dropout. In one of these, a group of potential dropouts was given

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an intensive program of special attention by the school counsellor and teachers. The study concluded that special attention made students stay in school longer (Davis, 1962). Another study also noted substantial academic improvement and better adjustment to the school (Stumpf, 1965).

One interpretation of the findings can be related to our use of the concept of identification. Several theorists have pointed to the role of reward or success in the identification process (Freud, 1960; Winch, 1962; Parsons and Bales, 1953). Freud, for example, saw identification as a means of tension reduction; tension may be created by frustration or inadequacy. We have already seen that the potential dropout is often frustrated in school. Identification with the school, or some facet of the school, however, would presumably serve to reduce these tensions and would thereby decrease the likelihood of dropping out of school.

But the potential dropout does not identify with the school, its values, or its personnel. There are at least two possible reasons for this. First, his failure at school might be totally unimportant to him; consequently, there is no tension arousal. Second, it is possible that the individual has failed too completely and has become unable to respond to the demands of the system. This point is analogous to notions of increasing stress, where beyond a certain point the system under stress collapses.

The identification theorists, particularly those like Winch, who emphasize the importance of reward or nurturance, would thus agree with the notion that a program of intensive student-teacher interaction, carried on in a warm, supportive manner, would increase the likelihood of identification with the school and thereby reduce the likelihood of dropping out.

Related to this, several studies have shown the influence the school can have on the educational aspirations and attainments of lower class, low-I. Q. students. For example, lower class children in a predominantly middle class school are less likely to leave school (Liddle, 1962; Kahl, 1951). In addition to being exposed to pro-education values, Liddle found that when a lower class, low-I. Q. child stayed in school it was almost always because he was finding some type of satisfaction.

Along these lines, the present research shall examine the student-school relationship. Emphasis will be placed on an analysis of the extent to which the student identifies with the school and the student's perception of the school's values. Also, we shall attempt to discover to what extent the student is part of the system, formal and informal.

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In summary, the school, both as a formal and as an informal system, can be expected to influence a student's behavior. We can expect that a student who does not identify with any formal facet of the school, such as with his teachers, will be more likely to drop out of school. Furthermore, if a student is unable to associate himself with any informal aspect of the school, he will be likely to drop out.

Interrelationship of Reference Group Pressures

We have thus far spoken of the family, the peer group, and the school as three independent forces. In reality, these three entities are often highly interdependent. They may act in concert, or serve to create cross-pressures on a student. Thus, a student might find pro-education attitudes at home and at school and anti-education attitudes among his peers. Such a student's behavior will be less predictable than if he had received uniform pressure from the three groups.

Summary

The problem of the high school dropout is perhaps one of the major social problems on the contemporary American scene. The thirty percent of our young people who leave school prematurely every year are generally going to be disadvantaged for the rest of their lives, and will probably constitute a continual drain on the nation's economy. A study of the reasons for dropping out of school is a first necessary step if an effective program to combat this problem is to be developed.

The general objective of the present research is to determine the nature and extent of reference group pressures on an individual's decision to drop out of school. A major hypothesis of this study is that the impact of reference groups on this decision will be a function of the extent to which an individual identifies with that group. Consequently a major effort will be made to determine the nature and extent of identification with the reference groups of family, peers, and school.

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CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

General Description of Activities

From a review of recent studies of high school dropouts it appears that a major methodological weakness of these studies is that no relevant measures on the dropout are obtained before he leaves school. (Some "before" measures are generally available from school records, e.g., I. Q. scores, absenteeism.) Dropout studies of this variety which attempt to establish any sort of causal inference are forced then to make a leap in time and to assume that the supposedly causal factors were present before the dropout actually left school. Such a procedure overlooks the very real possibilities that these factors were not present before leaving school, that the process of dropping out may have in some fashion changed the individual, or that the assumed causal factors were actually results of having dropped out of school. With this in mind, the following research procedures have been carried out.

1. A preliminary draft of the research instrument, a self-administered questionnaire (see Appendix B), was constructed (by the research director, Edward Z. Dager, Judy Bootcheck Williams, and Michael Malec). The primary emphasis in this instrument was an attempt to determine the extent of identification with certain reference groups (family, peer, and school), the values held by these groups, and the impact of these groups on certain decisions regarding education. The questionnaire contained a number of previously used scales and indexes as well as a number of original items. (See below for a detailed description of these measures.)

2. The preliminary questionnaire was pre-tested on a small group of Lafayette, Indiana area high school students. The purpose of the pre-test was to determine the instrument's readability as well as the amount of time needed for completing all items. The results indicated that only a few minor revisions were necessary, except that the preliminary questionnaire was found to be too short,

in terms of the time available to the research team. Consequently, a number of additional items were inserted into the final instrument.

Included in the final instrument was an original "family integration" index, Rosen's achievement values index, Rosenberg's self-esteem scale, the Michigan State self-concept of (academic) ability scale, a series of original identification and value orientation items, and several other measures.

3. In the meantime the research team had contacted the officials of the East Chicago (Indiana) School City and secured from them permission to use their high school students, grades 9-11, as subjects. A description of the population and the schools and town from which they came is given below.

4. The questionnaire was administered to the student bodies of both schools in May, 1966. The questionnaires were administered in four mass testing situations, with 400-600 students responding at a time for two class periods (100 minutes). The testing was carefully monitored by eight to ten advanced sociology students under the supervision of the research director. (The monitors had all been subjected to a training session conducted by members of the research team so that they might anticipate any problems that might arise.) Both verbal and written instructions were given to the respondents, and questions from the students about the test were encouraged. The impression of the researchers was that the students were extremely cooperative. School counsellors, but not teachers, were also on hand.

    Within ten days after the original questionnaire administration, a follow-up was made at each school in an attempt to obtain responses from those who were absent on the original test date (and to obtain completed questionnaires from a few students who were unable to complete the questionnaire at the first administration). While perfectly accurate attendance figures were not available from the school officials, it was estimated that at least 99% of the student body responded to the questionnaire. (See Table 1.)

5. A few weeks after the administration of the questionnaire the following reports from school records were obtained for each respondent: I. Q. score, number of

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Table 1

School Enrollment and
Number of Respondents

| | Schools | | |
	Washington	Roosevelt	Total
Total enrollment* grades 9-11	1,240	790	2,030
Usable questionnaires returned	1,224	783	2,007
Unusable questionnaires** returned	6	1	7
Students absent at both administrations*	10	6	16

*Approximate figure, given by school officials.

**Several questionnaires were returned with obviously insincere responses; a few others were not completed by respondents.

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courses failed since seventh grade, and number of half-days absent for the academic year, 1965-1966.

6. A key step in this research is the identification of those students who completed the questionnaire but who subsequently dropped out of school. A list of such people was provided to the researchers by the East Chicago school officials. The final list of dropouts and how it was determined is described in the next section.

7. Each questionnaire was examined for hostile or largely incomplete responses. The usable question-naires were coded and a 20% sample of these were checked for coding errors. The rate of coding error was negligible. The coded information was punched onto IBM cards and verified.

    Two notable realms of missing information were I. Q. scores and father's occupation. When the East Chicago schools did not have a student's I. Q. score, it was usually because the student was a recent transfer from another school system. For these cases, a letter was sent to the last school attended by the student requesting this information. This procedure proved to be very useful, since scores were finally obtained for more than 96% of the population. "Father's occupation" also posed a problem of non-response or inadequate response. To deal with this, since a large proportion of the working force in East Chicago is employed by steel companies, the local steelworkers unions were con-tacted and were very cooperative and helpful in providing information about the jobs of a large number of men. Altogether, information about father's occupation was obtained for more than 88% of the population. (An additional 5% of the fathers were deceased.)

Samples

The subjects for this study were drawn from the two public high schools of East Chicago. The city of East Chicago is located in a heavily industrialized part of the state, adjacent to Chicago. Its population (1960) is 57,669. Twenty-four percent of the popula-tion is non-white. Adults have a generally low level of education (the median number of years of school completed by males over 25 is 8.7), and the median family income is $5,715. Twenty-five percent of the housing units are deteriorating or dilapidated (U. S. Census cf Population: 1960).

There are two high schools in East Chicago. Roosevelt High has an enrollment of about 1100. Its population is largely white, with rather strong ethnic groupings; approximately 20% of the students are Negro. Washington High has an enrollment of about 1800. Its population is roughly one-third white, one-third Negeo, and one-third Latin (Mexican and Puerto Rican).

In order to make a variety of comparisons, three different samples are used in this research: (1) a sample of dropouts, (2) a random sample of stay-ins, and (3) a matched sample of stay-ins.

The sample of dropouts was drawn primarily from an official list of dropouts for the academic year 1966-1967 (including the summer of 1966). This list was developed by the Division of Special Services of the East Chicago school system. The list contains the names of all dropouts officially known to the schools. The list was then compared with the list of all students who responded to the questionnaire. In addition, members of the research team made three visits to each school (in September, 1966, and January and June, 1967) in an effort to determine the whereabouts of all the original respondents. This effort added sixteen names to the original list. The total size of the dropout sample is 122.*

Next, in order to examine differences between the dropouts and other students, a random sample of all stay-ins was developed (N = 122) using a table of random numbers.

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*It must be noted that the official list of dropouts for 1966-1967 contained 236 names; of these, only 106 were in our population. This means that the present research deals with only half of the dropouts from the East Chicago system. Of the dropouts not in our population, nearly three-quarters were in the seventh, eighth, or ninth grades, or in ungraded (very low I. Q.) tracks. These people thus did not fill out the original questionnaire. The remaining quarter either were absent at both questionnaire administrations, or arrived in the schools after May, 1966, and dropped out before June, 1967.

In this study, then, the droupouts constitute 6.8% of the population. However, the study deals with only the first year's wave of dropouts. Students who were in the ninth grade in May, 1966, have two more years yet in which to leave. By 1970, we can expect a total dropout rate of around 15-20%. This still falls short of the previously quoted figure of 30%. The remaining difference is due to the early (seventh to ninth grade) dropouts.

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Finally, since one of the major purposes of the present study is to go beyond gross sociological and psychological variables, a sample was constructed which will enable us to cancel out some of these influences. In this sample, the following variables were controlled: (1) age (over or under 16, the legal age for school withdrawal); (2) sex; (3) school attended; (4) ethnic group membership (white, Negro, or Latin); and (5) I. Q. scores.

The importance of the matched sample is evidenced by the figures in Table 2, which compares the dropouts with the random sample on the control variables. Each of these variables, except sex, is significantly related to the dependent variable. A significantly larger proportion of the dropouts are over 16; this is so, of course, because of the legal restraint on dropping out before reaching that age. Sex is not related to dropping out. Ethnicity is significantly related: minority groups are over-represented among the dropouts. I. Q. is also a strongly related factor, particularly at the extremes of the distribution. Finally, the school one attends is, for our study, an important factor. We suspect that this is largely because of the fact that one school is over-populated with the minority group students. If these gross variables were not controlled, the interpretation of our results might be no more informative than previous studies.

It might be asked whether social class should have been controlled. Social class (as measured by the Hollingshed two-factor index) as an independent variable was examined and found to be only slightly related to dropping out ($G = -.296$; $p < .20$). Hence, to make easier the construction of a matched sample, social class was not controlled. Social class probably is not important for our sample because there is very little differentiation of classes in East Chicago; 90% of our population is located in Classes IV and V.

Selected characteristics of the three samples, as well as the population from which they were drawn, are presented in Table 3. The purpose of Table 3 is to illustrate the approximations of (a) the random sample to the population, and (b) the matched sample to the dropout sample.

No real claims can be made for the representativeness of these samples. However, we previously noted that the national dropout rate, in 1963, was 30.3%; Indiana's dropout rate in 1963 was 30.7% (Miller, 1963). Furthermore, a study of the 1959 freshman class (the graduating class of 1963) of the East Chicago public high schools showed a dropout rate of 29% after four years (Bolton and Fox, 1963). At least in terms of a crude dropout rate, East Chicago appears representative of larger populations.

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Table 2

A Comparison of Dropouts with a Random Sample of
Stay-ins on Five Selected Variables (in Percentages)

Variable		Dropouts	Random Controls	
Age:	Under 16	5.8	19.7	
	16 or over	94.2	80.3	G = .599
		100.0	100.0	p < .001
		N = 121	N = 122	
Sex:	Male	45.1	50.0	
	Female	54.9	50.0	x^2 = 0.41
		100.0	100.0	p^y = N.S.
		N = 122	N = 122	
Ethnicity:	White	25.4	41.8	
	Latin	37.7	27.9	x^2 = 7.46
	Negro	36.9	30.3	p < .05
		100.0	100.0	
		N = 122	N = 122	
I. Q.:	Under 80	21.0	7.6	
	80-89	26.0	18.6	G = .431
	90-99	29.4	22.0	p < .001
	100-109	16.0	25.4	
	110-119	5.9	16.9	
	Over 119	1.7	9.3	
		100.0	100.0	
		N = 119	N = 118	
School:	Roosevelt	28.7	41.8	
	Washington	71.3	58.2	x^2 = 4.04
		100.0	100.0	p^y < .05
		N = 122	N = 122	

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Table 3

Selected Characteristics of the
Population and Samples (in Percentages)

	Population (N = 2007)	Random Control (N = 122)	Dropouts (N = 122)	Matched Control (N = 122)
Length of Residency in East Chicago:				
All life	55	57	49	47
Since grade school	38	37	40	44
Since high school	5	5	9	6
Year or less	2	2	3	3
Religion:				
Protestant	44	49	50	42
Catholic	47	42	50	52
Other	9	9	0	7
Live with:				
Both parents	68	73	58	64
Mother only	18	12	22	23
Other	14	16	21	13
Father's Education:				
Some college	8	8	6	3
High school graduate	31	26	26	31
10-11 years	19	26	16	14
7-9 years	192	18	22	21
Under 7 years	24	22	30	30
Number of siblings:				
0-2	33	34	23	28
3-5	40	40	38	37
6 or more	26	25	39	36
Mother Employed:				
No	65	59	70	64
Yes	35	41	30	36

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Description of Key Indicators

In this section we will present a brief description of some of the various items which make up the questionnaire, indicating their origin, rationale, and expected use for this study.

1. Descriptive information. In order to provide a general picture of each respondent, questions were asked concerning area of residence, age, sex, geographic mobility, religion (and parents' religion), ethnicity, parents' place of nativity, family structure, parents' education and occupation, and several other topics. Each of these background items could generate its own hypothesis (e.g., "high geographic mobility is associated with a high dropout rate"), but any findings from these would be largely descriptive, and would not reveal any social psychological dynamics. Hence, these background factors will largely be used to establish controls in the research. The actual background measures used are found on pages 128-134 of the questionnaire.

2. An index of achievement values* (Rosen, 1956). Rosen's original use of the "achievement syndrome" involved an attempt to explain differential rates of social mobility in terms of a psychocultural dimension, that is, as a function of differences in the motives and values of social classes. In later work he showed how the presence of achievement values in various ethnic groups was associated with upward social mobility. In terms of the present research achievement values might be expected to have considerable influence on a student's behavior. Presence of these values should reduce the dropout rate <u>regardless</u> <u>of</u> <u>gross</u> <u>sociological</u> <u>and</u> <u>psychological</u> <u>factors</u>, and its absence should be associated with a higher dropout rate.

    The complete list of Rosen's items is found on pages 134-136 of the questionnaire, items 1-4 and 5-15. Two of the fourteen items are presented here for illustration.

    > Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work. (Agreement indicates high achievement motive.)

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*We do not use the term "achievement" in the sense of McClelland (1961), who describes achievement as a motivational need on the psychological level, but follow Kahl's (1965) use of achievement on the cultural and social level of group norms.

All I want out of life in the way of a
career is a secure, not too difficult
job, with enough pay to afford a nice car
and eventually a home of my own. (Agree-
ment indicates low achievement motive.)

There are four levels of response to these items,
from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The
possible range of scores is from 14 (low) to 56
(high).

3. Measures of value orientation. These measures are
original items, and were derived from a study of the
literature on adolescence. The respondents were
asked to indicate, on a four-point scale, how impor-
tant each of nineteen value items was to them. By
design, the items focused on education and peer
relations. A logical analysis of the items and a
factor analysis of responses indicated four distinct
value areas. These areas, and the items from which
they are composed, are:

a. Educational, including these items:

   1. Getting good grades in school
   2. My courses in school
   3. Going to college
   4. Reading
   5. Finishing high school;

b. Personal autonomy, including these items:

   1. Earning my own money
   2. Being on my own
   3. Being treated as an adult;

c. Cross-sex relations, including these items:

   1. Going steady
   2. Dating
   3. Getting married;

d. The "Adolescent Society" syndrome, including:

   1. Being good in sports
   2. Having a nice car
   3. Having nice clothes
   4. Being popular at school.

Of special interest in this research will be the
"Educational" value cluster. The value measurement
items are found on pages 138-139 and 144-147 of the
questionnaire.

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Each subject responded to the list of value items
five separate times, once to indicate his own values
and once each to indicate his perceptions of the
values held by his father, his mother, his friends,
and his teachers. As was indicated in Chapter One,
it will be expected that if the subject identifies
with any of the above, his impressions of their
value orientation should exert strong influence on
his behavior. In particular, if the subject, for
instance, identifies with his father, and if the
father is seen as positively valuing education, we
would expect the subject to be less likely to drop
out of school than if the father negatively valued
education, regardless of the values toward education
held by the subject himself.

4. Measures of identification. These items were also
of original design and were developed on the basis
of an examination of the literature on identification.
From this review, five operational measures of identi-
fication were developed. Each respondent was asked,
with respect to a particular reference person (or
group), how much that person helped him, how much
that person influenced him, how close he was to that
person, how similar he was to that person, and how
much he admired that person. Response was on a four-
point scale, from "very much" to "not at all." Each
of the five measures is related to a theory of identi-
fication (see Chapter One, pages 7-9). Response to
all five measures should yield a summary score which
reflects several facets of identification.

In addition to the above, which yields a general
measure of identification, information was also
obtained for a subject's identification with some
reference person or group with specific regard to
education. Thus, each subject was asked: how much
does (your father) help you with your education?
How much does (your father) influence you with regard
to school? How similar are your ideas and (your
father's) ideas about education? The rationale behind
this particularistic identification index is simply
that there is reason to believe that identification
may be segmental, not total (Winch, 1962). If this
is so, then since one object of this research is to
examine educational achievement, it is important to
obtain measures particular to education.

For each of the identification indexes the respondent
was asked to reply with respect to eight persons or

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groups: father, mother, siblings, favorite teacher, other teachers, friends at school, friends outside of school, and classmates. These measures are found on pages 139-141 of the questionnaire.

These measures of identification constitute a second major area of the study. Regardless of the values held by certain others, there will be little impact on the subject unless he identifies with those others. Further, we can expect the degree of value-behavior congruence to vary directly with identification.

