

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

BERNARD JOSEPH FARRELL for the DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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NEGRO PARENTS IN SELECTED PORTLAND ELEMENTARY
SCHOOLS

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Dr. Edwin Strowbridge

The study of parent attitudes in Portland, Oregon, elementary schools was designed to accomplish three purposes: (1) To identify the attitudes of Non-Negro parents toward integration of Negroes into the schools and community, (2) To measure the effects of socio-economic classes (low, middle, upper), of schools (control versus transfer), and of grade levels (intermediate versus upper) on the responses of Non-Negro parents, (3) To provide for further elaboration of parent attitudes by open-ended interviews.

The first two purposes of the study were resolved by the formation of three hypotheses which not only identified the attitudes of parents but measured the school effects, the socio-economic effects, and the grade effects on the responses of the parents.

The three hypotheses stated in null form were:

1. There is no significant school effect in the responses of

Non-Negro parents.

2. There is no significant socio-economic effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
3. There is no significant grade effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

The instrument used in the study was a questionnaire containing eight variables which were used to identify the attitudes of parents being interviewed. The parents were questioned about their attitudes toward the following:

1. The transfer program of Negro students to their schools.
2. The effect of Negro students on the academic progress of their children.
3. The effect of Negro students on the socialization progress of their children.
4. The retention of the neighborhood school concept.
5. The integration of schools by one-way bussing.
6. The integration of schools by two-way bussing.
7. The integration of Negroes into their neighborhood community.
8. The effect of Negro militancy upon their attitudes.

The responses to the questions were marked on a Likert type (five point) scale. The means derived from the scale were used to identify the attitudes of parents and to test for significant differences

in parent responses. Analysis of variance technique was used to test for significant differences, using the F statistic. The .05 level served as the criterion of significance.

The findings which resulted from the testing of the main hypotheses showed the following:

1. There was a pronounced socio-economic effect on the responses of Non-Negro parents. Response to four of the eight questions showed significant differences. The middle socio-economic class was significantly more negative toward the Negro than the other classes on the question about social behavior. The lower socio-economic class was significantly less positive toward the concept of neighborhood schools. The lower socio-economic class was significantly less negative toward two-way bussing. The middle socio-economic class was significantly less positive toward open housing.

2. There was a minimal school effect on the responses of Non-Negro parents. Only one of the eight questions showed significant differences. The transfer schools were more negative toward two-way bussing than were the control schools.

3. There was some grade level effect, two of the eight questions showing significant differences. The upper grades were more negative toward two-way bussing than were the intermediate grades. The upper grades were less positive toward open housing than were the intermediate grades.

To resolve the third purpose in the study, four hypothetical questions about bussing, fair employment, housing, and socialization were presented to the parents. Comments made by parents were recorded and used for further elaboration of parent attitudes. These comments showed the following:

1. The parents were strongly negative toward bussing. The lower socio-economic class seemed more concerned about the inconvenience and the economic cost of bussing. The middle and upper socio-economic classes seemed more concerned about the psychological and social effect of bussing on their children.

2. The parents were positive toward fair employment. The middle socio-economic class was the least positive in its comments when it was expected that the lower socio-economic class would be the least positive.

3. Parents were strongly positive toward open housing. There seemed to be no differences in the comments by socio-economic classes.

4. Parents were strongly negative toward socialization. Socialization meant the threat of dating and possible intermarriage. The lower socio-economic class seemed slightly less negative than the middle and upper classes.

In summary, it was found that the Non-Negro parents were:

1. Opposed to bussing.
2. Favorable toward the concept of neighborhood schools.
3. Concerned about the effect of the Negro child on the social behavior of other children.
4. Strongly opposed to displays of militancy.
5. Concerned about interracial relationships between boys and girls.
6. Very favorable toward open housing and fair employment.

The middle socio-economic class parent seem to have the most negative attitudes toward the integration of Negroes.

Implications and conclusions of the study indicate the following:

1. Non-Negro parents have strong reservations about the use of public schools as the instrument to achieve integration. Positive attitudes toward open housing and fair employment suggest alternative approaches to solving the problem.
2. The unexpected negative reaction of the middle socio-economic class to school integration of the Negro suggests that there are other value priorities than the economic ones which affect the attitudes of the Non-Negro toward the Negro.
3. Plans for reorganization of the Portland School District with middle schools as a possible instrument for facilitating integration may be frustrated because of the present attitudes of Non-Negro parents in Portland.

A Survey and Analysis of the Attitudes
of Non-Negro Parents in Selected
Portland Elementary Schools

by

Bernard Joseph Farrell

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APPROVED:

Redacted for Privacy

Professor of Education
in charge of major

Redacted for Privacy

Dean of the School of Education

Redacted for Privacy

Dean of Graduate School

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Typed by Mary Jo Stratton for Bernard J. Farrell

Dedicated to:

MY WIFE AND CHILDREN

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A SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES
OF NON-NEGRO PARENTS IN SELECTED
PORTLAND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One of the major issues of concern to the American people today is that of racial integration and the problems that attend the various methods used to achieve this end.

Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka*, the question of school integration has become one of paramount importance to the American people and to the educators who have the responsibility for the control, direction, and administration of the public school systems.

Since the public schools are an instrument of the state, they are also the logical institution to be used to achieve the goal of integration. It is obvious that because the issue of integration has moral, social, political, and economic implications, attitudes both negative and positive toward integration would be aroused in the citizenry.

Purpose of the Study

The citizens of Portland, Oregon, by their past actions, seem to recognize the importance of good schools and seem to recognize the

relationship of good schools to a vital community life. The citizens have a record of strong community support for their public schools and a willingness to experiment with new ideas. The Model School Program provides for "compensatory" education for Negro students and provides a voluntary plan for the "integration" of Negro students.

This study presupposes a continued impetus by the national government to insist on faster progress in racial integration of public schools.

The purpose of this study is to do three things:

1. Identify the attitudes of Non-Negro parents toward the integration of Negroes into the schools and communities.
2. Measure the effects of socio-economic class, of schools, and of grade level on the responses of Non-Negro parents.
3. Provide for further elaboration of Non-Negro parent attitudes through open-ended interviews.

Background of the Study

Portland Public Schools initiated the Model School Program in the Fall of 1965. This program was initiated to meet the need for the education of the disadvantaged in the city of Portland, Oregon. The disadvantaged, most of whom are Negro children, were concentrated in eight neighborhood schools centered around the Albina District located in the north and northeast sections of Portland. During the

years since World War II the Negro population in Portland has grown from about 2,500 to about 30,000 people. The Negro student population in Portland Public Schools is approximately 5,000 students. As the Negro students became the majority in these eight schools, the educational achievement levels in these schools, as measured by standardized tests, began to decline. By 1960 the level of achievement in most grades in most subject areas was two grades below the norm for the city of Portland.

The school board of the Portland School District, after a two year study by a citizen committee, recommended a program of "compensatory" education for nine schools. Additional funds from the federal and state agencies and the local school district were used to finance this program.

The educational program was enriched by increased staff, supplies, and community services. Early childhood education was provided for three and four year olds. Teacher aides, tutors, instructional consultants, teacher corps interns, community agents, and lay volunteers were added to school staffs. Special reading programs, parent education programs, summer school programs, and extended day programs were an integral part of the compensatory education offered to the disadvantaged child.

"Compensatory" education has been instrumental in changing the downward trend in school achievement in these nine schools. In the

primary grades the school achievement, as measured in the third grade achievement tests, has been reversed and has shown dramatic improvement. Achievements on the fifth and seventh grade levels have not shown the same significant improvement, but the downward trend has been stopped and growth in particular areas has indicated some improvement. It is well to note that the program has been concentrated on primary grades. The success of the "compensatory" program has been achieved despite the mobility of Negro people to and in the Albina area of the city.

In addition to the "compensatory" program in the Model Schools, parents were provided with the opportunity of having their children transferred to other schools in the city outside of the nine Model Schools. This provided the opportunity for "integrative" education to take place. Through an Administrative Transfer Program children were bussed from the Model School area to other schools that had available space. In the 1968-69 school year a total of 619 students from the Model School area attended other schools in the district. Fifty-six schools were "receiving schools" for these students. The number of Negro students in any of these receiving schools ranged from one student to 35 students. The number of Negro students in a particular classroom ranged between zero and five.

Need for the Study

To this date very few attitude studies of any kind have been made involving parents in the Portland School District. There have been two studies made of the Model School Program, in which some parents were included. One study, by the program's research division (1968), included interviews of 60 parents from 26 host schools receiving Negro transfer students. They were asked their opinions of the Model School Transfer Program. The other study, by Camp (1969), was of the newly instituted Portland-Suburban Transfer Program. In this study, 49 parents (Negro parents) of bussed students were interviewed and asked their opinion of the transfer program.

The school district is in need of more comprehensive studies of parent attitudes in several areas. This study is intended to fulfill a need for a study in attitudes of parents toward the question of integration of Negroes.

It is very possible that the Administrative Transfer of students may increase considerably in the next few years, or that the Portland School District may eventually have complete integration of all schools. If this be so, it is of tremendous value to the school district to have a continual assessment of parental attitudes throughout the school district. The probable success of any educational innovation depends on the receptivity of those who will be affected.

The study has been in the process of being actualized during the

past 18 months. Since the inception of the study, the school district has made changes in its administrative leadership. The new superintendent has proposed extensive changes in school organization. Among these changes is the development of middle schools to replace grades 5 through 8 in the elementary schools. This is obviously an attempt to implement the Supreme Court mandate directed to de facto integration. The proposed changes will require alteration of present neighborhood school boundaries and also require some degree of bussing. Both of these requirements are among the issues in school integration that have affected the attitudes of most of the citizens in the United States. At this time the pros and cons of the proposals of the superintendent are being discussed by the citizenry of the school district. This study is, therefore, very timely.

Statement and Scope of the Problem

Although the major purpose in the study was to identify and describe the attitudes of Non-Negro parents toward the integration of Negroes into the school and community, the specific problem in the study was to answer the following three questions:

1. Are there significant differences in the attitudes of Non-Negro parents in the transfer schools as opposed to attitudes of Non-Negro parents in the control schools?
2. Does the socio-economic level of the Non-Negro parent

cause a significant difference in his attitudes toward Negroes ?

3. Does the grade level of the Non-Negro child affect the attitudes of his parents toward Negroes ?

Hypotheses to be Tested

Because of the possible interaction between the factors in the three questions, it was necessary to formulate three main hypotheses and four subsidiary hypotheses. These seven hypotheses were stated as null hypotheses and tested for significance.

Main Effects^{*}

1. There is no significant school effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
2. There is no significant socio-economic effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
3. There is no significant grade effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

* "Effects" is a term being used in the reporting of the more recent research studies in which analysis of variance is used as a statistical treatment to determine significant differences between means. If the mean of a group or a cell is significantly different than the total mean, the "effect", of that group is said to be significant.

Subsidiary Effects

4. There is no significant interaction effect between socio-economic levels and schools in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
5. There is no significant interaction effect between socio-economic levels and grade levels in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
6. There is no significant interaction effect between schools and grade levels in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
7. There is no significant interaction effect between socio-economic levels, schools, and grade levels in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

Eight variables were identified and used in the questionnaire to describe the attitudes of Non-Negro parents. The eight variables contained basic issues of concern to Negroes and Non-Negroes. Thus, the eight variables were not only the independent variables in the study, but were also part of the instrument for measuring differences in attitudes.