5. The Michigan State "Self-Concept of Ability" scale (Brookover, Thomas, and Patterson, 1964) and the Rosenberg (1965) "Self-esteem" scale. These two (Guttman) scales provide us with an estimation of the respondent's assessment of his ability to succeed in school and of his personal worth. Previous research has indicated that both of these self-images are related to academic performance. In the present study, these scales will be used to assess their utility in predicting dropout behavior. Also, we shall attempt to determine whether self-concept operated independently of identification with certain values.

Earlier work on these two scales by their authors has shown both sets of items to be Guttman scaleable. The scaleability of the items for the subjects in the present study was also examined and revealed a Coefficient of Reproducibility of 0.91 for the self-esteem scale and 0.95 for the academic self-concept scale. The minimal marginal reproducibility for the former is at least 0.72; for the latter, at least 0.76.

The "Self-Concept of Ability" scale consists of eight five-choice items, such as: "Where do you think you would rank in your class in high school?" (Among the best, above average, average, below average, among the poorest.) This scale is found on pages 149-151 of the questionnaire, items 11-17.

The Rosenberg "self-esteem" scale consists of six items (two of which are composed of more than one question), such as: "I am able to do things as well as most other people." Four response categories are provided, from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." This scale is found on pages 148-149 of the question-naire, items 1-10.

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6. An index of family integration. This ten-item index
    was originally designed for this study by Professor
    Edward Z. Dager. Sample items are:

>   In my family we can tell each other what
>   we think no matter what it is. ("All of
>   the time" indicates high integration.)

>   In my family nothing ever seems to get done
>   right. ("All of the time" indicates low
>   integration.)

There are four categories of response, ranging from
"all of the time" to "none of the time." For our
subjects, this index yields a split-half reliability
of 0.83. The complete family integration index is
found in the questionnaire on pages 151-152, items
1-10. As discussed in Chapter One, family integra-
tion is expected to be a major intervening variable
in determining whether a student will drop out of
school.

These various indicators are expected to be related to one
another in such a way as to strongly affect the decision to drop
out of school. Barring external pressures, the causal sequence
which leads up to this decision is expected to be as follows. (Refer
also to Figure 1, page 10.) The subject's values regarding education
are of primary importance. If his value orientation is positive, he
will go on; if negative, he will quit. (The concept of values here
includes such things as self concept and achievement motivation.)
But values are acquired in social interaction. Specifically, they
are acquired from reference groups. Further, the influence of any
group on the acquisition of a person's values is expected to be
related to the degree that the subject identifies with that group.
Identification, for instance, with the family is facilitated by the
structure of the group. This schema has led us to the development
of several hypotheses to be tested (see below).

Statistics

The statistical analyses in this paper will involve the cross-
tabulation of the dependent variable with an independent variable.
The variables will be treated either as nominal or ordinal, as the
case warrants.

When the variables being dealt with are at the nominal level,
the Chi-square (X^2, or X^2_y, when Yates' correction is used) test
will be used to evaluate the data. Chi-square tells us, with
probability levels, whether or not a set of data departs from a
model of independence. A Chi-square test significant at the .01

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level tells us that there is no more than one chance in a hundred that the observed data could have been arrayed in the observed fashion by chance alone. A full discussion of Chi-square can be found in most statistics textbooks (Blalock, 1960).

When the variables are at at least the ordinal level, the statistic gamma (G) will be used (Goodman and Kruskall, 1954). Gamma provides us with a measure of association and significance levels. Gamma varies from -1.00 to +1.00 and tells us the extent to which one variable is associated with another. The level of significance tells us, for a random sample,* the likelihood that the observed gamma could have occurred by chance.

For both statistics, probabilities of 0.20 or less will be reported. Furthermore, whenever it is appropriate, Chi-square will be run within the overall table. The p-values of 0.20 or less will be reported; if no values are reported within a table, it can be assumed that no relationship was found.

Hypotheses

In this study the following hypotheses will be tested. These hypotheses may be broken into three general areas: family influence, peer influence, and school influence.

Hypothesis 1: The more positive the values regarding education held by parents, the lower will be the drop-out rate.

Hypothesis 2: Students whose parents both (a) are strongly identified with and (b) place a high value on education will be less likely to drop out of school than students whose parents both (a) are weakly identified with and (b) place a low value on education.

Hypothesis 3: Parental values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as family integration decreases.

Hypothesis 4: A high index of family integration will be associated with a high index of achievement motivation.

Hypothesis 5: The higher the achievement motive, the lower will be the dropout rate.

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*Technically, since our sampling is not completely random, the levels of significance have no meaning. Nonetheless, levels of significance will be reported as if sampling was random.

Hypothesis 6: A high index of family integration will be associated with a high index of academic self concept.

Hypothesis 7: The more positive the academic self concept, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 8: The more positive the values regarding education held by peer group members, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 9: Peer group values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as the subject's identification with that group decreases.

Hypothesis 10: The more positive the values regarding education held by the school, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 11: School values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as the subject's identification with the school decreases.

Limitations of the Study

Few pieces of research turn out as well as the researcher might have hoped. Along the line of work faults are inevitably discovered. The present study is hampered by at least two such limitations.

First, there is a certain difficulty in generalizing our findings beyond the present sample. While East Chicago's dropout rate does resemble very closely the national rate, it must be pointed out that this relationship is possibly accidental, since on a number of other factors, such as percent Negro, East Chicago is not representative. A more serious drawback is that our present sample of all students enrolled in the East Chicago public high schools in May, 1966, is not a complete sample of all dropouts in the city. A sizeable number of students drop out as early as the seventh grade. It is conceivable, then, that we are dealing with only about half the number of dropouts that would have been found had this study covered grades seven through eleven instead of nine through eleven. As a slight rationalization for the utility of the present research, however, it can be argued that those who drop out before the ninth grade are, to a large extent, those who have truly major problems, intellectually, socially, personally,

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and emotionally. In terms of pragmatics, the present research can be said to be geared towards an understanding of the dropout who could have finished high school.

A second limitation is that several of the indicators, such as the family integration index, are unknown quantities with respect to reliability and validity. (Most indexes and scales in this study, though, are proven instruments.) However, it will hopefully be shown that these untested indicators are strongly associated with other tested indicators to which they are theoretically related.

CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS

In this chapter we shall first of all provide the reader with a brief description of the dropout as opposed to the stay-in. We shall then proceed to an assessment of the influence of the family, the peer group, and the school on dropping out.

A Description of the Dropout

The dropout in this study can be described as being much like the dropout anywhere else. He has been geographically more mobile than the stay-in, and is more likely to have come from the South. His religious preference is the same as the stay-in's, but the dropout attends services much less frequently. He is less likely than the stay-in to live with both parents, and he comes from a larger family. The dropout's father has about the same education as the stay-in's, but he has a lower status job. The dropout more frequently has access to a car. He dates more often than the stay-in, and his dating is more likely to be of the "going steady" variety. The dropout has failed more courses in school, has been absent more, and has more often repeated a year of school. The dropout is disproportionately a member of a minority group (Negro or Mexican or Puerto Rican) and he has a lower I. Q. score than the stay-in.

The dropout is no different from the stay-in with regard to his area of residence (as measured by census tract location) or his parents' nativity or religion. (Data to support these statements can be found in Appendix A, Tables A. 1-A. 32.) Other characteristics were described in Tables 2 and 3 (above).

As was argued in Chapter One, however, the cataloguing of these differences and similarities does not constitute a sufficient explanation of why these students dropped out of school. Being Negro or having a relatively low I. Q. does not _cause_ one to leave school early. Cause must be found elsewhere; we suspect it will be found in values derived from reference groups.

But the above descriptions cannot simply be ignored. Being Negro, having many siblings, and not living with both parents does not _cause_ a person to drop out, but it can create a _condition_ which may _precipitate_ such behavior. More particularly, the three characteristics just mentioned could be expected to be associated with a low degree of family integration, which in turn might reduce the likelihood of transmitting pro-education values to the young. (As we mentioned in Chapter Two, some of these descriptive factors are thought to be too intimately tied into the constellation of forces that produces a dropout; it was because of this consideration that the matched control group was established.)

We turn now to the crux of this thesis: a consideration of the impact of reference groups on the decision to drop out of high school.

The Family   .

As was argued in Chapter One, the family is expected to play a major role in influencing a student's decisions about completing high school. In accordance with that discussion we would expect that the following relations are likely to be found: family integration will facilitate identification with parents; this in turn will facilitate the transmission of the parents' values regarding education to the child. If no other factors intervene, we should be able to predict dropout behavior. Further, family integration can be expected to produce a more positive achievement orientation and self-concept; these in turn should influence dropout behavior. These expectations were formally stated in Chapter Two as Hypotheses 1 through 7.

Before examining our hypotheses, however, let us first examine the influence of family integration as an independent variable. It is necessary that we do this since, in terms of our over-all paradigm, family integration logically comes first in time and is _the_ independent variable. As is indicated in Tables 4 and 5, it can be stated that family integration _per se_ is associated with dropping out of high school. Although we had not formally hypothesized this relationship, it hardly comes as a surprise, since we have assumed family integration to be a key element in our paradigm. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 4) we note only a moderate relationship between family integration and dropping out. The relationship is not, however, linear, as we would expect. Respondents who score highest are about equally likely to drop out as those who score lowest. One possible reason for this might be due to the fact that one group of dropouts, the Negroes, has a relatively high index on this measure. (See below).

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Table 4

Influence of Family Integration (R)*

	Family Integration Index					
	Low	2	3	4	High	(N)
Dropouts	54.5	57.6	46.3	38.1	53.5	(118)
Random Controls	45.5	42.4	53.7	61.9	46.5	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (28)	(239)

$$G = .131$$
$$p < .20$$

Table 5

Influence of Family Integration (M)

	Family Integration Index					
	Low	2	3	4	High	(N)
Dropouts	66.7	48.3	46.3	43.6	45.4	(118)
Matched Controls	33.3	51.7	53.7	56.4	54.6	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (45)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (33)	(236)

$$G = .188$$
$$p < .05$$

*In this chapter, all cell entries will be given in percentage terms. The parenthetical term, (R) or (M), in the table heading indicates that the comparison for that table is, respectively, with the random or the matched control sample.

The same relationship is considerably stronger for the comparison with the matched group (Table 5). In this last comparison, of the 45 subjects who scored lowest on the family integration index, 67% are dropouts; this figure decreases to 45% among those subjects (N = 33) who scored highest on family integration. In both instances, though, the trend is clear: as family integration increases, the proportion of dropouts decreases.

Hypotheses 1-3

Hypothesis 1: The more positive the values regarding education held by parents, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Tables 6-9 provide us with a direct test of this hypothesis. This is done by determining the subjects' parents' value of education and noting the dropout rate which is associated with varied attitudes toward education. In both instances the hypothesis is supported for the comparison with the random sample, but not for the comparison with the matched sample. For the former case, as each parent's valuation of education* increases, the incidence of dropping out decreases. Thus, in the consideration of the father's attitude toward education, we note in comparing the dropouts to a random sample (Table 6) that of 70 subjects who saw their fathers as placing a relatively low value on education, 61% are dropouts; at the same time, of the 87 subjects who saw their fathers as placing a relatively high value on education, only 45% are dropouts. The association between father's value of education and dropping out is statistically significant for the dropout-random comparison.

In comparing the dropouts with the matched sample (Table 7) we note the same general trend, although the association in this case is weak and does not attain statistical significance: of the students whose fathers' value of education is low (N = 72), 60% are dropouts, and of the students whose fathers' values of education are high (N = 78), 50% are dropouts.

The same general trend is true for the mothers' values as well. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 8), 66 subjects saw their mothers as placing a low value on education. Of these two groups, 59% and 44%, respectively, were dropouts. For the dropout-matched

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*For these and following data, valuation of education is measured by the importance, from "not at all important" to "very important" attached to each of the following: getting good grades in school, my courses in school, going to college, finishing high school, and reading. (See Chapter Two, pp. 30, 31.) Scores on this index range from 5 (low) to 20. For both parents, the median score was about 17.

Table 6

Influence of Father's
Value of Education (R)

| | Father's Value of Education | | | |
	Low	Medium	High	(N)
Dropouts	61.4	46.0	44.8	(117)
Random Controls	38.6	54.0	55.2	(116)
Totals (N)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (76)	100.0 (87)	(233)

G = .210

p < .05

Table 7

Influence of Father's
Value of Education (M)

| | Father's Value of Education | | | |
	Low	Medium	High	(N)
Dropouts	59.7	42.1	50.0	(117)
Matched Controls	40.3	57.9	50.0	(116)
Totals (N)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (83)	100.0 (78)	(233)

G = .119

p = N.S.

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Table 8

Influence of Mother's
Value of Education (R)

	Mother's Value of Education			
	Low	Medium	High	(N)
Dropouts	59.0	49.2	44.4	(119)
Random Controls	41.0	50.8	55.6	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (66)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (108)	(239)

$$G = .194$$

$$p < .10$$

Table 9

Influence of Mother's
Value of Education (M)

	Mother's Value of Education			
	Low	Medium	High	(N)
Dropouts	60.0	42.6	48.4	(119)
Matched Controls	40.0	57.4	51.6	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (75)	100.0 (99)	(239)

$$G = .122$$

$$p = N.S.$$

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comparison (Table 9), the same figures are, respectively, 60% (based on N = 65) and 48% (N = 99). Although these findings are in the predicted direction, they are not statistically significant for the dropout-matched comparison and are only moderately strong for the dropout-random comparison.

These findings give only slight support to the notion that the parents' values toward education will affect their children's behavior with regard to dropping out; even this weak relationship, however, does not hold if one controls on certain crucial variables. (We suggest that one of these crucial variables is ethnic group membership. But more on this point later.) Still, the findings in Tables 6-9, though not strong, are consistent with previous research (Bowman and Matthews, 1965; Schreiber, 1964c; Porter, 1963; Strom, 1964) which indicates that dropouts are more likely to come from family backgrounds where the parents are relatively indifferent to the child's education.

> Hypothesis 2: Students whose parents both (a) are strongly identified with and (b) place a high value on education will be less likly to drop out of school than students whose parents both (a) are weakly identified with and (b) place a low value on education.

The rationale for this hypothesis is as follows. If a student highly identifies with a parent and if that parent highly values education, then the student will be less likely to drop out of school than a student who does not identify with his parent and whose parent does not value education. This rationale follows from the basic argument which was set forth in Chapter One regarding identification and the transmission of values to the child.

Before examining this hypothesis, let us first look at the influence of identifying with parents. Tables 10 and 11 deal with paternal identification. These Tables reveal a moderately strong difference between the dropouts and the random controls (p < .10), but no difference between the dropouts and the matched controls. We may speculate that this difference reflects possible differences in the family structures of the various ethnic groups. If ethnicity is related to identification with parents, then it would follow that the dropout-matched differences should be minimal.

Tables 12 and 13 which deal with maternal identification, present us, however, with a contrary finding: the dropout-random differences are not significant, while the dropout-matched differences are moderately strong (p < .10). This finding, though, is not confusing if one accepts the fact that our dropout and matched samples are

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Table 10

Influence of Identification
with Father (R)

	Identification with Father				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	59.2	51.4	29.7	50.0	(111)
Random Controls	40.8	48.6	70.3	50.0	(111)
Totals (N)	100.0 (71)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (44)	(222)

$$G = .189$$

$$p < .10$$

Table 11

Influence of Identification
with Father (M)

	Identification with Father				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	56.0	48.0	36.7	51.2	(111)
Matched Controls	44.0	52.0	63.3	48.8	(112)
Totals (N)	100.0 (75)	100.0 (75)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (43)	(223)

$$G = .112$$

$$p = N.S.$$

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Table 12

Influence of Identification
with Mother (R)

	Identification with Mother				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	60.0	34.8	43.8	59.2	(116)
Random Controls	40.0	65.2	56.2	40.8 [b]	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (80)	100.0 (49)	(235)

G = .001

p = N.S.

Table 13

Influence of Identification
with Mother (M)

	Identification with Mother				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	66.7	40.0	45.4	45.3	(116)
Matched Controls	33.3	60.0	54.6	54.7	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (64)	(235)

G = .185

p < .10

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over-represented with Negroes, and that the Negro family is strongly matricentric (U. S. Department of Labor, 1965).

The above findings indicate that we can, throughout the study, expect to find a stronger maternal influence whenever we examine the dropout-matched comparisons. More on this will be said below.

Hypothesis 2 will now be examined for two cases: identification with the father and with the mother. Tables 14 and 15 deal with the former. In comparing the dropouts to the random sample (Table 14), we note that 73 subjects scored above the median on both indexes: identification with the father and father's value of education.* Of these 76 "High-High" subjects, 37% are dropouts. At the other extreme, of 60 subjects who can be classified as "Low-Low" (that is, who score below the median on both indexes), 60% are dropouts. The statistical comparison between these two groups is highly significant (p < .01). Furthermore, the over-all Chi-square is moderately strong (p < .10). Finally, we can note that a comparison of columns 1 and 3 indicates that identification with father may be crucial in determining who shall drop out only when the father highly values education.

For the dropout-matched comparison (Table 15), the same relationship between the "High-High" and "Low-Low" groups obtains, though in a much weaker fashion. For this comparison, of the 63 subjects in the "High-High" group, 43% are dropouts; of 71 subjects in the "Low-Low" group, 51% are dropouts. This relationship is not statistically significant. This is not a surprise, since, for the dropout-matched comparison, neither variable is, by itself, related to dropping out of school.

Tables 16 and 17 examine this same relationship for the mother.** For the dropout-random comparison (Table 16), 45% of the "High-High" subjects (N = 88) are dropouts; 60% of the "Low-Low" subjects (N = 47) are dropouts. This difference attains only a weak level of significance. For the dropout-matched comparison (Table 17), in the "High-High" category 42% of the subjects (N = 95) are dropouts; in

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*The range for both of these indexes was from 5 (low) to 20 (high). For the "identification with father" index, scores of 18 and above were "high." For the "father's value of education" index, scores of 16 and above were "high."

**The range for these indexes is also 5-20. On both indexes, a score of 18 or above is "high."

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Table 14

Combined Influence of Identification with
Father and Father's Value of Education (R)

Identification with Father	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Father's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	36.9	51.3	54.1	60.0	(108)
Random Controls	63.1	48.7	45.9	40.0	(110)
Totals (N)	100.0 (73)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (48)	100.0 (60)	(218)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .438$, $p < .01$
Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 7.74$, $p < .10$

HH-LL: $X^2 = 2.81$, $p < .10$

Table 15

Combined Influence of Identification with
Father and Father's Value of Education (M)

Identification with Father	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Father's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	42.8	51.3	55.3	50.7	(108)
Matched Controls	57.2	48.7	44.7	49.3	(110)
Totals (N)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (71)	(218)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .157$, $p = N.S.$
No significant Chi-squares

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Table 16

Combined Influence of Identification with Mother and Mother's Value of Education (R)

Identification with Mother	High	High	Low	Low	
Mother's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	45.4	57.5	40.3	59.5	(114)
Random Controls	54.6	42.5	59.7	40.5	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (88)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (47)	(232)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .278$, $p < .20$
Significant Chi-square: LH-LL: $X^2 = 3.10$, $p < .10$

Table 17

Combined Influence of Identification with Mother and Mother's Value of Education (M)

Identification with Mother	High	High	Low	Low	
Mother's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	42.1	51.1	50.0	60.8	(114)
Matched Controls	57.9	48.9	50.0	39.2	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (95)	100.0 (45)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (46)	(232)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .363$, $p < .05$
No significant Chi-square

the "Low-Low" category 61% of the subjects (N = 46) are dropouts. This difference is significant (p < .05).

It should be noted that for the dropout-random comparison (Table 16), the importance of the mother's value of education varies, to some extent, with the degree of identification with mother. That is, the mother's values are not important under conditions of high identification, but they are important (p < .10) under conditions of low identification. This finding emphasizes the importance of identification in our general scheme.

Hypothesis 2, then, receives mixed support. For the case of the father, the dropout-random comparison is significant, but the dropout-matched comparison is not. For the case of the mother, the opposite holds true. For all four comparisons the measure of association was in the predicted direction. We can speculate that a possible explanation for this difference lies in the difference between Negro and white family structures. There is little disagreement with the observation that the Negro family is more matriarchal than the white family; consequently, we should expect the mother's influence to be more pronounced in the matched sample than in the random sample, since the former has a higher proportion of Negroes. Data from our subjects support this contention. (For complete data see Appendix, Table A. 33). For example, mean scores on the family integration index were computed for the various samples by ethnicity. Testing the difference between means, it was found that while dropouts had a significantly lower over-all index than either control group, the Negro dropouts had significantly higher scores than did the white of Latin dropouts. Also, when subjects were scored by race alone, the Negroes had the highest average score (29.96 versus 29.16 for the whites and 28.30 for the Latins).

Hypothesis 3: Parental values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as family integration decreases.

Again, the rationale for this hypothesis comes from the basic argument in Chapter One, and from the work of Cervantes (1965 a, b, c), Elder (1955) and others, also discussed in Chapter One. Specifically, we expect that highly integrated families that place a high value on education will produce fewer dropouts than weakly integrated families that place a low value on education.

Tables 18-21 provide us with a direct test of Hypothesis 3. The results indicate that the hypothesis can be accepted. Again examining the case of the father (Table 18), we note for the dropout-random comparison, that of 74 subjects who scored above the median

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on the family integration index* and "father's value of education,"
36% were dropouts; of those who score below the median on both indexes
(N = 68), 58% are dropouts. For the comparison with the matched
control sample, the corresponding figures are 45% and 65%. For both
comparisons we note a high level of statistical significance.

It is also of interest to note the differential influence of
family integration when the father's value of education is held
constant. Thus, in the dropout-random comparison in Table 18, we
see that 119 subjects felt that their fathers placed a relatively
high value on education. Of these 119, 74 (or 62%) were high on
family integration. Under conditions of high paternal evaluation of
education, family integration makes a difference with respect to
dropping out (compare cloumns 1 and 3), but this difference does
not hold under conditions of low integration (columns 2 and 4). In
the former instance, only 36% of the subjects from highly integrated
families are dropouts, compared to 53% from the weakly integrated
families ($p < .10$). The difference under conditions of low integration
is not significant. However, the same type of reasoning can also
show the importance of the father's values, by holding family inte-
gration constant, that is, by comparing columns 1 with 2 and 3 with
4. In this instance, however, the relationship is very weak ($p < .20$).
In Table 19, however, a comparison of columns 2 and 4 indicates
that family integration may be important when the father's values
are low. Again, this difference might be attributed to the ethnic
differences in the two control samples. The conclusion to be drawn,
then, is that dropping out can best be accounted for by the <u>conjunction</u>
of these two factors, that is, their concomitant presence, or
absence. Hence, the hypothesis can be accepted.

Tables 20 and 21 test the same hypothesis by focusing on the
mother instead of the father. The findings are virtually identical
to those just reported for the father. In fact, they provide even
stronger statistical support. Table 20 shows for the dropout-random
comparison, that for those subjects who scored above the median on
both indexes (N = 80), only 39% are dropouts, whereas for those subjects
who scored below the median on both indexes (N = 55), 64% are dropouts.
The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison are
41% and 60%. These figures once again suggest the relatively greater
importance of the mother in determining dropout behavior, especially
when the subjects are over proportionately Negro.

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*The range for the family integration index was from 10 (low)
to 40 (high). A score of 31 or above was above the median.

Table 18

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Father's Value of Education (R)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Father's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	36.4	54.5	53.3	58.0	(105)
Random Controls	63.6	45.5	46.7	42.0	(109)
Totals (N)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (33)	100.0 (45)	100.0 (62)	(214)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .414$, $p < .01$
Significant Chi-squares: Overall $x^2 = 6.55$, $p < .10$

HH-LL: $x^2 = 2.36$, $p < .20$

HH-LH: $x^2 = 2.59$, $p < .10$

Table 19

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Father's Value of Education (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Father's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	45.0	43.9	51.0	65.4	(105)
Matched Controls	55.0	56.1	49.0	34.6	(108)
Totals (N)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (55)	(213)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .397$, $p < .02$
Significant Chi-square: HL-LL: $x^2 = 3.60$, $p < .10$

Table 20

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Mother's Value of Education (R)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Mother's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	38.7	50.0	47.6	63.6	(111)
Random Controls	61.3	50.0	52.4	36.4	(117)
Totals (N)	100.0 (80)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (55)	(228)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .469$, $p < .001$
Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 8.07$, $p < .05$
            LH-LL: $X^2 = 2.43$, $p < .10$
            HL-LL: $X^2 = 9.51$, $p < .01$

Table 21

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Mother's Value of Education (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Mother's Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	41.3	50.0	48.3	59.3	(111)
Matched Controls	58.7	50.0	51.7	40.7	(115)
Totals (N)	100.0 (75)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (59)	(226)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .349$, $p < .05$
Significant Chi-square: LH-LL: $X^2 = 6.82$, $p < .01$

Again examining these Tables in more detail we observe similar findings to those just reported for Tables 18 and 19. In Table 20, by comparing columns 1 and 3, and 2 and 4, we note that family integration is not a discerning factor under conditions of a high value of education, but when the mother's value is low, family integration is strongly related (p < .01) to dropping out. Conversely, by controlling on family integration, we see that only under conditions of low integration is the mother's value of education a significant (p < .10) factor in explaining dropout behavior.

On the whole, however, this is not a very strong argument. Its major weakness is its inconsistency. Various comparisons in Tables 18-21 yield certain statistically significant findings, but the explanations of these findings are largely of the post facto variety and are not, even to the author, overly compelling. Once again we are led to the conclusion that the best explanation can be found only in the cumulative effects each of the factors examined has on one another.

To complete our analysis of these variables we shall now examine the effect of family integration and identification with parents on dropping out. The relevant data are presented in Tables 22-25. Tables 22 and 23 deal with paternal identification. In the former, a comparison of the High-High versus the Low-Low cells indicates that the cumulative effect of these variables is related to dropping out. Only 39% of the High-High group are dropouts, compared to 58% of the Low-Low group (p < .01). No such effect is present for the dropout-matched comparison (Table 23).

In examining the data relevant to maternal identification opposite findings obtain. Here there is no relationship for the dropout-random comparison (Table 24), while the dropout-matched comparison (Table 25) indicates a strong level of association. The data in Table 25 also give further support to our earlier argument concerning the importance of the mother in the dropout-matched comparison. This is especially true under conditions of low family integration. (Compare columns 3 and 4.) Under these conditions, identification is strongly related to dropping out (p < .01). Conversely, under conditions of low identification (columns 2 and 4), family integration is a major factor (p < .01). These data serve to support our notion concerning the cumulative effects of the variables.

Before a more complete discussion of the findings related to the first three hypotheses, we shall examine the influence of the three variables, high family integration, high valuation of education, and high identification with parents, as they operate in concert.

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Table 22

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Identification with Father (R)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Indentification with Father	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	38.8	53.6	51.6	58.2	(108)
Random Controls	61.2	46.4	48.4	41.8	(110)
Totals (N)	100.0 (80)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (31)	100.0 (79)	(218)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .376$, $p < .01$
Significant Chi-square: Overall $X^2 = 6.35$, $p < .10$

Table 23

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Identification with Father (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with father	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	50.0	38.5	43.2	58.2	(108)
Matched Controls	50.0	61.5	56.8	41.8	(109)
Totals (N)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (39)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (79)	(217)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .165$, $p = $ N.S.
Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 4.89$, $p < .20$

LH-LL: $X^2 = 1.71$, $p < .20$

HL-LL: $X^2 = 3.33$, $p < .10$

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We shall do this by examining Tables 26-29. There is an assumption in these tables that each of the above-mentioned variables is equal in its influence on dropping out: the data indicate the relation between dropping out and the number of forces to remain in school. The results of our statistical tests indicate that these forces (high family integration, high valuation of education, and high identification with parents) exert a cumulative effect, so that the presence of all three forces results in a lower dropout rate than the presence of two forces or less, and so on. To look at the case of the father for the dropout-random comparison (Table 26), of the 47 subjects who had no family forces operating to keep them in school (i e., who scored below the median on all three indexes--family integration, identification with father, and father's value of education), 62% were dropouts; the presence of one positive force reduces this to 53%; two forces, to 52%; and all three forces, to 40%. The same trend obtains for the matched comparison (Table 27). It should be pointed out that neither of these trends reaches the usually appropriate .05 level of significance.

However, for the case of the mother's influence (Tables 28 and 29), both comparisons become highly significant, thus adding further to the earlier suggestion of the relatively greater importance of the mother for this comparison.

Discussion. The data thus far presented indicate some support for the first three hypotheses, at least in the case of the comparison between dropouts and the random sample. All of the dropout-random comparisons are in the expected direction, and most of these differences attain an acceptable level of statistical significance. This is particularly true when the extreme respondents are considered. From this evidence, we can claim considerable support for the general schema developed in Chapter One concerning identification, family integration, and values. Family integration is associated with high levels of parental identification. High identification, when coupled with a favorable parental attitude towards education, results in a low dropout rate.

For the dropout-matched comparisons, the hypotheses are usually supported only when we focus attention on either family integration or on the mother. The importance of family integration as a key variable in the social psychological processes leading to school withdrawal has been repeatedly emphasized in this report. Indeed, as far as the influence of the family is concerned, it is the central variable. Without a strong level of family integration, identification becomes difficult, and without identification, the transmission of pro-education values is seriously impeded. Although the dropout-matched comparisons are not as convincing as the dropout-random comparisons, it seems nonetheless safe to conclude again that our general notions have been supported.

Table 24

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Identification with Mother (R)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Mother	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	46.9	31.3	52.2	56.2	(113)
Random Controls	53.1	68.7	47.8	43.8	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (81)	100.0 (32)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (43)	(232)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .184$, $p = $ N. S.

Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 5.85$, $p < .20$

HH-HL: $X^2 = 1.71$, $p < .20$

HL-LL: $X^2 = 4.58$, $p < .05$

Table 25

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Identification with Mother (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Mother	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	49.4	34.5	40.0	66.1	(113)
Matched Controls	50.6	65.5	60.0	33.9	(115)
Totals (N)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (29)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (62)	(228)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .334$, $p < .05$

Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 11.64$, $p < .01$

LH-LL: $X^2 = 7.35$, $p < .01$

HL-LL: $X^2 = 6.80$, $p < .01$

Table 26

Influence of Total Number of Family
Forces to Remain in School,
Case of Father (R)

| | Number of Family Forces | | | | |
	None	One	Two	Three	(N)
Dropouts	61.7	52.6	51.9	39.5	(105)
Random Controls	38.3	47.4	48.1	60.5	(99)
Totals (N)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (48)	(204)

$G = .291$

$p < .10$

Table 27

Influence of Total Number of Family
Forces to Remain in School,
Case of Father (M)

| | Number of Family Forces | | | | |
	None	One	Two	Three	(N)
Dropouts	59.1	55.5	46.5	45.2	(105)
Matched Controls	40.9	44.5	53.5	54.8	(98)
Totals (N)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (58)	100.0 (42)	(203)

$G = .132$

$p < .20$

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Table 28

Influence of Total Number of Family Forces to Remain in School, Case of Mother (R)

	Number of Family Forces				
	None	One	Two	Three	(N)
Dropouts	61.1	66.0	37.8	52.8	(121)
Random Controls	38.9	34.0	62.2	47.2	(107)
Totals (N)	100.0 (36)	100.0 (56)	100.0 (66)	100.0 (70)	(228)

$$G = .253$$
$$p < .01$$

Table 29

Influence of Total Number of Family Forces to Remain in School, Case of Mother (M)

	Number of Family Forces				
	None	One	Two	Three	(N)
Dropouts	64.7	59.6	34.2	55.2	(121)
Matched Controls	35.3	40.4	65.8	44.8	(115)
Totals (N)	100.0 (34)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (73)	100.0 (67)	(236)

$$G = .234$$
$$p < .02$$

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The tremendous importance of the role of the mother for the matched control group can be explained as follows. The matched group contains an over-representation of Negroes, relative to the population. And since the Negro family is characterized as matriarchal (U. S. Department of Labor, 1965) it is no surprise that if any influence exists at all in the Negro family regarding continued schooling, it will be provided by the mother rather than the father.

There is some evidence from our data to support this contention. Looking at the total population of this study, we note that only 50% of the Negro respondents (of a total N = 692) live with both parents; the comparable figures for the white and Latin students are 79% and 74% (total respective N's are 732 and 559). Furthermore, of the 338 Negroes who come from broken homes, only ten (less than 3%) live with their natural father; 291 (86%) live with their natural mother (35 live with some other adult). Of the 147 white respondents from broken homes, 16% live with their fathers and 77% with their mothers. Comparable figures for 145 Latin respondents are 16% and 73%. These figures would suggest that, from a sheer structural factor, in the Negro family the mother must necessarily play a more significant role. But there is still more evidence. When asked, "Who is the main provider in your family?" 30% of the Negroes said it was their mother; this is opposed to 9% of the whites and 7% of the Latins.

There is further evidence for the above assertion from a study of ethnicity and identification with parents being conducted by a colleague of the author on the same population used in this study. Judy B. Williams (in progress) has looked at patterns of "dominant identification" among the three major ethnic groups in East Chicago. She has determined, using the identification measures described above, whether a respondent identifies more with his father, more with his mother, or with both equally. Her data (see Appendix, Table A. 36) support the contention that Negroes, more often than whites or Latins, identify more strongly with their mothers than with their fathers. Fifty-seven percent of the Negroes identify more with their mother; 17% with their father. The corresponding figures for whites are: mother, 29%; father, 38%. The figures for the Latins are: mother, 47%; father, 29%.

A word here is in order about the lack of statistical strength of some of our findings. Consider the dropout-random comparison in Table 18, "Combined Influence of Family Integration and Father's Valuation of Education." Since the over-all X^2 statistical test for this Table yields a $p > .05$, the conventional procedure would be to reject the hypothesis. However, in this Table, as in many others, the independent variables are dichotomized about the median. This two-fold classification was used in order to maintain a sufficiently

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large N. This dichotomizing procedure, we argue, serves to blunt
the discriminatory powers of the measures, thus reducing the level
of significance. Because of this, it was felt appropriate to
examine the extreme cells of those tables which handle two independent
variables simultaneously. The data in these cells usually indicate
a very strong relationship. Thus when these extreme cells are
examined for Table 18, the probability level changes from $p < .10$ for
the over-all comparison to $p < .01$ (G = .414).

Hypotheses 4-7   Hypotheses 4-7

Hypothesis 4:   A high index of family integration will
be associated with a high index of achievement values.

Hypothesis 5:   The higher the achievement values, the
lower will be the dropout rate.

The achievement value, as described earlier, is here used as a
set of cultural and social norms which prescribe means of attaining
"success." Using the general argument of Cervantes (described
above, pp. 7-10), we would expect that an integrated family would be
more likely to adhere to and transmit these norms. Hence the
rationale for Hypothesis 4.

Rosen (1956) has shown achievement values to be related to
upward social mobility; also, in the contemporary United States,
education is often cited as a major factor in achieving mobility.
It follows that the presence of achievement values should be related
to educational attainment. This argument supplies us with Hypothesis
5.

Tables 30 and 31 indicate that Hypothesis 4, as stated, must
be rejected: achievement value scores do not vary with levels of
family integration. In other words, for students who come from
homes marked by a high or a low level of family integration, dropout
behavior is not related to achievement values. This finding holds
for both the random and the matched comparisons. Looking only at
the random comparison (Table 30) we note that achievement values
do not distinguish dropouts from stay-ins when family integration
is controlled. Under conditions of high integration, 62% of the
students with high achievement value scores do not drop out, and 53%
of the students with low achievement scores do not drop out. This
difference is not significant. Under conditions of low integration,
however, the difference is slightly larger and is moderately signifi-
cant $(p < .20)$. Here, 52% of the students with high achievement
value scores do not drop out, as opposed to 35% with low scores.

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Table 30

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Achievement Values (R)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Achievement Values	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	38.3	47.1	48.4	64.0	(112)
Random Controls	61.7	52.9	51.6	36.0	(117)
Totals (N)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (66)	100.0 (50)	(229)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .482$, $p < .01$

Significant Chi-squares: Overall $x^2 = 4.84$, $p < .20$

LH-LL: $x^2 = 2.18$, $p < .20$

HL-LL: $x^2 = 2.31$, $p < .20$

Table 31

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Achievement Values (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Achievement Values	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	43.3	39.6	52.4	54.2	(112)
Matched Controls	56.7	60 4	47.6	45.8	(114)
Totals (N)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (61)	100.0 (59)	(226)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .015$, $p = $ N. S.

Significant Chi-square: HL-LL: $x^2 = 2.04$, $p < .20$

(We shall return to this point for further explanation below).
There is some related data to support this finding. Rosen (1956:
208) found that achievement value scores were unrelated to academic
performance; our dependent variable, dropping out of high school,
can surely be considered as a reflection of low academic performance.

Looking, however, at the cumulative effect of family integration
and achievement values on dropping out for the dropout-random
comparison, we see that of the 60 subjects who scored above the
median on both indexes, family integration and achievement value,*
38% are dropouts and 62% are stay-ins. At the other extreme, of
the 50 subjects who scored below the median on both indexes, 64%
are dropouts and 36% are stay-ins. This difference is significant
at the .01 level and points to a very strong cumulative relationship
between family integration and the development of the achievement
values, and dropping out.