The attitudes of Non-Negro parents were described, therefore, relative to the following independent variables:

Attitudes of Non-Negro parents concerning:

1. The present transfer program of Negro students to their schools.

2. The effect of Negro students on the academic progress of their children.
3. The effect of Negro students on the socialization progress of their children.
4. The retention of the neighborhood school concept.
5. The integration of schools by one-way bussing of Negro students out of the Albina area.
6. The integration of schools by the bussing of Negro students out of the Albina area and the bussing of Non-Negro students into the Albina area.
7. The integration of Negroes into their neighborhood community.
8. The effect of Negro militancy upon their attitudes.

The seven hypotheses were tested for each of the eight independent variables.

To gain additional information about the attitudes of Non-Negro parents, four hypothetical situations involving issues of bussing, employment, housing, and socialization were presented in open-ended interviews at the time the questionnaires were submitted to the parents.

Hypothetical Situations

The responses to these four hypothetical situations were used

to elaborate, further, the analysis of the data from the testing of the seven hypotheses:

1. Your school district has decided to integrate all of the schools in your city. You realize that your children must take a bus to a school two miles from your home. What are your feelings about this ?
2. In Detroit, Michigan, the White members of the Construction Union marched in protest against the idea of placing a certain quota of Negroes in the various construction jobs. What are your feelings toward this action by White construction workers ?
3. Your neighbor who has lived next door to you for 15 years has his house for sale. He announces to you that he has an opportunity to sell his home to a Negro family with two children. What are your feelings about this announcement ?
4. You have a young daughter in the eighth grade. She is looking forward to attending a local school dance and party. She indicates that she may be asked to dance at the party by a young Negro boy. What would your feelings be about this ?

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used often throughout the study. In

some cases the terms have been qualified by their function in the study.

1. Academic progress is defined in this study as the progress normally made by students in the Portland Schools, as measured by the testing program of the Portland School District.
2. Attitudes, as defined by social-psychologists (Wickens and Meyer, 1961), are the learned predispositions to react in a certain way to classes of objects, persons, or situations. In this study the classes are primarily persons (the Negro), but in certain questions are also situations. The reactions indicated are specifically verbal. One of the assumptions in the study is that the verbal response is indicative of the attitude of the respondent.
3. Control schools are those neighborhood schools which receive no Negro students, through bussing or private transportation, from the Model Schools area.
4. Grade levels - intermediate are defined as grades 4, 5, or 6 existing in a kindergarten - 8th grade elementary school. Grade levels - upper are defined as grades 7 or 8 existing in a kindergarten - 8th grade elementary school.
5. Militancy is defined as any behavior, verbal or non-verbal, which appears to be abnormally aggressive or inciteful to

possible violence. Demonstrations which include marches are included in the definition.

6. Neighborhood school concept is not what any given parent thinks or feels about the local school which his child attends. It is, in this study, the concept of having schools which serve a locally bounded area as opposed to schools which have no bounded areas.
7. Socialization is defined by social psychologists (Secord and Backman, 1964) as an interactional process whereby a person's behavior is modified to conform to expectations held by members of the group to which he belongs. In this study socialization progress is that behavior of the child as measured by the expectations of the parents.
8. Socio-Economic levels are operationally defined in this study as primarily the economic stratification of school areas as established by the correlation of school achievement with income and welfare payments.
9. Transfer program is the administrative procedure by which students in the nine Model Schools are bussed or privately transported to schools outside of the Model School area.
10. Transfer schools are those neighborhood schools which have received Negro students from the Model Schools area through the Administrative Transfer. Either the children

are bussed to the receiving schools or are transported by private means.

Limitations of the Study

1. The measurement of attitudes was dependent upon the verbal expression of the respondent. Other studies have shown that there may be dissonance between attitudes as verbally stated and attitudes as manifested in other behavior. This study assumed that verbal responses were representative of actual attitudes held by parents.

2. The classification of schools by socio-economic criteria was dependent upon the correlation between achievement tests and income. This correlation was made available by the research division of the Portland Public Schools. The income levels of the schools were measured indirectly by limited information available to the research division. The information was believed to be adequate, but did place a limitation on the study. Further, the classification of schools in the three categories of low, middle, and upper did not exclude the possibility of having exceptions in the interviewees. There were apparent differences in homes represented in any given category.

3. It was impossible to control the experiences that any given respondent would have had with Negroes prior to the time of the interview. These previous experiences would contribute to the present

attitude of the person being interviewed. It was observed that several interviewees would preface their remarks with comments such as, "I have never been around Negroes very much" or "Of course, you know I am from the South."

4. While it was possible to control the variable of Negro students being bussed, it was impossible to control the variable of Negro students who already resided in the schools being studied. Although the number of resident Negroes was very small in all of the schools studied, this factor does qualify the study. It must be pointed out, however, that very few Portland schools are without resident Negro students. The study could not have been made without accepting this limitation.

5. The findings and conclusions reached in this study can be generalized in some degree to other school districts with similar characteristics. However, the findings and conclusions should not automatically be generalized to other school districts. The conditions in the Portland School District are the result of many interacting forces that have manifested themselves in specific ways. To that degree the findings are particular to the Portland School District.

CHAPTER II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND RELATED RESEARCH

Introduction

The process of racial, ethnic, and religious integration has been a process inherent in the evolution of society in the United States. As in no other country, the nature of its historical development has contributed uniquely to the many varied and complex problems concomitant with a pluralistic society. The history of the United States is rich in the controversy and conflict that has accompanied the reconciliation of ethnic and religious differences. It may be safe to say that accommodation has been made in these two areas of integration. But the same cannot be said for the matter of racial integration. Such renowned figures as Arnold Toynbee, the historian, and Gunnar Myrdal, the sociologist, have emphasized the factor of race in the history of mankind. Toynbee (1940) indicates that the rise and fall of civilizations has been marked by the repudiation of the spiritual principle. Toynbee (1967) contends that man is entering a period of history in which race will predominate as a factor. Further, without the spiritual principle to guide mankind, race conflict will be a factor in the decline of civilization.

Myrdal (1944), in his monumental work An American Dilemma, had predicted the racial turmoil that now faces American society in

the present period.

Since World War II, the emigration of the Negro from the Southern states to the large cities and metropolitan areas throughout the United States has set in motion economic, political and social forces which have tested the stability of all the institutions of our society.

Although this study is concerned with the role of the school in racial integration, it is primarily concerned with the attitudes of Non-Negroes, in particular the Caucasians, in our society. These attitudes are manifested in many ways and find expression in responses to the conditions that are evolved in attempts to solve the problem of racial integration.

There is much literature being written, today, about the total complex of racial relations. Individual disciplines are isolating areas that are of interest to themselves. Sociologists are studying the social conditions. Educators are investigating the educational ramifications. Psychologists are interested in the psychic relations. A relatively new discipline, social psychology, is looking at the interrelationship between the psychic and the social.

The review of the literature treats both the general and the specific aspects of integration as they relate to the variables in the study.

Compensatory Education and Desegregation

Compensatory education is an issue which must be viewed from several different perspectives. Its primary perspective is educational. There is no question that the Negro child is receiving an inferior education in segregated schools. In school achievement, it is not uncommon to see Negro children two and three years behind the White child of the same grade level.

The critics of compensatory education contend that, even in school achievement, compensatory education is not defensible. However, the critics of compensatory education see education from a broader perspective. Compensatory education is a prohibitive factor to total integration in our society. Education is not just school achievement. The total experience of human beings in society, with all its complexities, is the concern of Education.

Levine (1968) has found that there are enough exceptions to indicate that compensatory education can have positive results, but that students in integrated schools do even better. However, he concludes that:

With regard to compensatory education, most technically acceptable studies dealing with compensatory programs have failed to find significant and lasting improvements in experimental groups as compared with comparable non-experimental groups in regular instructional programs (p. 331).

David Cohen (1968) points out many weaknesses in compensatory

education:

1. Necessary reduction of class size requires more teachers and is more costly than bussing.
2. Better teachers are less likely to prefer to teach in segregated schools, even those with compensatory education.
3. Racially isolated public schools shape children's values and attitudes. They also shape the mold for adult associations, lead to housing and employment attitudes.

Rentsch (1967), who compared Negro open enrollment transfer students with those who stayed in segregated schools, found that the transfer student:

1. Attained significantly higher standardized reading and arithmetic achievement scores.
2. Attained poorer report card marks.
3. Attended school more regularly.
4. Attained higher scores on California Test of Personality at grades 2 and 4, but lower scores in kindergarten.

Two widely publicized studies by federal government agencies, Equal Educational Opportunity Survey (Coleman Report) by the United States Office of Education (1966) and Racial Isolation in the Public Schools by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1967), support the conclusion that compensatory education cannot be

justified in terms of successful school achievement for the Negro or in successful social-psychological growth for the Negro.

It must be recognized that not all of the literature is in agreement with the studies mentioned above. The Coleman Report has been criticized in its methodology, in its procedure, and in its substance (Weinberg, 1968).

Katz (1964) takes issue with the state of research. He contends that much of the evidence is only inferential, that there is a dearth of unequivocal information about Negro performance in desegregated schools.

Alsop (1967) and Ferry (1968) are among the emerging critics who question the facts and conclusions of the research being done in the area of desegregation.

Socio-Economic Classes and Desegregation

The literature illustrating the effect of social classes on social action is voluminous. The name of W. Lloyd Warner is a giant in this area of social research. Warner's (1949) research has demonstrated, quite clearly, the differences in attitudes held by members of various socio-economic groups. The effect of education on social status, and the subsequent attitudes and behavior, is accepted by most social observers.

Warner (1948) describes the attitudes of the middle and upper

classes as being discriminatory to lower class children, and he shows how this affects the educational practices of middle and upper class schools.

Tumin (1963), investigating the attitudes of social class toward desegregation, found that hard core anti-desegregationists are lowest in education, income, and occupation. These people will use force, if necessary, to preserve their tradition. They are the most resistant to integration and to the upward surge of the Negro. Tumin indicates, further, that the graduated acceptance of the Negro is correlated with levels of upward mobility of Whites. The more of the good things in life, the more in contact with the larger world, the more exposed to the urban metropolis and its impulses toward change, the more ready the White is for desegregation.

DeBerry (1967) found that the middle class, rather than the lower class, was often more prejudice and negative toward desegregation. However, he also found that the highest socio-economic class Whites were more tolerant than the lower and the middle classes.

Taylor (1966) found the social class was significantly related to discrimination, with the upper middle class receiving the lowest mean score and the working class the highest mean score on discrimination.

Fauman (1968) indicates that the higher social class status persons are more strongly in favor of integration on all questions except that of housing.

Cogle (1969) found that the typical middle class mothers were much more concerned about the psychic well-being of their children in relating to Negro children than they were about the other factors in school integration.