For a similar dropout-matched comparison we note almost no
statistical association, although the differences are in the predicted
direction. This can again be explained by the different family
structure and corresponding different values possessed by families
of the matched control, as opposed to the random control, subjects.

Tables 32 and 33 are concerned with the direct effect of
achievement values on dropping out, and show a similar finding as
described above. The presence of the achievement values is associated
with dropping out for the comparison with the random sample, but
not with the matched sample.

For the dropout-random comparison, among the 60 subjects
who scored lowest on the index of achievement values, 55% are
dropouts; among the 46 subjects who scored highest on this index,
only 39% are dropouts. The measure of association between the
achievement value score and dropping out is statistically significant.

There is no significant difference, though, for the comparison
with the matched sample. In fact, we see here one of the very few
instances where even the direction of our prediction is not supported.
And again, we suggest that this can be explained by the confounding
influence of the control variables.

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*The range of scores on the achievement value index was 14 (low)
to 56 (high). Scores of 312 and higher were above the median.

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Table 32

Influence of Achievement Values (R)

| | Achievement Values | | | | |
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	55.0	55.8	44.0	39.1	(115)
Random Controls	45.0	44.2	56.0	60.9	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (46)	(233)

$$G = .189$$
$$p < .05$$

Table 33

Influence of Achievement Values (M)

| | Achievement Values | | | | |
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	48.5	48.7	50.9	52.9	(115)
Matched Controls	51.5	51.3	49.1	47.1	(116)
Totals (N)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (78)	100.0 (51)	100.0 (34)	(231)

$$G = -.046$$
$$p = N.\ S.$$

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The conclusions from these data are as follows. First, the achievement value index is, by itself, useful in distinguishing the dropouts from the random controls, but not from the matched controls. Once again, the independent variable* (in this case, achievement values) appears to be confounded by one or more of the control variables. A second conclusion is that the achievement index, as a tool for predicting high school dropouts, is not related to levels of family integration. A possible exception to this statement, however, is found in Table 30, which indicates that the achievement score may be important under conditions of low integration. We had predicted that achievement scores would be determined by family integration. This is not the case. But since the achievement values are a factor, it must be so, then, only because these values are acquired in an extra-familial setting. This would explain why the achievement scores are (possible) important only under conditions of low integration.

We must finally point out a certain logical difficulty in relating family integration to Rosen's index. Approximately one-third of Rosen's items reflect what he calls a "familism-individualism" dimension. It is his contention that high achievement values can only result if the individual is able to become independent of family ties. It is, therefore, quite possible that our own family integration measure is antithetical to Rosen's; if this is so, then there should be no surprise that no relationship was found. It will be useful for future research to delete from Rosen's index those items related to familism.

> Hypothesis 6: A high index of family integration will be associated with a high index of academic self concept.

> Hypothesis 7: The more positive the academic self concept, the lower will be the dropout rate.

It is almost a truism to say that expectations and perceptions determine behavior. Similarly one's self-image can also have a considerable influence on behavior. Rosenberg (1965) has shown this to be true among adolescents. More particularly, we are concerned with the academic self-concept, which is a particular kind of self image, one that has been found to be related to academic achievement (Brookover, Thomas, and Paterson, 1964). Using the same argument as was advanced under Hypotheses 4 and 5, we would

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*In terms of our over-all argument, the achievement value is not an independent variable, but an intervening variable, with family integration as the independent variable.

expect an integrated family to be more likely to foster the development of a positive academic self-concept, and that this in turn will result in a lower dropout rate.

Tables 34-37 indicate that these hypotheses can be accepted, both for the comparison with our random controls and the matched controls. Examining the extreme cells of Table 34 for the dropout-random comparison we note that of the 54 subjects who scored above the median on both the family integration index and the Academic Self-Concept scale, only 26% are dropouts, whereas among the 78 subjects who scored below the medians on both measures 70.5% are dropouts. This difference is statistically significant and indicates a strong relationship among family integration, academic self-concept and dropping out of school. For the dropout-matched comparison (Table 35) the same result obtains. Of the 37 subjects who scored above the median on both measures only 38% are dropouts whereas among the 94 subjects who scored below the median 58.5% are dropouts.

Examining next Tables 36 and 37 we see that the Academic Self-Concept is, by itself, a very successful indicator of dropping out. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 36), three-quarters of the low scorers are dropouts as opposed to one-quarter of the high scorers. This relationship is highly significant. The dropout-matched comparison (Table 37), too, is significant. Here, 56% of the low scorers are dropouts, compared to 35% of the high scorers. Hypothesis 7, therefore, is accepted.

Looking now at the influence of this self-concept when the level of family integration is controlled, we see, for the dropout-random comparison (Table 34), that the factors are related. The relationship is such that a favorable self-concept and consequent lower dropout rate is more likely to develop under conditions of high family integration, and an unfavorable self-concept and consequent higher dropout rate is more likely to develop under conditions of low family integration. We can see the strength of this relationship by examining the extreme cells of Table 34. Of the 54 students who score above the median on both indexes, only 14 (26%) are dropouts, while of the 78 students who score low on both indexes, 55 (70.5%) are dropouts. These relationships are highly significant.

However, examining the dropout-matched comparison (Table 35), we do not see the same relationship. (The only strong contrast in this table is between the High-High and the Low-Low group.) In general, family integration does not lead to differences in Academic Self-Concept; there is, though, a slight ($p < .20$) relationship under conditions of low family integration. Again, we suggest that the relationship which obtained in Table 34 does not obtain in Table 35 because of the control variable of ethnicity. Thus, data

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Table 34

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Academic Self-Concept (R)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Academic Self-Concept	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	25.9	58.0	37.1	70.5	(118)
Random Controls	74.1	42.0	62.9	29.5	(111)
Totals (N)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (78)	(229)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .762$, $p < .001$

Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 29.39$, $p < .001$

HH-HL: $X^2 = 10.88$, $p < .001$

LH-LL: $X^2 = 9.88$, $p < .01$

Table 35

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Academic Self-Concept (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Academic Self-Concept	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	37.8	48.6	41.9	58.5	(118)
Matched Controls	62.2	51.4	58.1	41.5	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (31)	100.0 (94)	(118)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .397$, $p < .05$

Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 5.77$, $p < .20$

LH-LL: $X^2 = 1.97$, $p < .20$

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Table 36

Influence of Academic Self-Concept

	Academic Self-Concept				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	73.4	52.2	31.7	26.9	(121)
Random Controls	26.6	47.8	68.3	73.1	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (90)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (26)	(243)

$$G = .503$$
$$p < .001$$

Table 37

Influence of Academic Self-Concept (M)

	Academic Self-Concept				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	55.9	51.6	41.6	35.0	(121)
Matched Controls	44.1	48.4	58.4	65.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (84)	100.0 (91)	100.0 (48)	100.0 (20)	(242)

$$G = .192$$
$$p < .05$$

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in the Appendix (Table A. 18) show that the Negro dropouts are no different from the Negro matched controls on family integration. Since this is so, and since we expect family integration to partially determine self-concept (and consequently, dropping out), it is not surprising that Table 35 shows no strong relationship.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that Academic Self-Concept very successfully distinguishes the dropout from the stay-in. Furthermore, the highly integrated family apparently facilitates the development of a positive Academic Self-Concept, at least for comparison with a group of random controls. The strength of the relationship among these variables deserves to be emphasized. Table 34, which relates family integration to the Academic Self-Concept for the dropout-random comparison, yields the single strongest measure of association for the extreme cell comparisons reported in this thesis, thus indicating an overwhelming degree of association between the variables. There can be little doubt that family integration facilitates the development of a positive Academic Self-Concept, and that this, in turn, is related to dropping out of high school.

Summary

The conclusions that can be drawn from our examination of the data related to our first seven hypotheses are generally supportive of those hypotheses. We have found that dropping out of high school can be at least partially explained by any of the following variables; high family integration; strong identification with parents, or pro-education parental values. Of these three, there is some indication that high family intregration is the key variable, since the other two variables seem to flow from the first. That is, a highly integrated family is likely to create an atmosphere which fosters strong identification with parents; this in turn makes the transmission of pro-education attitudes more likely.

Of further importance are the findings of a strong relationship between family integration and achievement values and Academic Self-Concept. The latter variables are certainly not directly related to the family, but they do, however, reflect values and concepts which can be at least partially derived from the family. Since there is ample support for the importance of achievement values (Rosen, 1956, 1959) or the Academic Self-Concept (Brookover, et al., 1964, 1965) to academic performance, it is of considerable importance to discover certain conditions which foster the development of these forces. Our data strongly indicate that a high degree of family integration provides one such condition.

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However, in view of the research design we adopted, a certain qualification must be made concerning these conclusions. That is, the above statements are generally true for a comparison of the dropouts with the random control group, but not for the comparison with the matched control group. We can see evidence of this more clearly by the following comparison. For the dropout-random comparison, of the seven hypotheses tested, four were solidly confirmed, and one was given partial support (Hypothesis 2 was supported for the case of the father, but not the mother). On the other hand, for the dropout-matched comparisons, of the seven hypotheses, two were supported (numbers 3 and 7), one was partially supported (number 2, for the case of the mother, but not the father), and four received no support (numbers 1, 4, 5, and 6). Obviously, some explanation must be offered for this lack of support for the matched comparisons.

It has been our suggestion that this lack of support for the dropout-matched comparisons is due to the fact of the greater representation of Negroes in the matched than in the random control group. We have already indicated that this can be partly attributed to differences in the Negro family. There is, however, another possible explanation. Of the four hypotheses that were not supported, two (numbers 4 and 5) deal directly with the achievement values, and a third (number 1) is related to it inasmuch as it refers to educational values. Since previous research (Rosen, 1959) has indicated that Negroes, especially those from the lower socioeconomic classes, have an extremely low index of achievement motivation (p. 53), and since the Negro culture is "least likely to accent achievement values" (p. 55), it is not surprising that we can find no strong differences when we attempt to measure achievement-related items in two groups which are essentially similar with respect to the possession of achievement values.

It is, then, notable that our other hypotheses were supported, despite the control factors. These findings give strong support, consequently, to the integration-identification-value argument that has been previously stated.

The Peer Group

We turn our attention now from the family to the peer group. As we earlier indicated, although the family can usually be expected to be the major agent of socialization, it is by no means an exclusive agent. The literature previously cited (e.g., Kinch and Bowerman, 1951; Rosen, 1955; Gordon, 1957) gives us ample reason to regard the peer group as another major source of influence, particularly among adolescents. This general expectation, coupled with our notions concerning identification with reference groups and the transmission of values, led us to the formulation of Hypotheses 8 and 9.

Hypotheses 8 and 9

Hypothesis 8: The more positive the values regarding education held by peer group members, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 9: Peer group values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as the subjects identification with that group decreases.

Hypotheses 8 and 9 deal with the influences of the peer group on dropping out. As was the case with the family, we expect the peer group to have a strong influence on staying in or leaving school. Specifically, if ones' peers highly value education, one would be less likely to drop out. Also, the influence of the peer group will be dependent upon the extent to which one identifies with that group.

Table 38 is germane to Hypothesis 8. For the dropout-random comparison, of the 71 subjects who saw their friends as placing a relatively low value on education* 60.5% were dropouts. Of the 61 subjects who saw their friends as placing a relatively high value on education, 51% were dropouts. This difference, while in the predicted direction, does not attain a high level of statistical significance ($p < .20$). For the dropout-matched comparison (Table 39), of the 64 subjects who saw their friends as placing a relatively low value on education, 67% were dropouts, whereas among the 59 subjects who saw their friends as placing a high value on education, 52.5% are dropouts. This difference is statistically significant ($p < .05$).

The previous research (cited above, pp. 16-19) concerning peer influences among adolescents is thus confirmed by our data. Furthermore, the data support our general theoretical scheme, which indicates that the transmission of educational values by reference groups will contribute to dropout behavior.

We should take note of the fact that it is now the dropout-matched comparison that is significantly different, whereas in the earlier section on the family it was usually the dropout random comparison that proved significant. We shall have more to say on this below, but for the present we may suggest that as familial influences decline in importance, extra-familial influences will become more important.

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*The range for this index is from 5 (low) to 20 (high). A score of 16 or higher is above the median.

Table 38

Influence of Friends' Value of Education (R)

	Friends' Value of Education				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	60.5	45.4	37.2	50.8	(120)
Random Controls	39.5	54.6	62.8	49.2	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (71)	100.0 (66)	100.0 (43)	100.0 (61)	(241)

$G = .138$

$p < .20$

Table 39

Influence of Friends' Value of Education (M)

	Friends' Value of Education				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	67.1	46.1	30.7	52.5	(120)
Matched Controls	32.9	53.9	69.3	47.5	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (59)	(240)

$G = .204$

$p < .05$

Our theoretical scheme also suggests that differential identification with the peer group will result in different dropout rates. This expectation was formulated as Hypothesis 9. The data for Hypothesis 9 are found in Tables 40-45. These tables relate the subject's friends' value of education, the subject's identification with those friends, and dropping out. Three categories of "friends" are examined: friends in school, friends out of school and classmates. This tripartite division of friends was made on the suspicion that different types of friends might have different influences on different subjects. An examination of the tables, however, does not validate this suspicion. The general hypothesis is, nonetheless, supported, at least for the case of the dropout-matched comparison.

Tables 40 and 41 document the influence of "friends in school." For the dropout-random comparison (Table 40), of the 48 subjects who scored above the median on both measures, friends' value of education and identification with friends in school. 46% are dropouts; of the 80 subjects who scored below the median on both measures, 55% are dropouts. However, although these differences are in the expected direction, they are not statistically significant. The dropout-matched comparison (Table 41), however, indicates a strong difference (p < .02). Of the 52 subjects who scored above the median on both measures, 42% are dropouts, whereas among the 71 subjects who scored below the median on both measures, 62% are dropouts.

Tables 42 and 43, which deal with "friends out of school," indicate a moderately strong relationship for both comparisons (p < .10). Tables 44 and 45, which deal with "classmates," indicate a weak relationship (p < .20) for the dropout-matched comparison. These data, taken together, allow us to accept Hypothesis 9, at least for the comparison with the matched control group.

A further relationship should be pointed out. By comparing columns 2 and 4 in Tables 41, 43, and 45 we can see that the friends' value of education is important in influencing dropping out only under conditions of low identification with friends. (A similar finding was reported above concerning parents' values and identification.) This suggests that what we might call the "atmosphere of values" is of particular importance to those subjects who do not closely identify with their peers (or parents).

Tables 40-45, while supporting Hypothesis 9, present us with a somewhat unusual finding. Prior to this point, whenever comparisons were made, the matched control group was always more similar to the dropouts than was the random control group. (Or else the matched and random groups were about equal). But in several of these tables we note just the opposite effect: The dropouts do not differ appreciably from the random group; they do differ from the matched

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Table 40

Combined Influence of Friends' Value of Education and Identification with Friends in School (R)

Friends' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Friends	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	45.8	42.3	50.8	55.0	(117)
Random Controls	54.2	57.7	49.2	45.0	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (48)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (80)	(237)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .182$, $p = $ N. S.
No significant Chi-square

Table 41

Combined Influence of Friends' Value of Education and Identification with Friends in School (M)

Friends' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Identification with Friends	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	42.3	39.2	53.7	61.9	(117)
Matched Controls	57.7	60.8	46.3	38.1	(116)
Totals (N)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (56)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (71)	(233)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .079$, $p < .02$
Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X^2 = 8.66$, $p < .05$

HL-LL: $X^2 = 5.58$, $p < .02$

Table 42

Combined Influence of Friends' Value of
Education and Identification with
Friends Out of School (R)

Friends' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Friends	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	42.1	45.2	49.1	56.4	(116)
Random Controls	57.9	54.8	50.8	43.6	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (42)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (78)	(236)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .280$, $p < .10$
Significant Chi-square: HL-LL: $X^2 = 3.07$, $p < .10$

Table 43

Combined Influence of Friends' Value of
Education and Identification with
Friends Out of School (M)

Friends' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Friends	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	45.2	35.1	50.8	63.7	(116)
Matched Controls	54.8	64.9	49.2	36.3	(117)
Totals (N)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (57)	100.0 (69)	(233)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .294$, $p < .10$
Significant Chi-square: Overall $X^2 = 10.43$, $p < .02$

HL-LL: $X^2 = 8.79$, $p < .01$

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Table 44

Combined Influence of Friends' Value of Education
and Identification with Classmates (R)

Friends' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Classmates	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	40.0	45.3	52.6	53.0	(115)
Random Controls	60.0	54.7	47.4	47.0	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (98)	(235)

Comparison of HH-LL: G = .258, p < .20
No significant Chi-square

Table 45

Combined Influence of Friends' Value of Education
and Identification with Classmates (M)

Friends' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Classmates	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	33.3	45.3	55.5	58.4	(115)
Matched Controls	66.7	54.7	44.5	41.6	(116)
Totals (N)	100.0 (42)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (36)	100.0 (89)	(231)

Comparison of HH-LL: G = .475, p < .01
Significant Chi-squares: Overall X^2 = 8.21, p < .05

HH-LH: X^2 = 3.04, p < .10

HL-LL: X^2 = 2.07, p < .20

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group. Since it is more reasonable to expect that the dropout-random differences should be greater than the dropout-matched differences, it is puzzling that we now find the reverse to hold.

We can offer the following as a possible explanation for this finding. In the bulk of American society the family is the primary socializer. However, in certain segments of our society, the family is not as meaningful an entity. An example of such a segment is the Negro family, whose deficiencies were chronicled in the "Moynihan Report" (U. S. Department of Labor, 1965) so recently. Consequently, since our dropout sample contains an over-representation of Negroes, the matched sample is similarly over-represented. It is then logical that the dropout-matched differences should be minimal, since for both groups the family, though it does make a contribution, is of relatively minor importance in determining dropout behavior.

Conversely, the matched control subjects, since they are over-proportionately Negro and consequently less likely to experience the family as a meaningful influence (especially with regard to educational values), would be more likely to come under other sources of influence, such as peer or school groups. We would then expect to find that these extra-familial influences have more effect on the matched group. Similarly, these other influences would have relatively less influence on those subjects for whom the family is important, i.e., the random control subjects.

From the data presented in Tables 38-45, we can conclude that our hypotheses related to peer group influence are not supported for the dropout-random comparison, but are supported for the comparison with the matched control group. Neither the social psychological theories which we have adopted nor the published literature on dropouts offer much in the way of an explanation for this. We can only speculate that the paucity of family influences among the minority group dropouts makes these subjects more suscep-tible to influence from other sources.

We can provide certain documentation for our claim that, under conditions of minimal family influence, the friends' value of education will exert a strong influence on dropping out. Table 46 deals with the dropout-matched comparison. When family integration, is controlled, we note that, under conditions of high integration, the friends' values make little difference. But under conditions of low integration, friends' values exert a measurable influence: of those subjects whose friends highly valued education, 41% are dropouts, while 62% of the subjects whose friends placed a low value on education are dropouts. This difference is significant at the .10 level, and, while not remarkably strong does give us an

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Table 46

Combined Influence of Family Integration and Friends' Value of Education (M)

Family Integration	High	High	Low	Low	
Friends' Value of Education	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	40.0	51.1	41.3	62.0	(117)
Matched Controls	60.0	48.9	58.7	38.0	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (65)	100.0 (45)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (79)	(235)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .420$, $p < .01$
Significant Chi-squares: Overall $X2 = 8.01$, $p < .05$

                             LH-LL: $X^2 = 3.33$, $p < .10$

indication that our speculations above were correct. Further, the overall Chi-square is significant, as is the comparison of the High-High versus the Low-Low extremes.

Other Peer Influences. We can gain some further insight into the influence of the peer group on dropping out by examining the responses to three questions to which our subjects replied. Although these questions do not directly test our hypotheses, they do serve to further emphasize the importance of peer group factors. The data for these questions are presented in Tables 47-52.

Tables 47 and 48 give responses to the question, "Are your best friends planning to finish high school?" Although the majority of all respondents indicated that "most" of their friends were planning to finish high school, the differences between the dropouts and the two control groups are highly significant. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 47), of the nine subjects who indicate that none of their best friends were planning to finish high school, 78% are dropouts; of those (N = 37) who indicated that some of their best friends were planning to finish high school, 67.5% are dropouts; and of the 195 subjects who said that most of their best friends were planning to finish high school, only 45% are dropouts. For the dropout-matched comparison (Table 48) the corresponding figures are 100% (based on N = 7), 62.5% (N = 40), and 45.5% (N = 193). Both of these associations are highly significant, indicating a strong relationship between best friends' attitudes toward completing high school and dropping out of high school.

Tables 49 and 50 present the responses to the question, "Do your friends want you to complete high school?" When the "yes" answers are contrasted with all others,* we again find significant differences between the dropout and the two control groups. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 49), of the 159 subjects who indicated a positive response to the above question, 45% are dropouts (p < .10). Of the 83 subjects who gave any other response, 59% are dropouts. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison (Table 50) are 44% and 64% (p < .01).

Finally, Tables 51 and 52 present the replies to the question, "Have any of your older friends left high school befor graduation?" This question, unlike the vast majority of previous questions, attempts to measure not perception, but actual association with high school dropouts. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 51),

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*The category "all others" included "no" and "I'm not sure."

of the 88 subjects who had no older friends leave high school before
graduation, 40% are dropouts. Among the 133 subjects who did have
older friends who left high school before graduation, 58% are drop-
outs. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison
(Table 52) are 35% and 65%. Both of these differences are statistically
highly significant.

Tables 47-52, then, clearly demonstrate other types of influence of
peers on dropping out. These questions, which deal with what the
subject perceives to be his peer's goals regarding education for him
(the subject) and for themselves (rather than regarding education
in the abstract), and with the subjects' actual friendship with high
school dropouts, are thus concerned with influences that impinge
directly on our subjects' behavior. The data in these tables, we
conclude, give strong related support for our hypotheses.

Finally, in response to two of these three questions, we again
note that the dropout-matched differences are greater than the
dropout-random differences. This gives further evidence to our
suggestion of the importance of peer group influences when family
influences are weak.

Summary

In general, hypotheses 8 and 9 can be accepted. As was the
case with the family, we find that peer group influences play a
considerable role in determining whether a student will drop out of
high school. Specifically, if a student's friends place a relatively
low value on education, he will be more likely to drop out. Further-
more, the friends' valuation of education will have a varying effect
on dropping out as the extent of identification varies, and will
be of special importance under conditions of low identification.

Once again, though, these conclusions, or at least those
drawn directly from the tests of our hypotheses, must be qualified.
In our discussion of the influence of the family we noted a relative
lack of statistical support for the dropout-matched comparisons.
Contrarily, we now note a relative lack of support for the dropout-
random comparisons when we examine the influence of the peer group.
In fact, neither hypothesis is supported for the random comparison,
while both are supported for the matched comparison. The explanation
for this is related to the explanation given above for the family.
Specifically, if the family is a major source of influence (as for
the random controls), other sources such as the peer group, will
be relatively ineffectual, whereas if the family is a minor source
of influence (as for the matched controls), an "influence gap" is

Table 47

Responses to "Do Your Best
Friends Plan to Finish
High School?" (R)

	Number of Friends Planning to Finish			
	None	Some	Most	(N)
Dropouts	77.7	67.5	45.1	(120)
Random Controls	22.3	32.5	54.9	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (9)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (195)	(241)

$$G = .465$$

$$p < .001$$

Table 48

Responses to "Do Your Best
Friends Plan to Finish
High School?" (M)

	Number of Friends Planning to Finish			
	None	Some	Most	(N)
Dropouts	100.0	62.5	45.5	(120)
Matched Controls	0.0	37.5	54.5	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (193)	(240)

$$G = .448$$

$$p < .001$$

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Table 49

Responses to "Do Your Friends Want You to Complete High School?" (R)

		Responses	
	Yes	No or Not Sure	(N)
Dropouts	45.2	59.0	(121)
Random Controls	54.8	41.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (159)	100.0 (83)	(242)

$$X^2 = 3.59$$
$$p < .10$$

Table 50

Responses to "Do Your Friends Want You to Complete High School?" (M)

		Responses	
	Yes	No or Not Sure	(N)
Dropouts	43.9	63.6	(121)
Matched Controls	56.1	36.4	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (164)	100.0 (77)	(241)

$$X^2 = 7.39$$
$$p < .01$$

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Table 51

Responses to "Have Any of Your Older Friends Left High School Before Graduation?" (R)

	Responses		
	No	Yes	(N)
Dropouts	39.7	57.8	(112)
Random Controls	60.3	42.2	(109)
Totals (N)	100.0 (88)	100.0 (133)	(221)

G = .351

p < .01

Table 52

Responses to "Have Any of Your Older Friends Left High School Before Graduation?" (M)

	Responses		
	No	Yes	(N)
Dropouts	35.3	65.2	(112)
Matched Controls	64.7	34.8	(105)
Totals (N)	100.0 (99)	100.0 (118)	(217)

G = .549

p < .001

created which can be filled from other sources, such as the peer group. We must conclude from our data, then, that as far as our formal hypotheses are concerned there is a mixture of support and non-support. Viewed from a large perspective, however, a perspective which takes into account other sources of influence, the importance of the non-support diminishes. Finally, the general notion of peer group influence receives additional strength when we consider certain rather direct peer influences (Tables 47-52).

The School

In this section we shall examine the influence of the school, with special reference to attitudes of teachers about dropping out. Our analysis shall follow the same course as in the preceding section. That is, we shall be concerned with the teachers' value of education and the student's identification with the teacher. These relationships are stated as Hypotheses 10 and 11.

Hypotheses 10 and 11

Hypothesis 10: The more positive the values regarding education held by one's teachers, the lower will be the dropout rate.

Hypothesis 11: Teachers' values regarding education will have a decreasing influence on the dropout rate as the subject's identification with the teachers decreases.

Hypotheses 10 and 11 deal with the influence of the teacher on dropping out. Our rationale for these hypotheses is the same as has been the case in the preceding sections. Specifically, we expect that those students who see their teachers as placing a relatively high value on education will be less likely to drop out than those students who see their teachers as placing a relatively low value on education. Moreover, we expect this influence to vary as identification with their teachers varies.

Tables 53 and 54 present data relevant to Hypothesis 10. For the dropout-random comparison (Table 53), of the 55 subjects who saw their teachers as having a relatively low value of education,*

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*The teachers' value of education index ranged from 5 (low) to 20 (high). Scores of 19 and 20 were above the median.

Table 53

Influence of Teachers' Value
of Education (R)

	Teachers' Value of Education			
	Low	Med.	High	(N)
Dropouts	58.1	50.0	45.5	(120)
Random Controls	41.9	50.0	54.5	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (112)	(241)

$$G = .159$$
$$p < .20$$

Table 54

Influence of Teachers' Value
of Education (M)

	Teachers' Value of Education			
	Low	Med.	High	(N)
Dropouts	53.3	48.0	49.0	(120)
Matched Controls	46.7	52.0	51.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (104)	(241)

$$G = .046$$
$$p = N. S.$$

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58% are dropouts. Of the 112 subjects who saw their teachers as having a relatively high value of education, 45.5% are dropouts. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison (Table 54) are 53% and 49%. These differences, while in the predicted direction, are not statisitically strong. Consequently, Hypothesis 10 cannot be accepted. There is no apparent difference between the dropouts' and stay-ins' perceptions of their teachers' value of education.

Tables 55 and 56 deal with Hypothesis 11. These tables present the combined influence of teachers' value of education and identification with teacher. Because "teacher" allows several meanings, respondents' identification with two categories of "teacher" was determined: identification with a "favorite teacher" and identification with "other teachers."

In examining the influence of the "favorite teacher" for the dropout-random comparison (Table 55) we note that of the 80 subjects who scored above the median on both measures, teacher's value of education and identification with the favorite teacher, 49% are dropouts. For the 57 subjects who scored below the median on both measures, 58% are dropouts. This is not a significant difference. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison (Table 56) are 45% and 60%. This difference is moderately strong $(p < .10)$.

The same general finding is obtained from Tables 57 and 58, which deal not with a favorite teacher but with all other teachers. Here, the dropout-random comparison (Table 57) shows that of 71 subjects who scored above the median on both indexes, 49% are dropouts, while of the 56 subjects who scored below the median on both indexes, 57% are dropouts. This difference, however, is not significant. For the dropout-matched comparison (Table 58), the corresponding figures are 43% and 63%; this difference is highly significant $(p < .02)$.

It should be noted in Tables 56 and 58 that, for the dropout-random comparison, identification with teachers is especially important only when the teachers' value of education is perceived as low. In the latter table, for example, of the subjects who scored low on teachers' value but high on identification with other teachers, 38% are dropouts; of the students who, on those same indexes, scored low-high respectively, 63% are dropouts. Some possible reasons for this finding are as follows. The "high-low" division for teachers' values is, in actuality, quite high, since most students (even the "lows") saw their teachers as highly valuing education; the division into high and low is very likely an artificial one. As a result of this, our index of identification with teachers may be more important

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than the index of teachers' value of education. There is some
evidence for this notion. Table 59 reports, for the dropout-
matched comparison, the influence of identification with other
teachers on dropping out. Of the 64 students with the lowest identi-
fication index, 59% are dropouts, while of the 55 students with the
highest index, 44% are dropouts. The relationship is significant
at the .05 level. Though the data are not presented in full here,
the same relationship holds, though more weakly (p < .20) for identi-
fication with favorite teacher for the dropout-random comparison.
For the dropout-random comparison, no association is found between
identification and dropping out. This again supports our contention
that the extra-familial sources of influence on dropping out are
important only for those subjects for whom family influences are
minimal.

Hypothesis 11, then, receives only moderate support, that
coming from the dropout-matched comparison. As was the case in
the preceding section, it is somewhat puzzling why the matched group
should be more different from the dropouts than is the random group.
Once again, we suggest that the vacuum created by some families'
relative unimportance in determining educational values and decisions
is filled by values which are transmitted by other agencies. The
school, in addition to the peer group, is one of these other
agencies.

Other School Influences. The above data indicate that
identification with teachers and teachers' evaluation of education
are less important than family or peer factors in determining whether
a student drops out of high school. Yet we cannot completely dismiss
the influences of the school on the student. The data presented
below indicate some of these other sources of influence that the
school has.

We earlier speculated about the "rewards" of the high school.
We suggested that academic achievement might reinforce the desire
to complete school. Another reward might be the simple enjoyment
one gets from being at school. We can anticipate that a student
who finds some satisfaction in his classes, even if that satisfaction
brings no external rewards, will be less likely to quit school.
Tables 60 and 61 indicate that this expectation is accurate, at
least for the dropout-matched comparison. For this comparison, of
the 20 students who indicated that they enjoyed none of their
classes at school, 85% are dropouts; of the students who indicated
that they enjoyed some of their classes (N = 133), 50% are dropouts;
and for those who indicated that they enjoyed most of their classes
(N = 83), only 42% are dropouts. These differences are highly
significant (p < .01). The corresponding figures for the

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Table 55

Combined Influence of Teachers' Value of Education
and Identification with Favorite Teacher (R)

Teachers' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Identification with Favorite Teacher	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	48.7	39.7	53.5	57.8	(114)
Random Controls	51.3	60.3	46.5	42.2	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (80)	100.0 (68)	100.0 (28)	100.0 (57)	(233)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .182$, $p = $ N.S.
Significant Chi-square: HL-LL: $X^2 = 3.41$, $p < .10$

Table 56

Combined Influence of Teachers' Value of Education
and Identification with Favorite Teacher (M)

Teachers' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	(N)
Identification with Favorite Teacher	High	Low	High	Low	
Dropouts	45.3	56.2	33.3	60.0	(114)
Matched Controls	54.7	43.8	66.7	40.0	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (86)	100.0 (48)	100.0 (45)	100.0 (55)	(234)

Comparison of HH-LL: $G = .289$, $p < .10$
Significant Chi-square: Overall $X^2 = 8.50$, $p < .05$

LH-LL: $X^2 = 6.02$, $p < .02$

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Table 57

Combined Influence of Teachers' Value of Education
and Identification with Other Teachers (R)

Teachers' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Other Teachers	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	49.2	40.7	51.7	57.1	(113)
Random Controls	50.8	59.3	48.3	42.9	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (71)	100.0 (76)	100.0 (29)	100.0 (56)	(232)

Comparison of HH-LL:　　　$G = .157$, $p = $ N. S.
Significant Chi-square:　HL-LL:　$X^2 = 2.83$, $p < .10$

Table 58

Combined Influence of Teachers' Value of Education
and Identification with Other Teachers (M)

Teachers' Value of Education	High	High	Low	Low	
Identification with Other Teachers	High	Low	High	Low	(N)
Dropouts	42.6	50.8	38.4	62.7	(113)
Matched Controls	57.4	49.2	61.6	37.3	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (61)	100.0 (39)	100.0 (51)	(233)

Comparison of HH-LL:　　　$G = .387$, $p < .02$
Significant Chi-squares:　Overall $X^2 = 7.00$, $p < .10$

LH-LL:　$X^2 = 4.30$, $p < .05$

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Table 59

Influence of Identification with Other Teachers (M)

	Identification				
	Low	Two	Three	High	(N)
Dropouts	59.4	52.0	43.5	43.6	(117)
Matched Controls	40.6	48.0	56.5	56.4	(114)
Totals (N)	100.0 (64)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (55)	(231)

$$G = .190$$

$$p < .05$$

Table 60

Responses to "Do You Enjoy Your
Classes at School?" (R)

| | Responses | | | |
	None	Some	Most	(N)
Dropouts	68.0	47.8	46.0	(118)
Random Controls	32.0	52.2	54.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (138)	100.0 (76)	(239)

$$G = .163$$
$$p < .20$$

Table 61

Responses to "Do You Enjoy Your
Classes at School?" (M).

| | Responses | | | |
	None	Some	Most	(N)
Dropouts	85.0	49.6	42.1	(118)
Matched Controls	15.0	50.4	57.9	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (20)	100.0 (133)	100.0 (83)	(236)

$$G = .319$$
$$p < .01$$

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random comparison are 68%, 48%, and 46%. While in the expected direction, these differences are not significant.

Another source of satisfaction for the student lies outside of the academic sphere: extracurricular activities. Tables 62 and 63 indicate a marked difference between dropouts and stay-ins with regard to participation in these activities. For the dropout-random comparison, of the 161 subjects who participate in no school activities (N = 47), 47% are dropouts; and of those who participate in two or more activities (N = 34), 26% are dropouts. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison are 55% and 24%. Both of these differences are highly significant (p < .01). One possible inference from this is that involvement in the school acts as a deterrent to dropping out, even if that involvement is not directed towards academic ends. On the other hand, one might very well argue that the above line of reasoning is somewhat specious. It might be that only a certain kind of student will "go out" for extracurricular activities: that student who has already internalized the middle class "success" orientation. Part of this orientation would, of course, lead him to academic achievement. But also associated with such an orientation would be the recognition that extracurricular achievement is important, too, to achieve success. High school students with college aspirations are continually told of the importance of non-curricular activities in gaining admission to college. If this alternative line of thought is correct (and we have no way of determining whether it is), then the school's influence is not as powerful as we have been suggesting. In such cases, the influence has already been exerted on the student, probably in his family or peer group.

The general satisfaction of the student with school was also measured by a direct question, "In general, would you say that you are satisfied with school?" Tables 64 and 65 show that such satisfaction is associated with school withdrawal. For the dropout-random comparison, of the 35 subjects who were "dissatisfied" or "very dissatisfied" with school, 66% are dropouts. Of the 61 subjects who were "very satisfied" with school, only 38% are dropouts. For the dropout-matched comparison, the corresponding figures are 70% and 40%. Both of these differences are highly significant (p < .01). This finding can be interpreted in much the same way as was the finding concerning extracurricular participation.

Another influence of the school can be seen in response to the question, "Do your teachers want you to complete high school?" These responses are reported in Tables 66 and 67. For the dropout-random comparison, of the 145 subjects who felt that their teachers positively did want them to complete high school, 43% are dropouts.

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Table 62

Influence of Number of School Activities (R)

	Number of Activities			
	None	One	Two or More	(N)
Dropouts	55.2	46.8	26.4	(120)
Random Controls	44.8	53.2	73.6	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (161)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (34)	(242)

G = .341

p < .01

Table 63

Influence of Number of School Activities (M)

	Number of Activities			
	None	One	Two or More	(N)
Dropouts	54.9	52.3	24.3	(120)
Matched Controls	45.1	47.7	75.7	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (162)	100.0 (42)	100.0 (37)	(241)

G = .334

p < .01

Table 64

Influence of Satisfaction
with School   (R)

| | Level of Satisfaction | | | |
	Very Dissat. or Dissat.	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	(N)
Dropouts	65.4	50.6	37.7	(119)
Random Controls	34.6	49.4	62.3	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (144)	100.0 (61)	(240)

G = .309

p < .01

Table 65

Influence of Satisfaction
with School   (M)

| | Level of Satisfaction | | | |
	Very Dissat. or Dissat.	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	(N)
Dropouts	69.7	49.6	40.3	(119)
Matched Controls	30.3	50.4	59.7	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (33)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (57)	(237)

G = .302

p < .01

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Of the 96 subjects who gave any other response ("no" or "I'm not sure"), 58% are dropouts. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison are 43% and 61.5%. Both of these differences are highly significant (p < .05 and p < .01). This finding is perhaps more important than our earlier finding concerning teachers' values of education. In that instance we noted that almost all students felt that their teachers highly valued the abstract notion of education. But the data in Tables 66 and 67 deal not with an abstract notion, but with the teacher's personal concern for a specific individual. In other words, the suggestion here is that the important factor, insofar as the teacher-student relation is concerned, is the sense of personal concern, and not a general abstract value.