Rogers and Swanson (1965), in their Smithwood Study, summarized their findings thus:

In sum, a whole cluster of social background characteristics may partially predict what kind of response will come from a White community facing school integration. If there is a population affected who are lower middle class, second generation, minority ethnics, recently migrated from slum areas as well, the local area may tip in the direction of providing substantial and perhaps well organized opposition. Such background characteristics and experiences are frequently associated with a number of social outlooks -- an intolerance of "outgroups", a tendency to stereotyping, a rigid moralism conducive to seeing the world in terms of "good and bad guys", and exaggerated preoccupation with status, and a limited cultural sophistication, awareness, and tolerance of alternative values (p. 112).

White Communities and Attitudes

The question of desegregation and the attitudes of White communities is a relatively new area of research. Findings are often compromised by variables not controlled. One might question the validity of research which does not qualify itself in "time". Research which is founded on conditions which have not had time to stabilize may very well be out of date before it is in print.

Attitudes that result from conditions which are particular to certain sections of the country cannot be equated with attitudes in

other sections of the country. The attitudes of rural communities cannot be equated with the attitudes of urban communities. The experiences of desegregation in the South cannot be equated with the experiences of desegregation in other sections of the country.

One of the reasons why attitudes are so hard to measure is that psychological mechanisms are often utilized by human beings to differentiate their attitudes.

Stuart Cook (1963) refers to the most common mechanism of "compartmentalization". He cites the study by Williams and Ryan:

In community after community they report that, although relations between White and Negro students within the schools are matter-of-fact and even friendly, the two groups go their separate ways outside of school. Time will tell, of course, whether over a period of years school desegregation will gradually extend to desegregation in other areas of living, but there seems no reason to expect an immediate sweeping change (p. 42).

Harding and Hogrefe (1952) found that among White salesgirls in Philadelphia department stores, those who worked in departments where there were Negro salesgirls were more likely than those who worked in all White departments to express willingness to work with Negroes, but they were no more willing to have Negroes as neighbors or as friends.

Minard (1952) describes a mining community in West Virginia where White and Negro miners work amicably together in mixed teams, sometimes with a Negro supervising White workers, but separate at the mine shaft and lead their above ground lives in complete

segregation -- living in separate neighborhoods, eating in separate restaurants, participating jointly in no activities except those in the Union Hall.

A vague psychological phenomena seems to be emerging in the short history of the desegregation movement. There is a theory being developed in social psychology that even though attitudes toward a given variable may be negative, once action specifies the response to be made to that variable, the attitude becomes less negative and more positive toward the given variable. In other words, once desegregation becomes a fact in law, the attitudes of people become more receptive. This theory is a development of Festinger's dissonance theory (Secord and Backman, 1964).

Bower and Walker, as reported by Cook (1963), in interviews with a cross section of the population of Washington, D. C., before desegregation took place, found that the feeling was two to one against the Supreme Court decision. Only 24 percent of the people interviewed thought it was good. After desegregation took place, 39 percent thought that desegregation was going well. La Piere (1934), in studying attitudes and action, discovered the same principle in operation.

Killian and Grigg (1964) reinforce the principle from their study:

The White will not voluntarily sacrifice their status advantage. They will give it up only when confronted

with power that threatens other values (p. 132).

However, not all evidence is supportive of the above theory. Egerton (1967) presents data on the status of school desegregation in Atlanta, Georgia, Little Rock, Arkansas, and Nashville, Tennessee. He indicates that a pattern is emerging of movement from segregation to some desegregation and then to resegregation. The major factors in resegregation process are housing segregation, the growth of non-public schools, and the White flight to the suburbs.

Singer and Hendricks (1967), although admitting that the desegregation process comes about from legal thrust or pressure applied by social reformers, point out that there is resistance because of fears of social implications.

Desegregation and Specific Attitudes

As the process of desegregation continues to take place in the United States, there is some indication that the researcher is beginning to investigate the attitudes of Whites toward Negroes in specifics, rather than treat the subject of attitudes as a composite or a general characteristic. As a result, research is beginning to appear on attitudes toward open housing, employment, bussing, and socialization. Because the study investigated the attitude of parents toward these four areas, specifically, the following literature is reported.

Bussing and Attitudes

Most of the studies on bussing are related to comparative school achievement of bussed and non-bussed students. Very little is found on attitudes.

Cagle (1969) found that the bussing of Negro ghetto children into middle class White school districts apparently caused more anxiety among host mothers than among those whose children were being bussed. Parents of bussed children had concerns about the technical problems of bussing -- schedules, distances from school, sick children. Parents of host schools feared "psychological" maladjustment of bussed children. Twenty-seven of 32 host mothers anticipated problems because of Negro children coming into the school. Twelve of the host mothers feared that discipline would suffer. The majority of host mothers were concerned about "standards" falling in the schools. Cagle concluded that most of the objections were a cover up of a basic rejection of the program which brought Negroes into the school. He did qualify his conclusion with the fact that middle class mothers, typically, are more concerned about the psychic well being of their children than are lower class mothers.

Open Housing and Attitudes

Several studies were found in this area which describe the plight of the Negro in achieving adequate housing.

The Research Annual on Intergroup Relations, edited by Melvin Tumin (1966, 1967), cites many studies in the area of housing.

Campbell (Tumin, 1966), in his study of the Negro in Syracuse, New York, has found the Negro having the lowest percentage of owner occupied housing in the state. It was found, also, that the concentration of Negroes in certain areas was not due to "rent" differential. The average rent in Syracuse was \$80.00 per month. The Negro paid an average \$78.00 per month. Obviously, factors other than economics were operating here.

Watson (Tumin, 1966) found in Seattle, Washington, that the Negro was in a more favorable position than in the nation as a whole, but that discrimination in job and housing opportunities was producing a central-area Negro ghetto.

Bradshaw (Tumin, 1966) found that in Baltimore, Maryland, real estate brokers continued to refuse to show houses on an open occupancy basis, using the rationalization of economics despite the availability of evidence to the contrary.

Northwood (Tumin and Greenblat, 1967) found that there is a "tipping point" when the influx of Negro families exceeds some level that White families will tolerate and the neighborhood moves, again, toward eventual segregation.

A second study by Northwood (Tumin and Greenblat, 1967) investigated 15 urban neighborhoods, in which Negro families

"pioneered", to study the reaction of both Negroes and Whites. In each neighborhood situation, a "pioneer family", three White families next door, one White family a block away, and one White family three blocks away were interviewed. Northwood found that there were four stages in "pioneering" -- pre-entry, entry, accommodation, and integration. The first three stages happen automatically, but the fourth stage, integration, does not always occur, even after a long period of accommodation.

One study, by Royer (Tumin and Greenblat, 1967), did not support the above findings. His study of integrated housing, in 13 Indiana cities, showed that the fears expressed by many Indiana citizens concerning racial tensions, property maintenance, property values, and flight of White families from integrated neighborhoods were largely unfounded.

Fair Employment and Attitudes

It is the view of many sociologists who are studying desegregation and the social scene that the key to integration of Negroes into the main stream is primarily one of economics. They contend that the difference in economic rewards must be changed. Tumin (1963) makes a strong plea for destratification of society and equalization of rewards. Havighurst (1964), in his study of the public schools of Chicago, Illinois, concluded that, "As Negro parents move up the

economic ladder, the educational achievement of their children will increase" (p. 40). Havighurst (1964) states, "The mental level of the population would be raised very greatly if we could give all children the kinds of social environment which upper middle class children have today" (p. 139). He infers, from improvement in economic conditions, there will be a hastening of integration of the Negro into the mainstream of American social life.

Bressler and McKenney (1964), in a study of the Negro population, found a great discrepancy in income between Whites and Negroes. One out of four Negro families in 1964 had a woman as the head. The comparable figure for White families was one out of nine. Negro women who were heads of families had an average annual income of \$1,440; the corresponding average annual income for White women was \$2,400. Among Negro men the average annual income was \$2,400 as compared with \$4,800 for White men.

Hueber (Tumin and Greenblat, 1967), in a study of the Spokane, Washington, community, found that the public lacks knowledge as to the work potentials of minorities, and, hence, have well-developed stereotyped views as to the type of work minorities should do. The public also believes in "Negro jobs" and "Jewish jobs", etc. Hueber found that the Negro must be overly qualified to obtain a good job.

Sorkin (1969) found that Non-White/White employment ratio increased from 1930 until the mid-50's. Since then it has remained

approximately constant. However, in earlier years the older Non-White worker suffered the greatest employment disadvantage. The burden now falls more equally on Non-Whites of all age groups. The slackening in migration levels since 1955 is associated with a constancy in the over-all Non-White/White unemployment ratio. Further, he found that the gains in Non-White educational levels between 1950 and 1960 seem unrelated to the unemployment ratio of workers in those age groups.

Kessler (1963) found the unemployment rate of Negro teenagers remained near 29 percent, compared with 12 percent for White youths of the same age. Seven times as large a proportion of Non-Whites as of Whites are employed as private household workers. All the handicaps of unemployment and low incomes have borne down most heavily on the less educated Non-Whites; Non-White family income, as compared to the White family income, is 58 percent for those with only elementary schooling, in comparison with 85 percent for college graduates.

Socialization and Attitudes

The question of socialization between Negro and White covers a broad spectrum of Negro/White relationships. Some people equate socialization with integration per se. Others qualify the term to mean only friendship, only romantic relationship, or only marriage

relationship.

The research in this area is very meager. Findings are often found by inference from studies of other factors.

A study being completed by Saltman, at the University of Akron (Tumin, 1966), suggests a difference in attitude toward racial integration in social life is found in age differential. This would suggest that the attitudes of parents of school age children are more liberal when children are in lower grades than when children are in upper grades.

Teele and Mayo (1969) found a substantial and direct relationship between reports of prejudice encountered and grade level; that is, the higher the grade, the more prejudice children reported facing. This would also suggest a change in attitude of parents as children become older.

Summary

The question of racial desegregation is a complex one in our pluralistic society. Historians and moral philosophers have analyzed our past, present, and future. Some see the racial conflict as a moral reawakening, while others see it tending to the other end of the scale; the beginning of Armageddon.

The literature on this subject manifests the moral and philosophical dilemma. The early literature supported the evangelical

spirit of the liberal cause. Much of the literature tended to propaganda rather than fact. With the passage of time, critics appeared and the literature often seemed reactionary. However, the research is beginning to expose threads or patterns as findings become synthesized with previous research.

In the area of social class and desegregation, the literature seems to support an economic interpretation of history, although researchers such as W. Lloyd Warner take strong exception to this narrow view. Most of the research seems to support the theory that lower class socio-economic groups display the most hostility to integration of the Negro. An economic interpretation of society would support this finding, because, obviously, the Negro will first invade the employment areas of the lower classes, becoming a threat to their economic life. Further, the research seems to support the theory that the middle and upper classes are more tolerant and less discriminatory toward the Negro. This would logically follow the economic interpretation, since the Negro is not an immediate economic threat to the middle and upper classes. However, there seems to be a related theory appearing in the literature. As middle and upper class people become more economically secure, their concerns become more abstract. The psychic and socialization process take on more significance. The research seems to support this. Middle and upper class parents refer to "values" more often

when discussing the problem of integration. This interpretation would also support Warner's "broader" interpretation of society. The "abstract" may very well be a rationalization, because the middle and upper classes have already stratified themselves by housing and neighborhood schools. When one is not economically threatened, one can afford to be charitable, as the seemingly "tolerance" of middle and upper classes might suggest.