Finally, Table 68 and 69 present the responses to the question, "How likely is it that you will graduate from high school?" For the dropout-random comparison all 13 subjects who indicated that they would not likely graduate, are dropouts. Of the 51 subjects who said they would maybe graduate 65% are dropouts, and of the 174 subjects who said they would very likely graduate, only 41% are dropouts. The corresponding figures for the dropout-matched comparison are 93%, 67%, and 41%. Both sets of differences are highly significant (p < .01).

The responses of these five questions, then, lend some support to our hypotheses concerning the general influence of the school on its students. It seems clear that if a student can find some source of satisfaction, whether academic or not, in the school, he will be considerably more likely to graduate than the student who cannot find any kind of reward. This set of findings is in line with previous research (Strom, 1964; Liddle, 1962; Porter, 1963; Greene, 1965).

Summary

Hypothesis 10 must clearly be rejected. We cannot be sure, however, that the data related to this hypothesis (see Tables 53 and 54) are meaningful; hence, we cannot be sure that the hypothesis is actually false. The distinctions made between the categories (low, medium, and high) dealing with "teachers' evaluation of education" are quite probably less meaningful than the similar distinctions made for parents' and peers' evaluation of education. For the latter, there was a relatively wide range of response, that is, a relatively large number of students who said their parents valued education "slightly" or "not at all." Contrarily, most students said their teachers saw education as "important" or "very important." Consequently, the low-high differences for parents

Table 66

Responses to "Do Your Teachers
Want You to Complete
High School?" (R)

	Responses		
	Yes	No or Not Sure	(N)
Dropouts	43.4	58.3	(119)
Random Controls	56.6	41.7	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (145)	100.0 (96)	(241)

$$x^2 = 4.54$$
$$p < .05$$

Table 67

Responses to "Do Your Teachers
Want You to Complete
High School?" (M)

	Responses		
	Yes	No or Not Sure	(N)
Dropouts	42.8	61.5	(119)
Matched Controls	57.2	38.5	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (91)	(238)

$$x^2 = 7.12$$
$$p < .01$$

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Table 68

Responses to "How Likely Is It
That You Will Graduate From
High School?"   (R)

	Responses			
	Not Likely	Maybe	Very Likely	(N)
Dropouts	100.0	64.7	41.3	(118)
Random Controls	0.0	35.3	58.7	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (13)	100.0 (51)	100.0 (174)	(238)

G = .583

p < .001

Table 69

Responses to "How Likely Is It
That You Will Graduate From
High School?"   (M)

	Responses			
	Not Likely	Maybe	Very Likely	(N)
Dropouts	92.8	67.3	41.3	(118)
Matched Controls	7.2	32.7	58.7	(119)
Totals (N)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (174)	(237)

G = .592

p < .001

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and peers are greater than they are for teachers. It thus becomes difficult to adequately discriminate teachers' value of education.

Hypothesis 11 receives no support from the dropout-random comparison; it receives moderate support from the dropout-matched comparison. The tests of Hypothesis 11 suggest that teachers' values so influence the students, and that this relationship is especially strong under conditions of low identification. Furthermore, we can speculate that teachers are a source of influence chiefly for those students whose families are of minor importance.

Finally, some related data indicate that, despite the weakness of our specific hypotheses, the school is an important factor in influencing dropout behavior insofar as it provides the student with some source of satisfaction, whether it be curricular, co-curricular or extracurriculat.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

This study has been a social psychological analysis of certain aspects of the problem of high school dropouts. A conscious effort has been made to avoid developing a mere description of the dropout. Instead, we have attempted to discuss and analyze the problem in terms of certain social psychological concepts (such as reference groups, identification, and values) and concepts related to the above or to academic success (family integration, achievement values, self-image).

Our primary purpose has been to determine the effect that identification with certain reference groups has on dropping out. In particular we have been concerned with three reference groups which might be expected to be of special importance with regard to education: the family, the peer group, and teachers. A considerable number of previous studies justify our concern with these three groups. (See Chapter One.)

Of course, simply identifying with a particular group does not, in and of itself, lead to behavior. Reference groups are influential in affecting behavior to the extent that they transmit values related to behavior. For our specific concern, we have been interested in the reference groups' values concerning education.

In addition to a study of the basic variables just mentioned, we have also been concerned with several related variables. Family integration is one of these. The previously cited work of Cervantes and Elder suggested that the importance of familial influences is in part determined by the kinds of relations that exist among family members. We have translated aspects of this idea into the concept of family integration. It has been our expectation that a high degree of family integration will facilitate both identification with family members and the development of attitudes favorable to education.

Other research, particularly that of Rosen, led us to a consideration of the influence of the above reference groups on the "achievement values." Since a huge body of research points to

possession of achievement values as being essential for "success" in the American system, we could not overlook this variable. Similarly, we have been concerned with the concept of self-image, or, more specifically, with the academic self-concept. We have examined these variables not only because they have been shown to be related to academic success, but also because they are two variables that we suspect can be strongly influenced by reference groups.

Finally we have also been concerned with the influence of extra-familial reference groups, specifically, with peers and teachers, and identification with these groups and their values.

To test the interrelating influences of the above on dropping out, the following research strategy was developed. One year after a population of 2007 high school students responded to a 44 page questionnaire designed to examine our theoretical scheme, a list of 122 students was developed. These students, in the year subsequent to the administration of the questionnaire, had dropped out of high school. Two control groups of equal size were then developed. One of these was randomly selected, the other was matched on five variables: age, sex, school, ethnicity, and I. Q. Using the responses of these three groups, eleven hypotheses concerning family, peer, and school influences were tested. Each hypothesis was developed from the theoretical scheme we have just described.

Table 70 summarizes the information on which hypotheses were or were not supported, and for which set of comparisons. If we consider those hypotheses related to the family (Hypotheses 1-7), we see that for the dropout-random comparison, four hypotheses were supported and two were partially supported. Or, to put it another way, seven of the ten sets of tables which present data related to these hypotheses indicate support for the hypotheses. For the dropout-matched comparison, two hypotheses are supported, four are not, and one is partially supported. Or, four of ten sets of tests support our hypotheses. When the findings are looked at in this fashion, we can see further support for our previous assertion that the family is an important factor in influencing education behavior for those students who do not come from minority group backgrounds.

Also in line with our previous suggestion, we note that the hypotheses related to the non-family reference groups yield an opposite set of findings. None of the four hypotheses related to the peer group or to teachers, or none of seven sets of tests, are validated for the dropout-random comparison. For the dropout-matched comparison, three of the four hypotheses are at least partially validated; four of seven sets of tests indicate support.

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Table 70

Summary of Hypotheses

Hypotheses Number	Tables	Number of Tests Supporting Hypotheses/Total Number of Tests	
		Random	Matched
1	6-9	1/2	0/2
2	14-17	1/2	1/2
3	18-21	2/2	2/2
4	30-31	0/1	0/1
5	32-33	1/1	0/1
6	34-35	1/1	0/1
7	36-37	1/1	1/1
8	38-39	0/1	1/1
9	40-45	0/3	2/3
10	53-54	0/1	0/1
11	55-58	0/2	1/2
Total for Hypotheses Related to the Family (Numbers 1-7)		7/10	4/10
Total for Hypotheses Not Related to the Family (Numbers 8-11)		0/7	4/7

Only Hypothesis 10 receives no support at all. These findings
suggest that non-family influecnes may be more crucial than family
influences for minority group members.

Our conclusions, therefore, must be stated with certain qualifi-
cations. In general, we believe that it is safe to say that the
general scheme involving identification, reference groups, and
values as outlined in Chapter One is useful. However, we must
delineate which reference groups have an influence on which subjects.
Our analysis indicates that the family plays an ifluential role in
preventing dropout behavior among the "Anglo" students, but not
among the minority group students. On the other hand, the peer
group and teachers play an influential role in preventing dropout
behavior among minority group members, but not among the "Anglos."

Having concluded that the general social psychological notions
with which we began this study have been shown to be correct, it
seems appropriate now to ask what kinds of practical applications
can be made using the information that has been uncovered. In this
discussion we shall limit ourselves to consideration of the reference
groups' influences.

Perhaps the most important finding in this study is the fact
that majority and minority group members are influenced to stay in
school by different reference groups, the family for the former and
peer groups and teachers for the latter.* This finding, coupled
with current knowledge concerning differences in Negro and white
families, suggests two possible strategies, one long-term and one
short-term.

The long-term strategy can be simply stated: Negro families
must become as similar to white families as possible. Actually
achieving this strategy, however, is not an easy task. It is, how-
ever, a task that has been recognized as essential by the federal
government, by civil rights groups, and by many others. We do not
here propose to offer suggestions for the implementation of this
strategy.

_____

*It should be pointed out that this finding was made by
inference; it has not been proven. We have inferred the differences
due to ethnicity from the differences between the two control groups.
Of the five control variables, ethnicity is the only one which offers
a logical explanation for our findings. However, to "prove" our
findings, further work would have to be done. This work should focus
its attention exclusively on the ethnicity of the subjects as an
independent variable.

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The alternative, short-run strategy involves the schools. Since our findings suggest that the schools do play a role in preventing school withdrawal among minority group students, it is our suggestion that the schools must double and redouble their efforts to retain these students. The schools somehow must see to it that the school is an attractive place for the minority group student. One way of implementing this suggestion would be to have an ample supply of minority group members in positions of prestige within the school, that is, as teachers, counsellors, and administrators. This need, there is reason to suspect, is especially acute for the Spanish-speaking groups. As another suggestion, some additional extra-curricular activities which are especially attractive to minority group members could perhaps be added to the school's offerings. It should be noted that we cannot document the utility of these suggestions. We make them only as outside observers, hopefully objective, hopefully aware of a certain opportunity which the schools have open to them. Finally, we can only suggest that unless the school in cooperation with all available agencies, is prepared to experiment with itself in an effort to reach the potential dropout, there is little prospect for the elimination of the problem.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table A.1

Geographic Mobility and Dropping Out (R)

	No. of Other Residences				
	None	One	Two	Three or More	(N)
Dropouts	43.8	52.2	48.6	70.0	(122)
Random Controls	56.3	47.8	51.4	30.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (112)	100.0 (67)	100.0 (35)	100.0 (30)	(244)

G = .217

p < .05

Table A.2

Geographic Mobility and Dropping Out (M)

	No. of Other Residences				
	None	One	Two	Three or More	(N)
Dropouts	49.0	43.8	44.7	84.0	(122)
Matched Controls	51.0	56.3	55.3	16.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (100)	100.0 (80)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (25)	(243)

G = .147

p < .20

Table A.3

Region of Birth and Dropping Out (R)

| | Region of Birth | | | | | |
	Calumet Area	Non-South U.S.A.	South U.S.A.	Europe	Latin America	(N)
Dropouts	46.5	62.5	61.5	25.0	54.8	(121)
Random Controls	53.3	37.5	38.5	75.0	45.2	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (144)	100.0 (16)	100.0 (39)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (31)	(242)

$$x^2 = 7.06$$

$$p < .20$$

Table A.4

Region of Birth and Dropping Out (M)

| | Region of Birth | | | | | |
	Calumet Area	Non-South U.S.A.	South U.S.A.	Europe	Latin America	(N)
Dropouts	50.4	58.8	47.1	37.5	53.1	(121)
Matched Controls	49.6	41.2	52.9	62.5	46.9	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (133)	100.0 (17)	100.0 (51)	100.0 (8)	100.0 (32)	(241)

$$x^2 = 1.33$$

$$p = N.S.$$

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Table A.5

Religion and Dropping Out (R)*

| | Religion | | | |
	Protestant	Catholic	Other	(N)
Dropouts	50.4	54.5	8.5	(121)
Random Controls	49.6	45.5	91.5	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (119)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (12)	(241)

$$x^2 = 9.17$$

$$p < .02$$

Table A.6

Religion and Dropping Out (M)**

| | Religion | | | |
	Protestant	Catholic	Other	(N)
Dropouts	54.5	49.1	11.1	(121)
Matched Controls	45.5	50.9	88.9	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (110)	100.0 (122)	100.0 (9)	(241)

$$x^2 = 0.47; \ p = N.S.$$

*In Table A.5., all statistical significance apparently comes from the "Other" cell. A comparison of only Protestants and Catholics yields a non-significant Chi-square.

**Chi-square value is for a Protestant-Catholic comparison only; N for the "Other" cell is too small to permit statistical evaluation.

Table A.7

Religious Attendance and Dropping Out (R)

| | Religious Attendance | | | |
	Weekly	Bi-Monthly	Rarely or Never	(N)
Dropouts	42.3	53.1	64.3	(113)
Random Controls	57.7	46.9	35.7	(117)
Totals (N)	100.0 (142)	100.0 (32)	100.0 (56)	(230)

$$G = .334$$
$$p < .10$$

Table A.8

Religious Attendance and Dropping Out (M)

| | Religious Attendance | | | |
	Weekly	Bi-Monthly	Rarely or Never	(N)
Dropouts	44.8	41.5	67.9	(113)
Matched Controls	55.2	58.5	32.1	(115)
Totals (N)	100.0 (134)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (53)	(228)

$$G = .271$$
$$p < .20$$

110

Table A.9

Family Structure and Dropping Out (R)

	Both Parents	Mother Only	Other	(N)
	Responses to "With Whom Do You Live?"			
Dropouts	43.9	65.0	56.8	(120)
Random Controls	56.1	35.0	43.2	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (157)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (44)	(241)

$$x^2 = 6.71$$
$$p < .05$$

Table A.10

Family Structure and Dropping Out (M)

	Both Parents	Mother Only	Other	(N)
	Responses to "With Whom Do You Live?"			
Dropouts	46.9	48.1	61.0	(120)
Matched Controls	53.1	51.9	39.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (147)	100.0 (54)	100.0 (41)	(242)

$$x^2 = 2.58$$
$$p = N.S.$$

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Table A.11

Size of Family and Dropping Out (R)

	Number of Siblings			
	0-2	3-5	6+	(N)
Dropouts	39.1	48.4	60.3	(120)
Random Controls	60.9	51.6	39.7	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (69)	100.0 (95)	100.0 (78)	(242)

$$G = .269$$
$$p < .01$$

Table A.12

Size of Family and Dropping Out (M)

	Number of Siblings			
	0-2	3-5	6+	(N)
Dropouts	45.0	51.1	52.2	(120)
Matched Controls	55.0	48.9	47.8	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (60)	100.0 (90)	100.0 (90)	(240)

$$G = .086$$
$$p = N.S.$$

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Table A.13

Father's Education and Dropping Out (R)

	Years of Education					
	13+	12	10-11	7-9	6 or less	(N)
Dropouts	43.8	49.2	37.5	54.3	55.9	(112)
Random Controls	56.3	50.8	62.5	45.7	44.1	(116)
Totals (N)	100.0 (16)	100.0 (59)	100.0 (48)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (59)	(228)

G = .116

p = N.S.

Table A.14

Father's Education and Dropping Out (M)

	Years of Education					
	13+	12	10-11	7-9	6 or less	(N)
Dropouts	63.6	46.0	52.9	52.1	50.0	(112)
Matched Controls	36.4	54.0	47.1	47.9	50.0	(110)
Totals (N)	100.0 (11)	100.0 (63)	100.0 (34)	100.0 (48)	100.0 (66)	(222)

G = .003

p = N.S.

113

Table A.15

Father's Occupation and Dropping Out (R)

	Occupational Status				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	57.1	54.5	36.9	35.7	(88)
Random Controls	42.9	45.5	63.1	64.3	(91)
Totals (N)	100.0 (14)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (42)	(179)

G = .258

p < .05

Table A.16

Father's Occupation and Dropping Out (M)

	Occupational Status				
	Low	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	54.5	51.8	45.9	50.0	(88)
Matched Controls	45.5	48.2	54.1	50.0	(84)
Totals (N)	100.0 (10)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (81)	100.0 (44)	(172)

G = .001

p = N.S.

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Table A.17

Automobile Access and Dropping Out (R)

	Access to a Car		
	No	Yes	(N)
Dropouts	45.4	63.6	(116)
Random Controls	54.6	36.4	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (94)	(238)

$$G = .357$$
$$p < .02$$

Table A.18

Automobile Access and Dropping Out (M)

	Access to a Car		
	No	Yes	(N)
Dropouts	46.1	60.9	(116)
Matched Controls	53.9	39.1	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (191)	(237)

$$G = .291$$
$$p < .10$$

115

Table A.19

Dating Frequency and Dropping Out (R)

	Dating Frequency					
	Don't Date	Rare	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	30.4	25.0	39.5	59.5	74.0	(121)
Random Controls	69.6	75.0	60.5	40.5	36.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (79)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (77)	(243)

$$G = .549$$
$$p < .001$$

Table A.20

Dating Frequency and Dropping Out (M)

	Dating Frequency					
	Don't Date	Rare	2	3	High	(N)
Dropouts	34.3	25.0	41.7	42.3	78.1	(121)
Matched Controls	65.7	75.0	58.3	57.7	21.9	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (70)	100.0 (12)	100.0 (36)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (73)	(243)

$$G = .499$$
$$p < .001$$

116

Table A.21

Dating Type and Dropping Out (R)

	Dating Type					
	All Steady	Mostly Steady	Mostly Casual	All Casual	Don't Date	(N)
Dropouts	73.9	69.2	56.1	45.7	30.1	(121)
Random Controls	26.1	30.8	43.9	54.3	69.9	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (26)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (46)	100.0 (83)	(242)

$$G = .479$$
$$p < .001$$

Table A.22

Dating Type and Dropping Out (M)

	Dating Type					
	All Steady	Mostly Steady	Mostly Casual	All Casual	Don't Date	(N)
Dropouts	60.7	62.1	52.3	51.2	34.7	(121)
Matched Controls	39.3	37.9	47.7	48.8	65.3	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (56)	100.0 (29)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (72)	(242)

$$G = .287$$
$$p < .001$$

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Table A.23

Course Failures and Dropping Out (R)

| | _____ Number of Failures _____ | | | | | | |
	None	1	2-4	5-9	10-14	15+	(N)
Dropouts	13.6	14.7	44.2	75.0	81.8	73.1	(122)
Random Controls	86.4	85.3	55.8	25.0	18.2	26.9	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (34)	100.0 (52)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (26)	(244)

$$G = .675$$
$$p < .001$$

Table A.24

Course Failures and Dropping Out (M)

| | _____ Number of Failures _____ | | | | | | |
	None	1	2-4	5-9	10-14	15+	(N)
Dropouts	20.0	21.7	37.1	60.0	73.5	76.0	(122)
Matched Controls	80.0	78.3	62.9	40.0	26.5	24.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (30)	100.0 (23)	100.0 (62)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (25)	(244)

$$G = .554$$
$$p < .001$$

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Table A.25

Absenteeism and Dropping Out (R)

| | Days Absent, 1965-66 | | | | | | |
	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26+	(N)
Dropouts	28.4	40.0	58.8	61.1	66.7	81.0	(122)
Random Controls	71.6	60.0	41.2	38.9	33.3	19.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (74)	100.0 (55)	100.0 (34)	100.0 (18)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (42)	(244)

$$G = .520$$
$$p < .001$$

Table A.26

Absenteeism and Dropping Out (M)

| | Days Absent, 1965-66 | | | | | | |
	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26+	(N)
Dropouts	28.8	43.1	54.1	55.0	63.6	82.9	(122)
Matched Controls	71.2	56.9	45.9	45.0	36.4	17.1	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (73)	100.0 (51)	100.0 (37)	100.0 (20)	100.0 (22)	100.0 (41)	(244)

$$G = .496$$
$$p < .001$$

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Table A.27

Semesters Repeated and Dropping Out (R)

| | Semesters Repeated | | | |
	None	1-2	3+	(N)
Dropouts	39.7	55.8	80.0	(117)
Random Controls	60.3	44.2	20.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (136)	100.0 (77)	100.0 (25)	(238)

G = .432

p < .001

Table A.28

Semesters Repeated and Dropping Out (M)

| | Semesters Repeated | | | |
	None	1-2	3+	(N)
Dropouts	40.0	59.7	66.7	(117)
Matched Controls	60.0	40.3	33.3	(120)
Totals (N)	100.0 (135)	100.0 (72)	100.0 (30)	(237)

G = .382

p < .001

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Table A.29

Ethnicity and Dropping Out (R)

| | Ethnicity | | | |
	White	Negro	Latin	(N)
Dropouts	37.8	54.9	57.5	(122)
Random Controls	62.2	45.1	42.5	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (82)	100.0 (80)	(244)

$$x^2 = 7.46$$

$$p < .05$$

Table A.30

I. Q. and Dropping Out (R)

| | I. Q. Score | | | | | | |
	Below 80	80-89	90-99	100-109	110-119	120+	(N)
Dropouts	73.5	58.5	57.4	38.8	25.9	15.4	(119)
Random Controls	26.5	41.5	42.6	61.2	74.1	84.6	(118)
Totals (N)	100.0 (34)	100.0 (53)	100.0 (61)	100.0 (49)	100.0 (27)	100.0 (13)	(237)

$$G = .431$$

$$p < .001$$

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Table A.31

Area of Residence and Dropping Out (R)

| | Census Tract Number | | | | | | | | | | |
	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	(N)
Dropouts	42.9	52.3	58.8	62.5	63.2	45.0	40.0	30.8	35.0	42.9	(122)
Random Controls	57.1	47.7	41.2	37.5	35.8	55.0	60.0	69.2	65.0	57.1	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (44)	100.0 (17)	100.0 (32)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (20)	100.0 (25)	100.0 (13)	100.0 (20)	100.0 (14)	(244)

$x^2 = 10.89$

p = N.S.

Table A.32

Area of Residence and Dropping Out (M)

| | Census Tract Number | | | | | | | | | | |
	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	(N)
Dropouts	60.0	46.0	43.5	48.8	60.0	55.3	47.5	57.1	36.8	50.0	(122)
Matched Controls	40.0	54.0	56.5	51.2	40.0	43.8	52.4	42.9	63.2	50.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (15)	100.0 (50)	100.0 (23)	100.0 (41)	100.0 (40)	100.0 (16)	100.0 (21)	100.0 (7)	100.0 (19)	100.0 (12)	(244)

$x^2 = 4.69$

p = N.S.

Table A.33

Mean Family Integration Scores
For Selected Groups

Group	Mean Score	Stnd. Dev.	N
White, Matched	30.71	4.89	31
Negro, Random	30.27	6.89	37
White, Random	29.86	4.61	51
Total, Random	29.84	7.43	122
Negro, Matched	29.84	5.70	45
Negro, Dropouts	29.77	6.57	45
Total, Matched	29.58	6.87	122
Latin, Random	29.32	4.50	34
Latin, Matched	28.57	8.67	46
Total, Dropouts	28.01	7.43	122
Latin, Dropouts	27.02	7.84	46
White, Dropouts	26.90	7.48	31

Significant Differences

Higher Group	Lower Group	z	p
Total, Matched	Total, Dropouts	1.72	.05
Total, Random	Total, Dropouts	2.20	.05
White, Matched	White, Dropouts	2.37	.01
White, Random	White, Dropouts	1.99	.05
Latin, Random	Latin, Dropouts	1.66	.05
Negro, Dropouts	White, Dropouts	1.73	.05
Negro, Dropouts	Latin, Dropouts	1.82	.05

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Table A.34

Main Provider and Dropping Out (R)

| | Main Provider | | | |
	Father	Mother	Other	(N)
Dropouts	41.3	55.3	75.0	(121)
Random Controls	58.7	44.7	25.0	(122)
Totals (N)	100.0 (189)	100.0 (38)	100.0 (16)	(243)

$$x^2 = 5.25$$
$$p < .10$$

Table A.35

Main Provider and Dropping Out (M)

| | Main Provider | | | |
	Father	Mother	Other	(N)
Dropouts	51.8	44.7	48.0	(121)
Matched Controls	48.2	55.3	52.0	(121)
Totals (N)	100.0 (170)	100.0 (47)	100.0 (25)	(242)

$$x^2 = 0.78$$
$$p = N.S.$$

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Table A.36

Patterns of Dominant Identification,
By Ethnicity (Percent Distribution)*

| | Ethnicity | | | |
	White	Latin	Negro	(N)
Identify more with Father	38.4	28.9	17.2	(319)
Identify with Both Equally	32.7	23.6	25.8	(307)
Identify more with Mother	28.9	47.5	57.0	(570)
Totals (N)	100.0 (550)	100.0 (297)	100.0 (349)	(1196)

*Adapted from Williams (in progress).

APPENDIX B

PURDUE YOUTH STUDY

sponsored by the Department of Sociology, Purdue University

Dr. E. Z. Dager, director

THIS IS NOT A TEST OF ANY KIND. It is a scientific study of young
people and the way they feel about school, the groups to which they
belong, and their plans for the future. Since we want to know what
young people think, we ask your help in this research. You can
help us by telling us exactly how you feel.

There are no right or wrong answers to the questions asked. No one
will see your answers except the people at Purdue. YOUR TEACHERS
WILL NOT SEE YOUR ANSWERS.

Please answer each question carefully. Answer them in the order
they are asked; please DO NOT skip around. Work as quickly as you
can. If you have a problem, raise your hand and someone will come
to help you. THANK YOU very much for your help. Only through
your cooperation can studies like this be made.

PLEASE PRINT:

1. What is your name? _____
    first   middle   last

2. What is your address? _____
    number   street   city

3. When were you born? _____
    month   date   year

4. Where were you born? _____
    city   state

5. What is your sex?

    _____ male

    _____ female

6. What year are you in school?

    _____ 9th grade

    _____ 10th grade

    _____ 11th grade

    _____ 12th grade

7. How long have you lived in East Chicago?

    _____ lived here all my life

    _____ came here before or during grade school

    _____ came here during high school, but before this year

    _____ came here this year

    _____ do not live in East Chicago

8. In how many places besides East Chicago have you lived?

    _____ none   _____ three

    _____ one   _____ four

    _____ two   _____ five or more

9. To your knowledge, will your family be moving away from East Chicago soon?

_____ no

_____
| yes |
| When? |
| Where? |

10. What is your religion?

_____ Catholic

_____ Jewish

_____
| Protestant |
| _____ Baptist |
| _____ Episcopalian |
| _____ Disciples of Christ |
| _____ Methodist |
| _____ Presbyterian |
| _____ Lutheran |
| _____ Other; please specify _____ |

11. What is your mother's religion? _____

12. What is your father's religion? _____

13. How often do you attend religious services?

_____ at least once a week

_____ about two or three times a month

_____ about once a month

_____ once in a while

_____ never

14. How often does your mother attend religious services?

___ at least once a week

___ about two or three times a month

___ about once a month

___ once in a while

___ never

15. How often does your father attend religious services?

___ at least once a week

___ about two or three times a month

___ about once a month

___ once in a while

___ never

16. Other than being American, what do you consider yourself to be?

___	Austrian	___	Italian
___	Canadian	___	Mexican
___	Czechoslovakian	___	Negro
___	English	___	Polish
___	French	___	Puerto Rican
___	German	___	Russian
___	Hungarian	___	Other; please specify
___	Irish		

_____

17. Where was your mother born? _____

      state   country

18. Where was your father born? _____

      state   country

19. Do you live with both your parents, with one of them, with one of them and a stepparent, or with neither of them?

_____ both parents

_____ | mother alone
_____ | father alone
_____ | mother and stepfather
_____ | father and stepmother
_____ | neither mother nor father; please specify _____
        | If you are not living with both original parents, how did the separation come about?
        | _____ father's death
        | _____ mother's death
        | _____ parents divorced
        | _____ parents separated
        | _____ other; please specify _____

20. How many brothers and sisters do you have? _____

21. How many brothers are older than you? _____

22. How many sisters are older than you? _____

23. How far did your parents go in school? Please make one check (√) for your father and one check for your mother.

Father   Mother

_____   _____ under 7 years of school

_____   _____ 7 to 9 years of school

_____   _____ 10 to 11 years of school

_____   _____ high school graduate

_____   _____ 1 to 3 years of college; business school

_____   _____ four year college graduate

_____   _____ professional or graduate school

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24. Who is the main provider (breadwinner) in your family?_____

25. Is your father (or main provider) working now?

    _____ working

    _____ unemployed

    _____ retired

26. Where does he work? (if unemployed or retired, where did he
    last work?) Examples: Inland Steel, Youngstown, Standard Oil,
    Goldblatts.

    _____

27. What does he do? (if unemployed or retired, what did he last do?)
    Examples: foreman in a machine shop, sales clerk in a paint
    department, shearman in a mill, policeman. PLEASE BE SPECIFIC.

    _____

    _____

28. Does your father (or main provider) like his job?

    _____ likes it very much

    _____ likes it

    _____ dislikes it

    _____ dislikes it very much

29. Does your mother (or stepmother) have a job now?

    _____ no

    _____ yes, part time

    _____ yes, full time

30. If she has a job now, what does she do? PLEASE BE SPECIFIC.

    _____

    _____

31. Does your mother (or stepmother) like her job?

    _____ likes it very much

    _____ likes it

    _____ dislikes it

    _____ dislikes it very much

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32. Do you have a job during the school year?

_____ no

_____
> yes, and my job is _____
>
> Do you give any of the money you earn to your family?
>
> _____ no
> _____ yes, a little
> _____ yes, most of it

33. Which of the following applies to you?

_____ I own a car

_____ I am allowed to use the family car

_____ I do not drive a car

_____ Other; please specify _____

34. Which of the following best describes how often you date?

_____ about once a year

_____ about once a month

_____ about once a week

_____ more than once a week

_____ I don't date

35. How would you describe your present dating?

_____ all steady dating

_____ mostly steady dating, some casual dating

_____ mostly casual dating, some steady dating

_____ all casual dating

_____ I don't date

36. Have you EVER repeated a year of school?

_____ no

_____ yes

how many? _____

37. Do you smoke?

_____ yes, often

_____ yes, once in a while

_____ no

There are no right answers to the questions below. How do you feel about each of them?

1. Parents seem to believe that you can't take the opinion of a teenager seriously.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

2. Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realize it was beneficial.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

3. If my parents told me to stop seeing a friend of my own sex, I'd see that friend anyway.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

4. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

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5. Parents would be greatly upset if their daughter ended up with no career other than housewife.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

6. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

7. Even when teenagers get married their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

8. Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

9. Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

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10. When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

11. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used to get started in a business or for an education.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

12. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

13. All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

14. The best kind of job is where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

15. Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway.

_____ strongly agree   _____ disagree

_____ agree   _____ strongly disagree

16. Most people can be trusted.

    _____ strongly agree

    _____ agree

    _____ disagree

    _____ strongly disagree

17. If you don't look out for yourself people will take advantage of you.

    _____ strongly agree

    _____ agree

    _____ disagree

    _____ strongly disagree

18. In these days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

    _____ strongly agree

    _____ agree

    _____ disagree

    _____ strongly disagree

19. The job should come first, even if it means sacrificing time from recreation.

    _____ strongly agree

    _____ agree

    _____ disagree

    _____ strongly disagree

20. The best way to judge a man is by his success in his occupation.

    _____ strongly agree

    _____ agree

    _____ disagree

    _____ strongly disagree

21. The most important qualities of a real man are determination and driving ambition.

    _____ strongly agree

    _____ agree

    _____ disagree

    _____ strongly disagree

22. The most important thing for a parent to do is to help his children get further ahead in the world than he did.

___ strongly agree

___ agree

___ disagree

___ strongly disagree

23. The most important purpose of the public schools is to prepare people for occupational success.

___ strongly agree

___ agree

___ disagree

___ strongly disagree

Listed below are some things that might be very important to you and some things that are not so important to you. Would you please indicate whether each of the following is very important to you, important, slightly important, or not at all important to you RIGHT NOW.

	Very important	Important	Slightly important	Not at all important
Getting good grades in school	___	___	___	___
Being treated as an adult	___	___	___	___
Being popular at school	___	___	___	___
Having a nice car	___	___	___	___
Finishing high school	___	___	___	___
Being on my own	___	___	___	___
Dating	___	___	___	___
Having nice clothes	___	___	___	___
Religion	___	___	___	___

(continued)	Very important	Important	Slightly important	Not at all important
Earning my own money	___	___	___	___
Going steady	___	___	___	___
Being good in sports	___	___	___	___
Going to business school or technical school	___	___	___	___
Getting married as soon as possible	___	___	___	___
Being looked up to by others	___	___	___	___
My courses in school	___	___	___	___
Belonging to a gang	___	___	___	___
Reading	___	___	___	___
Going to college	___	___	___	___

In this part, we are interested in how much or how little certain people help you and influence you. Place a check in the column which best describes how you feel towards EACH person listed below. Please raise your hand if you have any questions.

Think of all the important things in your life. Considering all of these things, would you say that the following people HELP YOU very much to get these important things, help you, help you a little, or don't help you at all?

	Helps me very much	Helps me	Helps me a little	Doesn't help me at all
1. My father	___	___	___	___
2. My mother	___	___	___	___
3. My brothers and sisters	___	___	___	___
4. My favorite teacher	___	___	___	___
5. My other teachers at school	___	___	___	___
6. My friends at school	___	___	___	___
7. My friends outside of school	___	___	___	___
8. My classmates	___	___	___	___

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever helps you the most.

Now think of everything having to do with your education. Considering ONLY YOUR EDUCATION, would you say the following people help you very much, help you, help you a little, or don't help you at all?

	Helps me very much	Helps me	Helps me a little	Doesn't help me at all
1. My father	___	___	___	___
2. My mother	___	___	___	___
3. My brothers and sisters	___	___	___	___
4. My favorite teacher	___	___	___	___
5. My other teachers at school	___	___	___	___
6. My friends at school	___	___	___	___
7. My friends outside of school	___	___	___	___
8. My classmates	___	___	___	___

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever helps you the most with your education.

Now think for a second about how much each of the following people INFLUENCE YOU. Think about their influence in ALL AREAS of you life. Would you say that the following people influence you very much, some, a little, or not at all?

	Influences me very much	Influences me	Influences me a little	Doesn't influence me at all
1. My father	___	___	___	___
2. My mother	___	___	___	___
3. My brothers and sisters	___	___	___	___
4. My favorite teacher	___	___	___	___
5. My other teachers at school	___	___	___	___
6. My friends at school	___	___	___	___
7. My friends outside of school	___	___	___	___
8. My classmates	___	___	___	___

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever influences you the most.

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Think again about school. How much do these people influence you with regard to anything that has to do WITH SCHOOL?

	Influences me very much	Influences me	Influences me a little	Doesn't influence me at all
1. My father	____	____	____	____
2. My mother	____	____	____	____
3. My brothers and sisters	____	____	____	____
4. My favorite teacher	____	____	____	____
5. My other teachers at school	____	____	____	____
6. My friends at school	____	____	____	____
7. My friends outside of school	____	____	____	____
8. My classmates	____	____	____	____

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever influences you the most where school in concerned.

How much are the following people SIMILAR to you? Think about any of the things you might have in common. Would you say that these people are very similar to you, similar, a little similar, or not at all similar?

	Very similar to me	Similar to me	A little similar to me	Not at all similar to me
1. My father	____	____	____	____
2. My mother	____	____	____	____
3. My brothers and sisters	____	____	____	____
4. My favorite teacher	____	____	____	____
5. My other teachers at school	____	____	____	____
6. My friends at school	____	____	____	____
7. My friends outside of school	____	____	____	____
8. My classmates	____	____	____	____
9. High school dropouts	____	____	____	____
10. College graduates	____	____	____	____

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever is most similar to you.

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Now think again about high school and education. With regard to
your ideas and beliefs about education, would you say that the
following people are very similar to you, similar, a little similar,
or not at all similar?

	Very similar to me	Similar to me	A little similar to me	Not at all similar to me
1. My father	____	____	____	____
2. My mother	____	____	____	____
3. My brothers and sisters	____	____	____	____
4. My favorite teacher	____	____	____	____
5. My other teachers at school	____	____	____	____
6. My friends at school	____	____	____	____
7. My friends outside of school	____	____	____	____
8. My classmates	____	____	____	____
9. High school dropouts	____	____	____	____
10. College graduates	____	____	____	____

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever is most
similar to you where school is concerned.

Some of the people below are very CLOSE TO YOU -- you care about
them very much. There are others that you may not care about at
all -- you don't feel close to them at all. Would you say that
the following people are very close to you, close, a little close,
or not at all close to you?

	Very close to me	Close to me	A little close to me	Not at all close to me
1. My father	____	____	____	____
2. My mother	____	____	____	____
3. My brothers and sisters	____	____	____	____
4. My favorite teacher	____	____	____	____
5. My other teachers at school	____	____	____	____
6. My friends at school	____	____	____	____
7. My friends outside of school	____	____	____	____
8. My classmates	____	____	____	____

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever is closest
to you.