In other areas, the research seems to show the following:

1. Compensatory education has not been a satisfactory answer to the problem of desegregation. The achievement of Negro students is better in desegregated schools.
2. Bussing is not liked by most parents. If there are any differences in feeling, the Negro accepts bussing more readily than the White, and the lower class White is less concerned than middle and upper class Whites about bussing children.
3. Research on housing has revealed the discriminatory policies of real estate operators. But this merely supports the fact that social groups stratify, and housing is a manifestation of it.
4. Much research is concentrating on the area of employment. The economic theory of history, of course, would contend

that the solution to racial integration must be concentrated here, and that education is the key to economic advancement.

CHAPTER III
PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

Portland Elementary Schools

The Portland School District is composed of 95 elementary schools. Seventy-three of these schools have children from grades 1-8. The remaining 22 are schools with grades ranging from three grades to six grades (see Table 1).

Table 1. Grade Span of Portland Elementary Schools.

Number of Schools	Grade Levels
73	1st - 8th
8	1st - 6th
7	1st - 5th
6	1st - 4th
1	1st - 3rd
Total	95

The study required that only those schools which contained all grade levels through the 8th grade be used; therefore, the selection of schools was restricted to the 73 schools indicated in Table 1.

Categorizing Schools According to Socio-Economic Groups

One of the variables to be studied concerned socio-economic distinctions. Thus, it was necessary to categorize the Portland Public Schools into low, middle, and upper socio-economic groups.

Using a correlation between income and achievement scores from data compiled for the school year 1966-67, the 73 schools were each classified into one of the three socio-economic categories. Data compiled in January, 1970, after the study was initiated, substantiated the data of 1966-67.

Selection of Schools in the Study

The school with the most Negro transfer students was selected from each of the three socio-economic categories. These three schools were matched with three control schools which did not receive Negro transfer students. The schools selected were close to the midpoint in the rank order of each category. The transfer schools and the control schools, six in number, thus were matched in socio-economic level and in achievement level.

Selection of Grade Levels

From each of the six schools used in the study one intermediate and one upper grade classroom was selected, with the exception of an upper grade in the upper socio-economic transfer school. This school received no Negro transfer students in the upper grades. However, in the study an approximation was substituted in this cell.* The

* This procedure was advised by the Statistics Department of Oregon State University. See Appendix C for explanation.

classrooms that were chosen in the transfer schools all had two or three Negro transfer students. Thus, there were 11 classrooms in the study and one cell which was vacant (see Table 2).

Table 2. Matrix for the Study.

		Soc. - Econ: Low	Soc. - Econ: Middle	Soc. - Econ: Upper
Transfer Schools	Upper Grades	X	X	Empty
	Int. Grades	X	X	X
Control Schools	Upper Grades	X	X	X
	Int. Grades	X	X	X

Selection of Parents

The 11 classrooms represented 330-350 homes in the school district. Using random sampling, 15 head-of-the-households were selected from each of the 11 classrooms for interviews. From these selected 15 it was hoped to obtain ten interviews from each classroom. The desired interviews, a total of 110, were accomplished without drawing a further sampling from the rooms. Out of the total interviewees to be contacted only six refused to be interviewed (see Table 3). With the exception of three classrooms, it was not necessary to use the total of 15 names to acquire the desired ten interviews.

Table 3. Number of Parent Contacts, Refusals, Interviews from a Selected Pool.

Schools	Selected		Not		
	Pool	Contacted	Available	Refusal	Interview
Upper Control, Upper Grade	15	10	0	0	10
Upper Control, Intermediate Grade	15	13	1	2	10
Upper Transfer, Upper Grade	Empty Cell				
Upper Transfer, Intermediate Grade	15	12	2	0	10
Middle Control, Upper Grade	15	15	5	0	10
Middle Control, Intermediate Grade	15	14	4	0	10
Middle Transfer, Upper Grade	15	15	4	1	10
Middle Transfer, Intermediate Grade	15	15	3	2	10
Low Control, Upper Grade	15	11	1	0	10
Low Control, Intermediate Grade	15	13	2	1	10
Low Transfer, Upper Grade	15	11	0	1	10
Low Transfer, Intermediate Grade	15	13	3	0	10

Contacting Parents

After the selection of 15 head-of-the-households, it was necessary to contact the parents to inform them of the forthcoming study of the community and to secure an appointment for the necessary personal interview. A letter was sent to each of the households in the selected pool indicating that contact would be made by telephone to establish an appointment time for a personal interview. Within two weeks the telephone contacts were made and interview appointments established. The interviews followed. The entire process of letters, telephone contacts, and interviews was initiated and completed during the two months of November and December of 1969.

The Interview

All of the interviews, a total of 110, were conducted by one person, the author. The interviews were conducted in the homes between the hours of 9:00 a. m. and 10:00 p. m. They varied in length of time from 45 minutes to one hour. The interviewees were very receptive to the interviews and seemed, except in a few instances, to be very much at ease and quite willing to express their attitudes freely. In fact, it was most difficult to maintain the scheduled appointments because of the desire of parents to further discuss their educational concerns.

Description of School Neighborhoods

Most large cities in the United States have been affected by the tremendous mobility of the American people in the past 25 years since World War II. The increased mobility, with the concurrent affluency of our economic life, has brought many rapid changes in the style of living. Homes, schools, and neighborhoods have undergone rapid change during these 25 years.

Portland, Oregon, is no exception, although the rate of change may not have been as rapid as it has been in more congested metropolitan areas. In addition, the changes in Portland, Oregon, seem to have been more orderly, perhaps because of benefiting from the experiences of other cities. Also, the fact that Portland has not, until recently, been a highly industrialized city has contributed to a slower pace of living and a less dramatic upheaval of community life. There has been movement to the suburbs but, outside of the core area of the city, the neighborhoods have retained much of their original identity.

The six schools chosen for this study are distributed geographically in all areas of the city, with the exception of the north and northwest sections. Two of the schools, the lower socio-economic schools, are found in the southeast part of the core area. Their neighborhood school boundaries are abutted on one side.

One of the middle socio-economic schools is located very close to the two lower socio-economic schools, but in an area which has maintained a middle socio-economic environment. The other middle socio-economic school is located in the northeast section of the city, which has always maintained a middle class stability.

One of the upper socio-economic schools is located in the extreme southeast section of the city in an area always considered to be an elite area. Until the new areas in the southwest were opened, this area was probably "the" upper class community in Portland. The other upper socio-economic school is found in the extreme southwest part of the city. It is a relatively new community area where many of the upper socio-economic groups settled after leaving other areas of Portland.

Lower Socio-Economic School — Control

This school was built in 1925 of brick and concrete construction. It contains 19 classrooms. The present school population is 516 pupils (1969-70). Pupil rate of turnover is 28 percent.

The neighborhood has a large number of ethnic groups, including many Italian and Oriental families. A large parochial school serves many of the Italian families. The number of dwelling units is 2,686, with a high percentage of rental units (59 percent). The average home value is \$9,600 (1967 data).

Lower Socio-Economic School – Transfer

This school was built in 1925 of brick and concrete construction. It contains 25 classrooms. Present school population is 756 pupils (1969-70). Pupil rate of turnover is 27 percent.

The neighborhood is adjacent to the control school neighborhood, but contains a main thoroughfare with many businesses and apartment dwellings. The number of dwelling units in the area is 3,122, with a high percentage of rental units (57 percent). The average home value is \$8,750 (1967 data).

Middle Socio-Economic School – Control

This school was built in 1925 of brick and concrete construction. It contains 26 classrooms. Present school population is 819 pupils (1969-70). Pupil rate of turnover is 13 percent.

The neighborhood is adjacent to both lower socio-economic schools, but has maintained stability due to the fact that it contains a large number of more expensive homes and contains few commercial buildings. It is primarily a home area. The number of dwelling units is 2,540 with a moderate percentage of rental units (32 percent). The average home value is \$11,500 (1967 data).

Middle Socio-Economic School – Transfer

This school was built in 1923 of cement stucco over concrete.

It contains 23 classrooms. Present school population is 638 pupils (1969-70). Pupil rate of turnover is 15 percent.

The neighborhood is in the extreme northeast section of the city. It is located near a municipal golf course and a new high school. A busy thoroughfare borders the northern boundary of the neighborhood. The number of dwelling units is 1,988, with a low percentage of rental units (15 percent). The average home value is \$11,500 (1967 data).

Upper Socio-Economic School — Control

This school was built in 1958 of brick and steel construction. It is a one-story building containing 24 classrooms. Present school population is 734 pupils (1969-70). Pupil rate of turnover is eight percent.

The neighborhood is among the newest in the city. Building sites are larger than normal city lots. There is a large percentage of professional and semi-professional people. A large number of Jewish families reside in this area. It is exclusively a home community with commercial enterprises found only in shopping centers. The number of dwelling units is 1,101, with a low percentage of rental units (nine percent). The average home value is \$20,000 (1967 data).

Upper Socio-Economic School — Transfer

This school was built in 1927 of brick and concrete construction. It is a two-story building containing 23 classrooms. Present school population is 707 pupils. Pupil rate of turnover is eight percent.

The neighborhood is a well established upper class area of long duration. Within its boundaries is a nationally known private college which draws students from all areas of the country. There is also a municipal golf course located close by. There is a large number of professional and semi-professional people residing here. The number of dwelling units is 1,541, with a very low percentage of rental units (six percent). The average home value is \$19,000 (1967 data).

The Instrument

The instrument used in this study was a questionnaire which consisted of two parts (see Appendix B). The first part contained eight questions which were used to measure the attitudes of the parents being interviewed. The response to each question was marked on a Likert-type (five point) scale, as shown below.

Strongly Favorable	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Strongly Unfavorable
1	2	3	4	5

For the study, responses below the scale value of 3 were

considered to express positive attitudes toward integration of Negroes. The scale value ranges of 2 to 3 were considered as being positive and the values between 1 and 2 were considered as being very positive.

The responses above the scale value of 3 were considered to express negative attitudes toward integration of Negroes. The scale value ranges of 3 to 4 were considered as being negative and the values between 4 and 5 were considered as being very negative.

In question four, relative to the feelings about the concept of neighborhood schools, it was necessary to reverse the scoring since a favorable attitude toward neighborhood schools would be considered to be a negative response to the integration of Negroes.

The second part of the instrument contained four hypothetical situations which required open-ended responses. The remarks made by the interviewees were recorded in long hand and read back to the interviewees to ensure that the intention of the remarks was not violated.

Each of the four hypothetical situations of part two of the study (see Appendix B) was formulated to allow the interviewees to expand their attitudes on the previous eight questions of part one of the study. Specifically, the four hypothetical situations involved bussing, employment, housing, and socialization. The comments provided a means by which the previous responses to the eight questions could be checked for consistency and a means to secure further information

about the attitudes of parents.

In both the questionnaires and the open-ended interviews, all prefacing remarks were kept to a minimum. To ensure that any bias would be minimized, the same prefacing remarks were used with each person being interviewed (see Appendix B). In only a few instances was it necessary to go beyond these prepared remarks to clarify a question not fully understood.

Treatment of Data

To ascertain the positive and negative attitudes of the various groups being compared, the group means were compared for scale values above and below 3.0.