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Now think about how much or how little you ADMIRE each of the following people. Would you say that you admire them very much, admire them, admire them a little, or don't admire them at all?

	Admire them very much	Admire them	Admire them a little	Don't admire them at all
1. My father	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. My mother	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. My brothers and sisters	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. My favorite teacher	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. My other teachers at school	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. My friends at school	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. My friends outside of school	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. My classmates	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. High school dropouts	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. College graduates	_____	_____	_____	_____

Please go back and circle the ONE number of whomever you admire most.

DOUBLE CHECK Have you placed a check for EACH person on ALL of the past eight questions? Have you circled the most important person each time?

Some of the earlier questions you answered were about things that you thought were important or not important. Think now about how important your FATHER (stepfather) thinks these things are FOR YOU RIGHT NOW. Does he think they are important for you, or not important for you right now?

	Very important	Important	Slightly important	Not at all important
Getting good grades in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being treated as an adult	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being popular at school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having a nice car	_____	_____	_____	_____
Finishing high school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being on my own	_____	_____	_____	_____
Dating	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having nice clothes	_____	_____	_____	_____
Religion	_____	_____	_____	_____
Earning my own money	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going steady	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being good in sports	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to business school or technical school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Getting married as soon as possible	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being looked up to by others	_____	_____	_____	_____
My courses in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Belonging to a gang	_____	_____	_____	_____
Reading	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to college	_____	_____	_____	_____

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How important does your MOTHER (stepmother) think these things are FOR YOU RIGHT NOW?

	Very important	Important	Slightly important	Not at all important
Getting good grades in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being treated as an adult	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being popular at school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having a nice car	_____	_____	_____	_____
Finishing high school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being on my own	_____	_____	_____	_____
Dating	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having nice clothes	_____	_____	_____	_____
Religion	_____	_____	_____	_____
Earning my own money	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going steady	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being good in sports	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to business school or technical school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Getting married as soon as possible	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being looked up to by others	_____	_____	_____	_____
My courses in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Belonging to a gang	_____	_____	_____	_____
Reading	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to college	_____	_____	_____	_____

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How important do YOUR FRIENDS think these things are FOR YOU
RIGHT NOW?

	Very important	Important	Slightly important	Not at all important
Getting good grades in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being treated as an adult	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being popular at school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having a nice car	_____	_____	_____	_____
Finishing high school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being on my own	_____	_____	_____	_____
Dating	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having nice clothes	_____	_____	_____	_____
Religion	_____	_____	_____	_____
Earning my own money	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going steady	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being good in sports	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to business school or technical school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Getting married as soon as possible	_____	_____	_____	_____
Being looked up to by others	_____	_____	_____	_____
My courses in school	_____	_____	_____	_____
Belonging to a gang	_____	_____	_____	_____
Reading	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to college	_____	_____	_____	_____

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How important do your TEACHERS think these things are FOR YOU RIGHT NOW?

	Very important	Important	Slightly important	Not at all important
Getting good grades in school	___	___	___	___
Being treated as an adult	___	___	___	___
Being popular at school	___	___	___	___
Having a nice car	___	___	___	___
Finishing high school	___	___	___	___
Being on my own	___	___	___	___
Dating	___	___	___	___
Having nice clothes	___	___	___	___
Religion	___	___	___	___
Earning my own money	___	___	___	___
Going steady	___	___	___	___
Being good in sports	___	___	___	___
Going to business school or technical school	___	___	___	___
Getting married as soon as possible	___	___	___	___
Being looked up to by others	___	___	___	___
My courses in school	___	___	___	___
Belonging to a gang	___	___	___	___
Reading	___	___	___	___
Going to college	___	___	___	___

The follwoing questions are about YOU. Please read each statement, and then decide whether you agree or disagree with it. Place a ✓ next to the statement that best describes how you feel.

1. I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
   _____ strongly agree
   _____ agree
   _____ disagree
   _____ strongly disagree

2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
   _____ strongly agree
   _____ agree
   _____ disagree
   _____ strongly disagree

3. All in all, I am inclined to think that I am a failure.
   _____ strongly agree
   _____ agree
   _____ disagree
   _____ strongly disagree

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
   _____ strongly agree
   _____ agree
   _____ disagree
   _____ strongly disagree

5. I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.
   _____ strongly agree
   _____ agree
   _____ disagree
   _____ strongly disagree

6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

9. I certainly feel useless at times.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

10. At times I think I am no good at all.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

11. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with your close friends?

_____ I am the best

_____ I am above average

_____ I am average

_____ I am below average

_____ I am the poorest

12. How do you rate yourself in school ability compared with those in your class in school?

_____ I am among the best

_____ I am above average

_____ I am average

_____ I am below average

_____ I am among the poorest

13. Where do you think you would rank in your class in high school?

_____ among the best

_____ above average

_____ average

_____ below average

_____ among the poorest

14. Do you think you have the ability to complete high school?

_____ yes, definitely

_____ yes, probably

_____ not sure either way

_____ probably not

_____ no

15. Forget for a moment how others grade your work. In your own opinion, how good do you think your work is?

_____ My work is excellent

_____ My work is good

_____ My work is average

_____ My work is below average

_____ My work is much below average

16. What kind of grades do you think you are CAPABLE of getting?

_____ mostly A's

_____ mostly B's

_____ mostly C's

_____ mostly D's

_____ mostly F's

17. Do you think you have the ability to complete college?

_____ yes, definitely

_____ yes, probably

_____ not sure either way

_____ probably not

_____ no

The questions below are about your family. Remember that no one will see your answers except the researchers at Purdue. Please answer each question carefully.

1. In my family we celebrate birthdays and some other holidays.

_____ all of the time

_____ most of the time

_____ some of the time

_____ none of the time

2. In my family we all know what is expected of us.

_____ all of the time

_____ most of the time

_____ some of the time

_____ none of the time

3. In my family there is a great deal of fighting and tension.

_____ all of the time

_____ most of the time

_____ some of the time

_____ none of the time

4. In my family we can tell each other what we think no matter what it is.

_____ all of the time

_____ most of the time

_____ some of the time

_____ none of the time

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5. In my family nothing ever seems to get done right.

    _____ all of the time

    _____ most of the time

    _____ some of the time

    _____ none of the time

6. In my family we help each other whenever we can.

    _____ all of the time

    _____ most of the time

    _____ some of the time

    _____ none of the time

7. In my family we all care about each other.

    _____ all of the time

    _____ most of the time

    _____ some of the time

    _____ none of the time

8. In my family we tell each other what our plans are.

    _____ all of the time

    _____ most of the time

    _____ some of the time

    _____ none of the time

9. In my family we stick up for each other when something goes wrong.

    _____ all of the time

    _____ most of the time

    _____ some of the time

    _____ none of the time

10. Ours is a happy family.

    _____ all of the time

    _____ most of the time

    _____ some of the time

    _____ none of the time

11. Compared to the other students at school, how "well off" financially is your family?

_____ a lot better off than most

_____ a little better off than most

_____ about the same as the others

_____ a little bit below the others

_____ a lot below the others

12. Do you worry about how "well off" financially your family is?

_____ worry a lot

_____ worry a little

_____ don't worry about it at all

13. Do you plan to help your family out financially?

_____ no

_____ yes, already am helping out

_____ yes, will help as soon as I can

_____ yes, will help sometime in the future

14. Who makes the decisions in your family?

_____ father makes all the decisions

_____ father makes most of the decisions

_____ father and mother together make the decisions

_____ mother makes most of the decisions

_____ mother makes all the decisions

15. How much influence do you have in family decisions affecting yourself?

_____ much influence

_____ some influence

_____ no influence at all

16. In your family when a decision is made about yourself that you don't like, what do you do?

_____ I feel free to complain

_____ I feel a little uneasy about complaining

_____ I feel it is better not to complain

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17. Do your parents want you to complete high school?

_____ no, they want me to quit and get a job

_____ no, they want me to quit and get married

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ | yes, they somewhat want me to complete high school
_____ | yes, they strongly want me to complete high school
|
| When did they begin talking to you about completing high school?
|
| _____ recently
| _____ when I started high school
| _____ when I was in grade school

18. Do your parents want you to go to business school or technical school after graduation from high school?

_____ no, they want me to get a job after high school

_____ no, they want me to get married after high school

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to go to business or technical school

_____ yes, they strongly want me to go to business or technical school

19. Do your parents want you to go to college?

_____ no, they want me to get a job after high school

_____ no, they want me to get married after high school

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to go to college

_____ yes, they strongly want me to go to college

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20. Have any of your older brothers or sisters left high school before graduation?

_____ yes

_____ no

_____ I have no older brothers or sisters

21. Have any of your older brothers or sisters gone to business school or technical school?

_____ yes

_____ no

_____ I have no older brothers or sisters

22. Have any of your older brothers or sisters gone to college?

_____ yes

_____ no

_____ I have no older brothers or sisters

23. How interested do you think your FATHER is in you?

_____ very interested

_____ fairly interested

_____ not interested at all

24. How interested do you think your MOTHER is in you?

_____ very interested

_____ fairly interested

_____ not interested at all

25. In your family, whom do you think is your FATHER'S favorite child?

_____ I am

_____ one of my brothers or sisters

_____ he has no definite favorites

_____ he has different favorites at different times

26. In your family, whom do you think is your MOTHER'S favorite child?

_____ I am

_____ one of my brothers or sisters

_____ she has no definite favorites

_____ she has different favorites at different times

27. How many of your friends does your FATHER know?

_____ all or most of them

_____ some of them

_____ none, or almost none, of them

28. How many of your friends does your MOTHER know?

_____ all or most of them

_____ some of them

_____ none, or almost none, of them

29. Have you ever felt that you were not wanted by your FATHER?

_____ yes, almost always

_____ yes, often

_____ sometimes

_____ rarely or never

30. Have you ever felt that you were not wanted by your MOTHER?

_____ yes, almost always

_____ yes, often

_____ sometimes

_____ rarely or never

31. I want to be (or I want my future husband to be) the kind of MAN MY FATHER IS to my mother.

_____ strongly disagree

_____ disagree

_____ agree

_____ strongly agree

32. I want to be (or I want my future wife to be) the kind of WOMAN MY MOTHER IS to my father.

_____ strongly disagree

_____ disagree

_____ agree

_____ strongly agree

33. I want to be (or I want my future husband to be) the kind of FATHER MY FATHER IS to me.

_____ strongly disagree

_____ disagree

_____ agree

_____ strongly agree

34. I want to be (or I want my future wife to be) the kind of MOTHER MY MOTHER IS to me.

_____ strongly disagree

_____ disagree

_____ agree

_____ strongly agree

35. I want to raise my children about the same way my parents raised me.

_____ strongly disagree

_____ disagree

_____ agree

_____ strongly agree

36. Compared to right now, it seems that MY CHILDHOOD was

_____ much happier than now

_____ happier than now

_____ about the same as now

_____ unhappier than now

_____ much unhappier than now

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37. If your parents told you to do one thing at school and your friends told you to do something entirely different at school, whose advice would you follow?

_____ definitely my friends' advice

_____ probably my friends' advice

_____ probably my parents' advice

_____ definitely my parents' advice

The following questions are about school, your friends, and your plans for the future. Be sure to answer every question.

1. Do you belong to any clubs or activities in school?

_____ none

_____ one

_____ two

_____ three or more

2. If you do belong to any clubs or activities in school, please list them below.

_____

_____

_____

3. Do you belong to any clubs or activities outside of school?

_____ none

_____ one

_____ two

_____ three or more

4. If you do belong to any clubs or activities outside of school, please list them below.

_____

_____

_____

5. Have you been to any of the basketball or football games since coming to high school?

_____ yes, most of them

_____ yes, a few of them

_____ no, none of them

6. How popular with the other students at school would you say you are?

_____ very popular

_____ popular

_____ somewhat popular

_____ not popular at all

7. What do you think about the popularity ratings students make of each other at your high school?

_____ very fair; all of those who are popular deserve to be

_____ fair; most of those who are popular deserve to be

_____ somewhat fair; there are some who shouldn't be popular but are

_____ not fair; the wrong students are popular

8. What kinds of grades do you get in high school? (check one)

_____ mostly A's

_____ mostly A's and B's

_____ mostly B's

_____ mostly B's and C's

_____ mostly C's

_____ mostly C's and D's

_____ mostly D's

_____ mostly D's and F's

_____ mostly F's

_____ other; what? _____

9. What do you think about the grades teachers give at your high school?

_____ very fair; all of those who get good grades deserve them

_____ fair; most of those who get good grades deserve them

_____ somewhat fair; there are some who get good grades who shouldn't

_____ not fair; the wrong students get the good grades

10. Do your teachers want you to complete high school?

_____ no, they want me to quit and get a job

_____ no, they want me to quit and get married

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to complete high school

_____ yes, they strongly want me to complete high school

11. Do your teachers want you to go to business school or technical school after graduation from high school?

_____ no, they want me to get a job after high school

_____ no, they want me to get married after high school

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to go to business or technical school

_____ yes, they strongly want me to go to business or technical school

12. Do your teachers want you to go to college?

_____ no, they want me to get a job after high school

_____ no, they want me to get married after high school

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to go to college

_____ yes, they strongly want me to go to college

13. Who are your best friends? Please PRINT their names in full below, listing your very best friend first.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

Please go back and circle the number in front of the names of those who are attending high school NOW.

14. Have you and your friends skipped school since starting high school?

_____ yes, many times

_____ yes, a few times

_____ no

15. How important is it to your friends in school that THEY get good grades?

_____ very important

_____ important

_____ a little bit important

_____ not at all important

16. Are your best friends planning to finish high school?

_____ yes, most of them

_____ yes, a few of them

_____ no

17. Are your best friends planning to go to business school or technical school?

_____ yes, most of them

_____ yes, a few of them

_____ no

18. Are your best friends planning to go to college?

_____ yes, most of them

_____ yes, a few of them

_____ no

19. Have any of your older friends left high school before graduation?

_____ yes

_____ no

_____ I have no older friends

20. Have any of your older friends gone to business school or technical school?

_____ yes

_____ no

_____ I have no older friends

21. Have any of your older friends gone to college?

_____ yes

_____ no

_____ I have no older friends

22. Do your friends want you to complete high school?

_____ no, they want me to quit and get a job

_____ no, they want me to quit and get married

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to complete high school

_____ yes, they strongly want me to complete high school

23. Do your friends want you to go to business school or technical school after graduation from high school?

_____ no, they want me to get a job after high school

_____ no, they want me to get married after high school

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ I'm not sure

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to go to business or technical school

_____ yes, they strongly want me to go to business or technical school

24. Do your friends want you to go to college?

_____ no, they want me to get a job after high school

_____ no, they want me to get married after high school

_____ no, they leave it up to me

_____ yes, they somewhat want me to go to college

_____ yes, they strongly want me to go to college

25. Now think for a moment about what you want. What type of JOB would you MOST LIKE TO HAVE ten years from now? Examples: housewife, roller at the mills, owner of a small business, secretary, mailman.

_____

_____

26. Would you say that graduation from high school will help you to do what you would like most of all?

_____ not at all

_____ a little

_____ a lot

27. Would you say that graduation from technical or business school will help you to do what you would like most of all?

_____ not at all

_____ a little

_____ a lot

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28. Would you say that graduation from college will help you to do what you would like most of all?

_____ not at all

_____ a little

_____ a lot

29. What kind of job do you think you will probably REALLY HAVE ten years from now? Take a good guess if you're not sure. More examples: housewife, salesman, schoolteacher, truck driver.

_____

_____

30. Would you say that graduation from high school will help you to do what you will probably be doing ten years from now?

_____ not at all

_____ a little

_____ a lot

31. Would you say that graduation from technical or business school will help you to do what you will probably be doing ten years from now?

_____ not at all

_____ a little

_____ a lot

32. Would you say that graduation from college will help you to do what you will probably be doing ten years from now?

_____ not at all

_____ a little

_____ a lot

33. I often think that my parents push me too much in my school work.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

34. I often think that my teachers push me too much in my school work.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

35. Most of the kids at my high school look down on those who drop out of school before graduation.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

36. Most of the kids at my high school look down on those who go to business or technical school.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

36A. Most of the kids at my high school look down on those who go to college?

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

37. A woman's place is in the home.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

38. These days a girl needs a high school education just as much as a boy.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

39. High school is "kid stuff."

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

40. Marriage is more important to me right now than staying in school.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

41. Getting a full time job is more important to me right now than staying in school.

_____ strongly agree

_____ agree

_____ disagree

_____ strongly disagree

42. IF you left school now, could you probably get the kind of job you want?

_____ yes

_____ no

43. IF you left school now, could you probably get married to the "right person?"

_____ yes

_____ no

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44. Has anyone in your school (e.g. teachers, counselors, coach) ever talked to you about finishing high school?

_____ no

_____ yes, sometimes

_____ yes, often

45. Has anyone in your school ever talked to you about going to college?

_____ no

_____ yes, but they didn't encourage me

_____ yes, and they did encourage me

46. Does anyone in your school care if you finish high school?

_____ no

_____ yes, but not very much

_____ yes, a great deal

47. If you had a problem with school, could you talk to anyone at school about it?

_____ no

_____ yes; who? _____

48. Do you enjoy your classes in high school?

_____ no

_____ yes, a few of them

_____ yes, most of them

49. Do you ever talk to any of your teachers about things that have nothing to do with school?

_____ no

_____ yes, but only a few times

_____ yes, often

50. How many of your teachers know you by name?

_____ none

_____ one or two

_____ three or more

51. Does your counselor know you by name?

_____ no

_____ yes

52. In general, would you say that you are satisfied with school?

_____ very satisfied

_____ satisfied

_____ dissatisfied

_____ very dissatisfied

53. How likely is it that you will graduate from high school?

_____ very likely

_____ | somewhat likely

_____ | not likely at all

Why?

54. How likely is it that you will graduate from college or business school or technical school?

_____ very likely

_____ | somewhat likely

_____ | not likely at all

Why?

If you have answered all of the questions so far, would you please answer these questions in two or three sentences?

1. What do you LIKE most about your school? Why?

2. What do you like most about your family? Why?

3. What do you like most about your friends?   Why?

4. What do you like most about East Chicago?   Why?

5. What do you DISLIKE most about your school?   Why?

6. What do you dislike most about your family?   Why?

7. What do you dislike most about your friends?   Why?

8. What do you dislike most about East Chicago?   Why?

9. What or who is the most important thing in the world to you?   Why?

10. What is your idea of a good teacher? Why?

There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question "Who Am I?" in the blanks. Just give twenty different answers to this question. Answer as if you were giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you.

WHO AM I? I AM:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

5. _____

6. _____

7. _____

8. _____

9. _____

10. _____

11. _____

12. _____

13. _____

14. _____

15. _____

16. _____

17. _____

18. _____

19. _____

20. _____