To test the hypotheses, it was necessary to program the data through the computer. The test for normality was run first and it was found that the skewness and the kurtosis approximated the normal distribution. This allowed the use of parametric procedures in continuing the analysis of the data. The significance of the differences between or among the means being compared was tested by the method of analysis of variance with the F statistic testing for the differences. The .05 level of confidence was selected for the critical region.

The treatment of the responses to the four hypothetical situations required a more subjective approach. A summary of comments made by the interviewees is included in the discussion chapter. The value of

these responses is primarily for the elaboration of attitudes and to serve as additional information for the school district.

CHAPTER IV

THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The results of the study are being reported in two sections of this chapter. Because of the nature of the study, it is of value to examine the results according to the hypotheses tested and according to the eight variables represented in the questionnaire.

The first section, which reports the results of the study according to the hypotheses, will probably appeal more to the statistician. The second section, which reports the results of the study according to the eight questions used, should appeal more to the non-statistician. Both sections are reporting essentially the same results but from a different perspective.

Results According to the Hypotheses

The design of the study was a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial with all variables fixed. The design enabled the researcher to study the main effects of three socio-economic levels (lower, middle, and upper), two types of schools (transfer and control), and two grade levels (intermediate and upper). In addition, interaction effects were studied.

In this kind of study where multiple factors are involved it is necessary to test for interaction effects before the main effects can be properly analyzed. Interaction is defined as the joint effect of

several variables or factors. In other words, before it can be said that there is a socio-economic effect, or a grade effect, or a school effect on the responses of parents we must test to see if the interaction between the factors themselves have an effect on the responses.

Because of the possible interaction involved, the four subsidiary hypotheses are reported first.

Subsidiary Effects*

Hypothesis 4. There is no interaction effect between socio-economic levels (lower, middle, and upper) and schools (transfer and control) in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 2, 98 d. f. and the .05 significance level was used to test this hypothesis. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 2, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{Interaction (SE, S) Mean Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

None of the F tests for the eight variables was found to be significant. The tabular F with 2, 98 d. f. at the .05 level was 3.08. Therefore, the null hypothesis was accepted. There was no interaction effect between the socio-economic factor and the school factor in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

Hypothesis 5. There is no interaction effect between socio-economic levels (lower, middle, and upper) and grade levels

* See Appendix D for ANOVAR tables.

(intermediate and upper) in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 2, 98 d. f. and the .05 significance level was used to test this hypothesis. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 2, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{Interaction (SE. G) Mean Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

None of the F tests for the eight variables was found to be significant. The tabular F with 2, 98 d. f. at the .05 level was 3.08. Therefore, the null hypothesis was accepted. There was no interaction effect between the socio-economic factor and the grade factor in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

Hypothesis 6. There is no interaction effect between schools (transfer and control) and grades (intermediate and upper) in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 1, 98 d. f. and the .05 significance level was used to test this hypothesis. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 1, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{Interaction (SG) Mean Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

In the F tests for the eight variables, two were found to be significant. Question 5 (one-way bussing) had a computed F of 4.804. Question 6 (two-way bussing) had a computed F of 6.117. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected for questions 5 and 6. This means that there was a joint effect between schools and grades in the responses of the parents to one-way bussing and two-way bussing. The null hypothesis was accepted for the remaining questions (1, 2, 3,

4, 7, 8).

Hypothesis 7. There is no interaction effect between socio-economic levels (lower, middle, and upper), schools (transfer and control), and grades (intermediate and upper) in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 2, 98 d. f. and the .05 level of significance was used to test this hypothesis. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 2, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{Interaction (SE. S. G.) Means Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

None of the F tests for the eight variables was found to be significant. The tabular F with 2 d. f. at the .05 level was 3.08. Therefore, the null hypothesis was accepted. There was no interaction effect between the socio-economic factor, school factor, and grade factor in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

Summary of Significance Testing of Subsidiary Effects

In the four subsidiary hypotheses, there were eight variables tested with a total of seven degrees of freedom. This means that there were 56 treatments involved in the testing of the four subsidiary hypotheses. Since only two treatments proved to be significant, or less than five percent, it can be concluded that generally the interaction effects were not influential in the testing of the main effects.

Main Effects*

Hypothesis 1. There is no school effect (transfer versus control) in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 1 d. f. and the .05 significance level was used to test this hypothesis. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 1, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{School Mean Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

In the F tests for the eight variables one was found to be significant. Question 6 (two-way bussing) had a computed F of 4.565. The tabular F with 1 d. f. at the .05 level was 3.93. This means that there was a difference between transfer schools and control schools on two-way bussing. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected for question 6 and accepted for the remaining seven questions.

Hypothesis 2. There is no socio-economic effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 2 d. f. and the .05 significance level was used to test this hypothesis. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 2, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{Socio-Economic Mean Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

In the F tests for the eight variables, four were found to be significant:

* See Appendix D for ANOVAR tables.

Question 3 (social behavior) had a computed F of 6.270

Question 4 (neighborhood schools) had a computed F of 6.044

Question 6 (two-way bussing) had a computed F of 20.698

Question 7 (open housing) had a computed F of 3.498

The tabular F with 2 d. f. at the .05 level was 3.08. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected for the above questions (3, 4, 6, 7) and accepted for the remaining questions (1, 2, 5, 8). This means that on the questions about social behavior, neighborhood schools, two-way bussing, and open housing, the responses of Non-Negro parents were influenced by the socio-economic factor.

Hypothesis 3. There is no grade level effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents. The F statistic with 1 d. f. and the .05 significance level was used. The test for the hypothesis was:

$$F .05, 1, 98 \text{ d. f.} = \frac{\text{Grade Mean Square}}{\text{Error Mean Square}}$$

In the F tests for the eight variables, two were found to be significant. Question 5 (one-way bussing) had a computed F of 7.698. Question 7 (open housing) had a computed F of 5.864. The tabular F with 1 d. f. at the .05 level was 3.93. Thus, the null hypothesis was rejected for questions 5 and 7, and was accepted for questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8.

This means that on the questions of one-way bussing and open housing the responses of Non-Negro parents were influenced by the grade level factor.

Summary of Significance Testing of Main Effects

In the testing of the main effects, there appears to be a pronounced socio-economic effect on the responses of Non-Negro parents. Responses to four of the eight questions showed significant difference.

There appears to be some grade level effect on the responses of Non-Negro parents. There were significant differences in the responses to two of the eight questions.

There seems to be minimal school effect on the responses of Non-Negro parents. There was a significant difference in the responses to one of the eight questions.

Results According to the Eight Variables

Question 1. Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward Model School Transfer Program

The analysis of variance indicated no significant differences between any of the means (Table 4).

Table 4. Analysis of Variance for Question 1.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	2.18	1.77	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.97	.78	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	3.60	2.92	3.93	6.85
Error	98	1.23			

The attitude toward the Model School Transfer Program appears to be generally neutral with most of the means slightly below the neutral point of 3.00 (Table 5).

Table 5. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 1. *

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
2.75 (L)	2.81 (C)	2.73 (I)
3.17 (M)	2.99 (T)	3.08 (U)
2.79 (U)		

* Code for Means:

(L) - low	(C) - control	(I) - intermediate
(M) - middle	(T) - transfer	(U) - upper
(U) - upper		

Question 2. Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward Effect of the Negro on Academic Progress of Non-Negro Children

The analysis of variance indicated no significant difference in any of the means (Table 6).

The attitude of parents toward the effect of the Negro on academic progress of Non-Negro children appears to be generally neutral with most of the means very close to 3.00 (Table 7).

Question 3. Attitude of Non-Negro Parents Toward the Effect of the Negro on the Social Behavior of the Non-Negro Child

The analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in the responses of the socio-economic levels, the F statistic being 6.27 (Table 8). Further, t-tests indicate that the middle socio-economic

Table 6. Analysis of Variance for Question 2.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	.252	1.06	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.816	3.43	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.126	.53	3.93	6.85
Error	98	.237			

Table 7. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 2.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
3.12 (L)	3.11 (C)	3.06 (L)
3.00 (M)	2.95 (T)	3.00 (U)
2.97 (U)		

Table 8. Analysis of Variance for Question 3.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	3.03	<u>6.270</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.396	.820	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.006	.013	3.93	6.85
Error	98	.4836			

level differed significantly from the lower and upper socio-economic levels in attitudes (Table 9). The mean of 3.5 indicated the middle socio-economic level to be negative toward the Negro, while the lower and upper levels are very close to the neutral position (Table 10).

The means of the schools and grades appear to be slightly negative toward the Negro (Table 10).

Table 9. Student t-Tests for Socio-Economic Differences.

Source	Mean Difference	M. S.	D. F.	Computed t	Tabular t .05
Lower x Middle	.325	.4836	78	2.09	1.99
Middle x Upper	.53	.4836	68	3.15	1.995
Lower x Upper	.20	.4836	68	1.13	1.995

Table 10. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 3.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
3.17 (L)	3.26 (C)	3.21 (I)
3.50 (M)	3.15 (T)	3.20 (U)
2.97 (U)		

Question 4. Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward the Concept of Neighborhood Schools

The means in parenthesis were used in the analysis of variance because it was necessary to reverse the scoring since a favorable attitude toward neighborhood schools would be considered to be a negative response to the integration of Negroes (Table 13).

The analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in the responses of the socio-economic levels, the F statistic being 5.48 (Table 11). Further, t-tests indicate the low socio-economic level differs significantly from the middle and upper levels (Table 12). The original mean of 2.20 indicates the lower socio-economic level is positive toward neighborhood schools, thus, negative toward Negro integration, but the middle and upper levels are strongly positive toward neighborhood schools, thus, strongly negative toward Negro integration (Table 13).

The means of the socio-economic levels, of the schools, and of the grades indicated a strong positive feeling toward the neighborhood schools (Table 13).

Question 5. Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward One-Way Bussing of Negro Students Out of the Albina Area

The analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in the responses of the grades, the F statistic being 7.69 (Table 14). The mean of 4.01 indicates that the upper grade parents differ significantly

Table 11. Analysis of Variance for Question 4.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	6.93	<u>5.48</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.00	.00	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	1.20	1.04	3.93	6.85
Error	98	1.26			

Table 12. Student t-Tests for Socio-Economic Differences.

Source	Mean Difference	M. S.	D. F.	Computed t	Tabular t .05
Lower x Middle	.60	1.2642	78	2.39	1.99
Middle x Upper	.23	1.2642	68	.848	1.995
Lower x Upper	.83	1.2642	68	3.06	1.995

Table 13. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 4.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
2.20 (L) (2.80)	1.73 (C) (3.27)	1.63 (I) (3.37)
1.60 (M) (3.40)	1.73 (T) (3.27)	1.83 (U) (3.17)
1.37 (U) (3.63)		

from the intermediate grade parents in their responses (Table 15).

While the intermediate grade parents are negative toward the one-way bussing, the upper grade parents are strongly negative toward the one-way bussing.

Table 14. Analysis of Variance for Question 5.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	2.93	1.86	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.546	.347	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	12.09	<u>7.69</u>	3.93	6.85
Error	98	1.5714			

Table 15. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 5.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
3.40 (L)	3.63 (C)	3.38 (I)
3.92 (M)	3.76 (T)	4.01 (U)
3.77 (U)		

The means of the socio-economic levels and the schools indicate negative attitudes toward the one-way bussing (Table 15).

Question 6. Attitude of Non-Negro Parents Toward Integration of Portland Schools by Two-Way Bussing of Negro Students Out of the Albina Area and Non-Negro Students into the Albina Area

The analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in socio-economic level responses and in school responses. The F

statistic for socio-economic levels was 20.69 (Table 16). Further, t-tests indicate the low socio-economic level differed significantly from the middle and upper levels (Table 17). The mean of 3.25 indicates the low socio-economic level to be negative toward two-way bussing, while the middle and upper socio-economic levels are strongly negative toward the two-way bussing (Table 18).

The means of the grades indicate strong negative responses to this question (Table 18).

Question 7. Attitude of Non-Negro Parents Toward Integration of the Community by Open Housing

The analysis of variance indicated a significant difference in the responses of the socio-economic levels, the F statistic being 3.17 (Table 19). Further, the Student t-tests indicated that the middle socio-economic level differed significantly from the low and upper levels (Table 20). The middle socio-economic level was positive toward open housing, but the lower and upper levels were strongly positive toward open housing (Table 21).

The analysis of variance also indicated a significant difference in the responses of the grades, the F statistic being 5.86 (Table 19). The intermediate grades, with a mean of 1.91, were strongly positive toward open housing, while the upper grades were only positive (Table 21).

The means of the schools indicate a positive attitude toward

Table 16. Analysis of Variance for Question 6.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	24.37	<u>20.69</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	5.37	<u>4.56</u>	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.056	.047	3.93	6.85
Error	98	1.1775			

Table 17. Student t- Tests for Socio-Economic Differences.

Source	Mean Difference	M. S.	D. F.	t	t .05
Lower x Middle	1.25	1.1775	78	5.16	1.99
Middle x Upper	.10	1.1775	68	.383	1.995
Lower x Upper	1.35	1.1775	68	5.17	1.995

Table 18. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 6.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
3.25 (L)	3.93 (C)	4.16 (I)
4.50 (M)	4.35 (T)	4.12 (U)
4.60 (U)		

Table 19. Analysis of Variance for Question 7.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	4.36	<u>3.17</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	1.90	1.38	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	8.06	5.86	3.93	6.85
Error	98	1.3744			

Table 20. Student t-Tests for Socio-Economic Differences.

Source	Mean Difference	M. S.	D. F.	Computed F	Tabular t .05
Lower x Middle	.63	1.2744	78	2.40	1.99
Middle x Upper	.68	1.3744	68	2.40	1.995
Lower x Upper	.05	1.3744	68	.176	1.995

Table 21. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 7.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
1.92 (L)	2.05 (C)	1.91 (I)
2.55 (M)	2.30 (T)	2.43 (U)
1.87 (U)		

integration by open housing (Table 21).

Question 8. Attitude of Non-Negro Parents Toward Militant Behavior as a Means of Achieving Integration

The analysis of variance indicated no significant differences in any of the above means (Table 22).

The attitude of Non-Negro parents toward militant behavior is strongly negative as shown in all of the means (Table 23).

Table 22. Analysis of Variance for Question 8.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
Socio-Economic	2	.160	.270	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	1.240	2.090	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.560	.944	3.93	6.85
Error	98	.6540			

Table 23. Means Derived from Rating Scale for Question 8.

Socio-Economic	Schools	Grades
4.62 (L)	4.78 (C)	4.75 (I)
4.75 (M)	4.58 (T)	4.61 (U)
4.67 (U)		

CHAPTER V

A DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The purposes of the study were three-fold:

1. To identify the attitudes of Non-Negro parents toward the integration of Negroes into the schools and communities.
2. To measure the effects of socio-economic class, of schools, and of grade levels on the responses of Non-Negro parents.
3. To provide for further elaboration of Non-Negro parent attitudes through open-ended interviews.

This chapter of the report is organized into two parts. The first part discusses the first two purposes with the eight questions being utilized as a point of reference. The second part discusses the responses to the four hypothetical situations (the third purpose) and relates them to the first two purposes.

Discussion of the Eight Questions

Question 1. What are the Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents
Toward the Model School Transfer Program?

- a. The attitudes of parents toward the program seemed to be neutral. If there was a tendency, it seemed to be slightly in favor of the program, as indicated by the means in Table 5. Most parents who commented about the program were not familiar with the "compensatory" aspects.

The parents in the transfer schools were familiar with the transfer program because there were Negro children attending their schools.

- b. The responses of the parents showed no significant differences between socio-economic levels, between control and transfer schools, or between intermediate and upper grades.

Question 2. What are the Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward the Effect of the Negro on Academic Progress of Non-Negro Children?

- a. The attitude of parents toward this question was quite neutral. Parents seemed surprised that this question should be asked. They seemed to believe that learning is a private matter and, if a child wants to learn, his academic growth cannot be influenced negatively. There was an apparent lack of understanding of the psychology of learning.
- b. The responses of the parents showed no significant differences between socio-economic levels, between control and transfer schools, or between intermediate and upper grades.

Question 3. What are the attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward the Effect of the Negro on the Social Behavior of Non-Negro Children?

- a. With the exception of the upper socio-economic class, the attitudes of parents were slightly negative toward the Negro.

The upper class was very close to a neutral position. Non-Negro parents, in general, seemed to show some fear of the psychological and social influence of Negroes.

- b. A significant difference in parent attitudes was found to exist between the middle socio-economic class, and the lower and upper socio-economic class. The middle socio-economic class parents were more negative toward the Negro than were the lower and upper classes. This supports part of the theory found in the literature that the middle class is more conscious of psychological and social values. However, the neutral position of the upper class is not supported in the literature. It may be that the upper class, being stratified so far above the Negro, has not seen the Negro as a potential threat as has the middle class.

Question 4. What are the attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward the Concept of Neighborhood Schools ?

- a. The attitudes of parents were pronounced in favor of neighborhood schools, thus negative toward integration of Negroes. This was also supported by the review of literature. Most parents were concerned about maintaining the close relationship now possible in neighborhood schools. Many cited reasons of convenience -- children are close to home, children associate with neighborhood children, sick

children may be picked up easily.

- b. A significant difference in parent attitudes was found to exist between socio-economic levels when mean scores were compared statistically. The lower class, although in favor of neighborhood schools, was less in favor than middle and upper classes. This supports the theory that middle and upper classes are more concerned with psychological and social values, as was indicated in the literature. The lower class does not see the neighborhood schools as a support for these values as do the middle and upper classes.

Question 5. What are the Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward One-Way Bussing of Negro Students Out of the Albina Area?

- a. The attitudes of parents toward one-way bussing were decidedly negative. Most of the means were tending toward the 4.00 point on the scale. The dislike for bussing was not unexpected because much of the literature has substantiated this attitude of the American public.
- b. There was a significant difference in attitude between the intermediate and upper grade parents. The upper grade parents were strongly opposed to the bussing (mean 4.01) as opposed to the intermediate grades (mean 3.38). This might relate to the concern of upper grade parents toward the

socialization of their children with Negroes which was reported in the literature. However, in question 3 there was no significant difference between intermediate and upper grade parent attitudes in the matter of socialization.

Question 6. What are the Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward Integration of Portland Schools by the Two-Way Bussing of Negro Students Out of the Albina Area and Non-Negro Children Into the Albina Area?

- a. The attitudes of the parents were strongly negative toward two-way bussing, with the exception of the low socio-economic class which was only moderately opposed. The means of the other groups were in the 4.00 plus range. This attitude position is supported in the literature.
- b. There was a significant difference between parent attitudes of the socio-economic classes when the low socio-economic class was compared with the middle and upper classes. The middle and upper classes were strongly negative while the lower class was only moderately negative. This would indicate, once again, that the lower classes do not see the schools from the psychological and social view. The middle and upper classes see bussing to the ghetto schools as a threat to their value system.

There was a significant difference between control and transfer schools. The transfer schools were more

negative than the control schools. It is possible that their experience with receiving Negroes in the transfer program may have influenced them to a more negative attitude.

Question 7. What are the Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward Integration of the Community by Open Housing?

- a. The attitude of parents was positive toward open housing thus favorable toward the Negro. The literature, although ambiguous on this question, seems to indicate a resistance to open housing. The parents in this study seemed to have a sense of fairness in this area, believing that Negroes are entitled to whatever housing they can afford.
- b. A significant difference in parent attitudes was found to exist between the middle socio-economic class and the lower and upper socio-economic classes. All classes were favorable toward open housing, but the low and upper classes were strongly in favor while the middle class was only moderately favorable. A possible explanation is the fact that the Negro already shares the same kind of housing that the lower class has. The upper class is protected by the high cost of their housing. The middle class lives in the kind of houses that Negroes recognize as attainable.

There was a significant difference between intermediate grades and upper grades, with the intermediate grade

parents being more favorable to open housing than the upper grade parents. It is probable that the threat of socialization with older children has influenced a less favorable attitude in the upper grade parents.

Question 8. What are the Attitudes of Non-Negro Parents Toward Militant Behavior as a Means of Achieving Integration?

- a. The attitude of parents was strongly negative toward militancy. The means of all groups were above the 4.50 point which is an overwhelming rejection of militancy. Militancy as a threat to the self preservation of human life is almost self-evident and, as such, would not be restricted to Negro militancy.
- b. The responses of parents showed no significant differences between control and transfer schools, between socio-economic classes, or between intermediate and upper grades.

Discussion of the Hypothetical Situations

Situation 1. Your school district has decided to integrate all of the schools in your city. You realize that your children must take a bus to a school two miles from your home. What are your feelings about this?

The comments by parents in the interviews were decidedly negative toward bussing. The nature of the comments supported the

findings in question 6 of the previous section.

There was a slight difference in the responses of the socio-economic classes. As in question 6, the low socio-economic class was less negative than the middle and upper classes. Whereas the middle and upper class comments were negative 80-90 percent of the time, the lower class comments were negative 60-70 percent of the time.

There seems to be a difference in the kind of negative comments. In the lower class, the comments seem to indicate opposition for reasons of economics or inconvenience. Examples of the kinds of comments are:

- a. "If the school pays for the bussing it might be alright."
- b. "I am opposed to it but, if it has to be and the money is provided, I would have to accept it."
- c. "I would be opposed to it because I am close to the school. I have a good routine now. It would be inconvenient to get baby sitters."

The comments of the middle and upper classes indicated more concern with the psychological and social implications. Examples of their comments are:

- a. "I would be adverse to it. The environment away might not be good. Here, I know what the trouble is."
- b. "I would be vehemently against it. I would put them into

private school first. "

- c. "I object strongly to this. We buy a home in an area where we believe people want the same as we do. It cuts down on activities for children. "
- d. "I am against it. School is for learning, not experimentation. It is inconvenient, impossible to get to school activities. "

Situation 2. In Detroit, Michigan, the White members of the Construction Union marched in protest against the idea of placing a certain quota of Negroes in the various construction jobs. What are your feelings toward this action by White construction workers ?

The attitude of Non-Negro parents toward fair employment for Negroes was not tested in the eight questions used in the study, thus the comments can only be used as a further exposition of attitudes of the Non-Negro parents.

The general tone of the respondents was positive toward fair employment practices. Most respondents thought that the Negro should have an equal opportunity for jobs, but should be qualified for the jobs. It was recognized that training programs would be necessary before many Negroes could qualify for skilled jobs. A large number of respondents were concerned about the "closed corporations" of the unions.

A number of comments referred to the laziness of Negroes and

their refusal to produce when they are hired.

There was an unexpected difference in responses by socio-economic classes. As mentioned above, the responses were generally positive from all three classes, but the middle class was decidedly less positive than lower or upper classes.

The literature seems to indicate that the lower class was economically oriented and would thus be more negative toward Negroes on economic issues. However, the lower class was positive in their comments 80-90 percent of the time.

Comments made by the lower and upper classes were as follows:

- a. "I figure the Negro has the right to make a living. They should not be barred."
- b. "My feelings are that the Negroes are equal and if qualified should have the job. Some Negroes at my place of work are not qualified, but this is probably necessary at this time."
- c. "If the Negroes are qualified, fine. I have no sympathy with Whites if the basis is just color."
- d. "Negroes are entitled to work as are Whites. I feel that I don't want a lousy Negro next to me, but a good one is fine. The Negro children brought home by my children are better than some Whites."

The comments made by the middle class were not as positive as

the comments of the lower and upper classes. Examples of the middle class comments are as follows:

- a. "Employment should be on the basis of ability. Should not be hired to fill a quota. Job training might be the way that quota would be handled."
- b. "I worked for a company who filled their quota. I saw a Negro do the same thing as a White and the White got fired. I believe that ability should determine, not race, color, or creed."
- c. "To work on construction there has to be qualifications. I am an electrician. It is dangerous. When they are qualified they should be given more advantages, but not just because of color. The tail wags the dog pretty fast in a situation like that."
- d. "I don't know what the regulation internally in the union is, but the matter of trying to place Negroes by quotas is ridiculous."

Situation 3. Your neighbor who has lived next door to you for 15 years has his house for sale. He announces to you that he has an opportunity to sell his home to a Negro family with two children. What are your feelings about this announcement?

The comments made by parents about open housing were very positive in favor of the Negro. This was in agreement with the findings

in question 7 of the questionnaire. In question 7 there was a significant difference among socio-economic classes with the middle class less favorable than the other two classes. The comments did not seem to reflect this difference among the socio-economic classes.

If there was any difference at all it was reflected in the grade levels. The comments by upper grade parents were slightly less positive than by intermediate grade parents. This may have been related to the concern of upper grade parents toward socialization between Negro and Non-Negro.

It was noticed, however, that most of the comments made by the parents on this question were very short and precise. There was not much extension in the answers. Examples of the kind of comments made are as follows:

- a. "Great. Fair housing law says you can live anywhere. "
- b. "I might be shocked at first, but actually, here I do not pay much attention to my neighbors. "
- c. "They should have a chance to live where they want. I believe in that. "
- d. "Fine, just as long as they are clean and intelligent. I am more interested in that they have moral and cleanliness standards. "
- e. "I think it is fine. We lived next door to a Negro family. They were as good as anyone else. The children played

well together. "

- f. "I wouldn't care. The laws of the land say you have to do so. We have Negroes in the neighborhood who are fine. Sometimes you get one who has junk in the yard. Some Whites are as bad. "

Situation 4. You have a young daughter in the eight grade. She is looking forward to attending a local school dance and party. She indicates that she may be asked to dance at the party by a young Negro boy. What would your feelings be about this ?

The attitude toward socialization of Negro and White was strongly negative as indicated by the comments made. It should be noted that in the hypothetical situation there was no mention of a relationship beyond the dancing together, but in the responses by parents the socialization was expanded to dating and intermarriage.

The responses to this hypothetical situation seem to reflect a sense of anxiety in most parents. There was a strong need to be democratic and to be morally right, but the responses showed a strong rejection of the Negro when it meant a possible dating or intermarriage relationship.

There was a slight difference in attitude between the lower class, and the middle and upper classes. Where 90 percent plus of the comments were strongly opposed to socialization in the middle and upper classes, 70-80 percent of the comments were negative in the

lower class.

Examples of comments from the lower class are as follows:

- a. "To dance is fine, but that is as far as it goes. Friends, yes, dating, no."
- b. "I have never thought about that. I don't know how to answer that one. The more Negroes and Whites associate the more they will marry. I don't think races should intermarry. That is what it will lead to."
- c. "Well, I never had a daughter. I would say it is permissible, but I don't believe in intermarriage. Socially, it is fine but dating and marriage, definitely no."

Examples of comments from the middle and upper classes are as follow:

- a. "My feelings are that she had better say no. I don't believe in this close relationship. I don't believe in this kind of thing."
- b. "I probably would have a small hemorrhage. I had a friend who was always for the Negro until his daughter, 17 years of age, suddenly had a date. My friend knocked the Negro off the porch."
- c. "Coming from a very strict old English family, I wouldn't want her to marry a Negro. It wouldn't be fair to either party. I would tell any Negro the same thing. I think the

Negro feels the same. "

- d. "I don't object to dancing with colored, but I would have a real problem if marriage was involved. "
- e. "I just don't want them brought home to my bedroom. I just don't think we need that. I don't object to them in a social situation. I am not ready for dating or that kind of thing. "
- f. "I wouldn't like it. I think it puts her in an awkward situation. Her defenses are weakened in that she is not free to select or reject a person. "

The expectancy that there might be a difference in responses between intermediate and upper grade parents did not materialize in the comments.

Intermediate grade parents evidently were able to simulate the hypothetical situation of having a daughter in the eighth grade and responded accordingly.

CHAPTER VI

A SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This concluding chapter will briefly summarize the entire study. The major points of each chapter will be reviewed. The intent of the chapter is to provide the reader with a concise overview of the study.

The chapter is divided into 11 sections. These include the background for the study, the purposes of the study, statement of the specific problem, the seven hypotheses, the independent variables, the four hypothetical situations, the methodology, the related literature, the findings, implications, and suggestions for future research.

Background

In 1965, as a result of a decision by the Board of Education, the Portland School District initiated the Model School Program which provided for a "compensatory" education program for the disadvantaged children in the school district. These disadvantaged children were primarily Negro and were concentrated in the Albina section of the city.

In addition to a "compensatory" program, there was also provided an opportunity for "integration" by means of a transfer program to other schools in the district. About 600 students were participating in the transfer program.

This study has used the transfer program as a vehicle to investigate the attitudes of Non-Negro parents toward the integration of Negroes into the schools and the community of Portland, Oregon.

Purposes

The purposes of the study were to do three things:

1. Identify the attitudes of Non-Negro parents toward the integration of Negroes into the schools and communities.
2. Measure the effects of socio-economic class, of schools, and of grade levels on the responses of Non-Negro parents.
3. Provide for further elaboration of Non-Negro parent attitudes through open-ended interviews.

Specific Problem

The specific problem in the study was to answer the following three questions:

1. Are there significant differences in the attitudes of Non-Negro parents in the transfer schools as opposed to attitudes of Non-Negro parents in the control schools ?
2. Do the socio-economic levels of the Non-Negro parent cause a significant difference in his attitude toward Negroes ?
3. Does the grade level of the Non-Negro child affect the attitude of his parents toward Negroes ?

Hypotheses

The three questions were formulated into seven hypotheses: three main hypotheses and four subsidiary hypotheses. The hypotheses were stated in null form and tested for significance.

Main Effects

1. There is no significant school effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
2. There is no significant socio-economic effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
3. There is no significant grade level effect in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

Subsidiary Effects

4. There is no significant interaction effect between socio-economic levels and schools in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
5. There is no significant interaction effect between socio-economic levels and grade levels in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
6. There is no significant interaction effect between schools and grade levels in the responses of Non-Negro parents.
7. There is no significant interaction effect between

socio-economic levels, schools, and grade levels in the responses of Non-Negro parents.

Independent Variables

The attitudes of Non-Negro parents were described relative to the following independent variables.

Attitudes of Non-Negro parents concerning:

1. The present transfer program of Negro students to their schools.
2. The effect of Negro students on the academic progress of their children.
3. The effect of Negro students on the socialization progress of their children.
4. The retention of the neighborhood school concept.
5. The integration of schools by one-way bussing of Negro students out of the Albina area.
6. The integration of schools by two-way bussing of Negro students out of the Albina area and Non-Negro students into the Albina area.
7. The integration of Negroes into their neighborhood community.
8. The effect of Negro militancy upon their attitudes.

Four Hypothetical Situations

To gain additional information about the attitudes of Non-Negro parents, four hypothetical situations involving issues of bussing, employment, housing, and socialization were presented in open-ended interviews at the time the questionnaires were submitted to the parents.

The responses to these four situations were used to expand the analysis of data from the main hypotheses:

1. Your school district has decided to integrate all of the schools in your city. You realize that your children must take a bus to a school two miles from your home. What are your feelings about this ?
2. In Detroit, Michigan, the White members of the Construction Union marched in protest against the idea of placing a certain quota of Negroes in the various construction jobs. What are your feelings toward this action by White construction workers ?
3. Your neighbor who has lived next door to you for 15 years has his house for sale. He announces to you that he has an opportunity to sell his home to a Negro family with two children. What are your feelings about this announcement ?
4. You have a young daughter in the eighth grade. She is looking forward to attending a local school dance and party.

She indicates that she may be asked to dance at the party by a young Negro boy. What would your feelings be about this?

Methods and Procedures

Selection of Schools and Parents

The design of the study was a 2 x 2 x 3 factorial design with one cell missing.

From the 73 elementary schools available, a correlation between income and achievement provided a basis for categorizing the schools into low, middle, and upper socio-economic groups. A school receiving transfer students (Negroes) was selected from each of the socio-economic groups and matched with a control school from each of the socio-economic groups.

From each of the six schools selected, one intermediate and one upper grade was selected. It was necessary to drop an upper grade in the upper socio-economic transfer school because the school received no transfer students in its upper grades. Thus there were 11 grade rooms and one empty cell.

Using random sampling, 15 parents were selected from each room. From these 15 parents, ten interviews were achieved. A total of 110 interviews were concluded in the study.

The Instrument

The instrument used in the study was a questionnaire containing eight questions which were used to identify the attitudes of the parents being interviewed. The responses to each question were marked on a Likert type (five point) scale.

The responses in the range below three were considered positive toward the Negro. The responses in the range above three were considered to be negative toward the Negro.

In addition to the eight questions, four hypothetical situations about bussing, fair employment, housing, and socialization were presented to the parents. The comments made by parents were recorded and used for the purpose of further elaboration of parent attitudes.

Treatment of the Data

The hypotheses were tested, using the analysis of variance. The means for socio-economic classes, schools, and grade levels were tested for differences, using the F statistic. The .05 level of confidence was used as the criterion of significance.

The responses to the four hypothetical situations were not subjected to statistical treatment, but were summarized as supplementary information in the study.

Related Literature and Research

The early literature on the subject of desegregation contained strong elements of moral and political bias. It has only been in the last few years that the effects of certain conditions have been receptive to research.

In the area of social class and desegregation, the literature seems to support an economic interpretation of history, although some researchers take a strong exception to this narrow view. Much of the research seems to support the theory that lower socio-economic groups display the most hostility to the integration of the Negro. The rationale for this rests in the fact that the Negro will first invade the employment area of the lower class, becoming a threat to their economic life.

Research seems to support the theory that the middle and upper classes are more tolerant and less discriminatory toward the Negro. The rationale for this being that the Negro is not an immediate economic threat to the middle and upper classes.

Related to the economic theory in the research is another theory which maintains that as the middle and upper classes become more economically secure, their concerns become more abstract. The psychic and socialization process become more significant. Middle and upper class parents refer to values more often when discussing the problem of integration. This, of course, is seen by some as a

rationalization for the middle and upper classes who have already stratified themselves by housing and neighborhood schools.

In more specific areas related to desegregation, research seems to show the following:

1. Compensatory education had not been a satisfactory means of education. The achievement of the Negro student is better in desegregated schools.
2. Bussing is not liked by most parents. The Negro parent accepts it more readily than does the White parent.
3. Discrimination exists in the area of housing. Even though laws prohibit this discrimination, means are found to circumvent the law. This may only support the fact that social groups stratify and housing is a manifestation of it.
4. Much research suggests that the key to the problem of desegregation is in the area of employment, but that it is so related to education and housing that it is necessary to approach the problem of desegregation on a multiple front -- education, housing, and employment.

Findings

The findings of the study have been discussed in Chapter V. In this chapter they will be stated in declarative form with no further elaboration. The findings will be stated relative to the attitudes, to

the significant differences, and to the hypothetical situations.

Findings According to Attitudes

1. The Non-Negro parents in all groups generally were neutral toward the Model School Transfer Program.
2. The Non-Negro parents in all groups were generally neutral toward the effect of the Negro on the academic progress of Non-Negro children.
3. The Non-Negro parents in all groups believed the Negro had a negative effect on the social behavior of the Non-Negro child.
4. The Non-Negro parents, with the exception of the low socio-economic group, were strongly in favor of the neighborhood school. The low socio-economic group was less favorable toward the concept of neighborhood schools, thus less negative toward integration of the Negro.
5. The Non-Negro parents in all groups were negative to one-way bussing.
6. The Non-Negro parents, with the exception of the low socio-economic group, were strongly negative toward two-way bussing. The low socio-economic group was negative.
7. The Non-Negro parents were favorable toward open housing for Negroes.

8. The Non-Negro parents were strongly negative toward militant behavior as a means of achieving integration.

Findings According to Significant Differences

Subsidiary Hypotheses. In general there was no significant interaction effect in the four subsidiary hypotheses (4, 5, 6, and 7).

Main Hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Socio-Economic Effects

There were significant socio-economic effects in four of the eight tests.

- a. The middle socio-economic class was significantly more negative than the lower and upper classes on the question of the effect of the Negro on the social behavior of the Non-Negro child.
- b. The lower socio-economic class was significantly less positive toward the concept of neighborhood schools than were the middle and upper classes.
- c. The lower socio-economic class was significantly less negative toward two-way bussing than were the middle and upper socio-economic classes.
- d. The middle socio-economic class was significantly less positive toward open housing than were the lower and upper socio-economic classes.

Hypothesis 2: School Effects

There was a significant school effect in only one of the eight tests.

- a. The transfer schools were significantly more negative toward two-way bussing than were the control schools.

Hypothesis 3: Grade Level Effects

There were significant grade level effects in two of the eight tests.

- a. The upper grade parents were significantly more negative toward two-way bussing than were the intermediate grade parents.
- b. The upper grade parents were significantly less positive toward open housing than were the intermediate grade parents.

Findings According to Hypothetical Situations

Hypothetical Situation 1: Bussing

The parents were strongly negative toward bussing as indicated by their comments. The lower socio-economic class seemed more concerned about inconvenience and economic cost of bussing. The middle and upper classes seemed more concerned about the psychological and social effect of bussing on their children.

Hypothetical Situation 2: Fair Employment

The parents were positive toward fair employment as indicated by their comments. There was an unexpected difference in comment by socio-economic classes. It was the middle socio-economic class that was the least positive in its comments when it might be expected that the lower class would be the least positive because of its economic concern.

Hypothetical Situation 3: Open Housing

The parents were strongly positive toward open housing in their comments. There seemed to be no differences in the comments by socio-economic classes. There may have been a slight difference by grade level, in that the upper grade parents' comments were slightly less positive.

Hypothetical Situation 4: Socialization

The parents were strongly negative toward socialization as indicated by their comments. Socialization to them meant the threat of dating and possible intermarriage. There was a slight difference in comments according to socio-economic classes. The lower socio-economic class comments seemed slightly less negative than the middle and upper classes.

Implications

The findings of the study have very special implications to the

future welfare of the Portland schools and community. The present reorganization of the Portland School District will be affected by the findings.

1. Parents are opposed to the bussing of children. Any plans toward school reorganization or toward integration of schools and community by bussing of children will meet strong resistance. It is very probable that school financing would be rejected by patrons if extensive bussing was imposed upon the school district.
2. Parents are very favorable toward the concept of neighborhood schools. Any plan for school reorganization or for integration cannot violate this concept. The plan of developing middle schools (5-8th grades) is strategically sound. It retains the original neighborhood school for primary children and extends the neighborhood school boundaries for intermediate and upper grade children.
3. Parents have concerns about the effect of the Negro child on the social behavior of their children. This has implications for curriculum designs as well as school reorganization. Curriculum needs to be carefully developed to promote successful socialization processes. School organization should provide for a gradual integration process to allow time for socialization to take place.

4. Parents have strong feelings against militancy. This is directly related to the implication about social behavior. School reorganization must facilitate means by which the community and the schools can cooperate to resolve problems on the basis of rationality. If militancy is not neutralized, strong reactions will probably result from the White community.
5. Middle socio-economic parents seem to have the most concerns about integration of schools and community. The middle class was more negative on the question of social behavior, less positive toward open housing, more negative toward bussing, more positive toward the concept of neighborhood schools. School administrators should recognize this fact in reorganization of schools and provide special measures to ensure the non-alienation of the classes in our society.
6. Parents have great concern about the interracial relationships of boys and girls in the upper grades. This has implications that go far beyond the normal school relationships. This is potentially the most difficult attitude to consider.

The organization of middle schools will probably add fuel to the fire. The larger congregation of upper grade

children in middle schools will permit more interracial relationships to take place, but at the same time will provide the opportunity for a solution to eventually be made.

7. Parents have positive feelings toward open housing and fair employment. This suggests that while school integration is very necessary, the opportunity to promote integration by utilizing the factors of open housing and employment for Negroes may be a more productive means of realizing success.

Conclusions

The findings in this study have implications of an immediate nature to the Portland School District as indicated above. There are also inferences that can be drawn which not only have long range implications for the school district but also apply to the national concern about the problem of racial integration.

1. The results seem to indicate a negative attitude toward integration of the Negro into the community by means of school integration. Opposition to bussing, concern about the effect of the Negro on social behavior, concern about boy-girl interracial relations, opposition to Negro militancy, strong pro feelings about maintaining the neighborhood school, all suggest that the citizens of Portland are not accepting the

use of public schools as a means of racial integration. This attitude raised the serious question of whether this kind of social acceptance can be effected by the use of law and its processes of enforcement. It seems apparent that laws on school integration are meeting resistance in Portland, Oregon as they have in other parts of the nation.

2. The unexpected negative reaction of the middle socio-economic class to school integration of the Negro is potentially the most significant finding in the study. Much of the theoretical work being done in the social sciences in recent years has been founded on an economic interpretation of history. The economic interpretation of history as applied to disadvantaged groups such as the Negro would suggest that the greatest resistance to the Negro minority would logically be the lower socio-economic Whites with whom the Negro has to compete to achieve economic growth. However, we find in this study it is the middle socio-economic group that is the most resistant to Negroes. This would suggest that there are other value priorities than economic ones that motivate people to interact or not interact with other people. Values of an abstract nature, such as aesthetics and ethics may be the primary motivators of human action. An economic interpretation of history may very well be an

incomplete one.

There is one reservation that must be made to the above conclusion. It may be that many of those who are classified economically as middle class are there by virtue of a factor such as union protectionism. They do however retain many lower class values because of factors other than economics. A better index for defining and measuring middle class values is probably needed to give greater reliability and validity to these kinds of studies.

3. There were two findings in the study that may have seemed inconsistent with the general negative tone in the other findings. In the area of fair employment and open housing, there was a positive attitude toward the Negro by all groups interviewed. This suggests that attitudes cannot be considered in generic terms but must be considered in their specificity.

These two findings actually support the thesis suggested in number one above. It seems that Non-Negro parents are making a distinction in what they will accept as the means toward achieving integration. They seem to be saying that the Negro should be given the opportunity through jobs and housing to raise his standard of living and in doing so will be eligible to participate in the community life to which his

level of ability entitles him but that forced integration by use of public schools is an unnatural way to achieve integration and can only end in difficulties for all concerned.

4. In summary, the findings do not suggest an optimistic future for the school district in Portland. The responses of parents indicate a resistance to school integration particularly if large scale bussing of students becomes a necessity.

The reorganization of schools, utilizing the 5-8th grade middle schools as a means of enlarging neighborhood school boundaries may be defensible in terms of better education for children but many parents may identify it as an instrument to provide for the increased integration of Negroes. Many parents will reject the concept of middle schools on just this principle. When one adds to this the financial cost of developing middle schools, the rejection by parents may be overwhelming.

Because the development of middle schools seems essential to a continued integration of Negroes in Portland, the future success for integration of Negroes through public schools does not seem promising. Needless to say, the problems facing the Portland School District will not diminish.

Suggestions for Future Research

Several suggestions for future research immediately come to mind.

1. A similar study should be made with a Negro conducting the interviews. A comparison of the responses of the Non-Negro parents in the two studies would be interesting.
2. An attitude study toward integration involving teachers would be extremely valuable. If schools are to be involved in the process of integration, the attitudes of teachers would be tremendously important. Teacher attitudes could be compared by sex, age, experience, grade levels, subject areas, elementary versus high school, etc.
3. A similar attitude study about integration should be made in which elementary students, high school students, and their parents are compared in their attitudes.
4. Further studies should be conducted to determine what constitutes change from lower class distinction to middle class distinction. It does not seem that the present criteria used to make class distinctions is adequate.

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APPENDIX A

Correspondence with Parents

Dear Parent:

We are sending this letter to you for two purposes. First, we wish to introduce ourselves to you and, secondly, we wish to make a request for a few minutes of your time.

Mr. Farrell, one of the undersigned, is conducting a research study under the direction of Dr. E. Strowbridge, Department of Education, Oregon State University. We believe that this study will be of value to the profession of Education and also of value to your school and community.

Our research project is interested in parent opinions and attitudes relative to school-community relations. We wish to survey parent opinions about some of the important issues facing the schools and the communities today.

Your name has been selected by a random selection of children's names from several classrooms in different schools in the Portland School District.

The School District has approved this study and is cooperating in its development. Your school principal has been contacted and knows that we will be visiting parents in the community. We will have letters from the Board and your principal to verify their approval.

In a short time we will contact you by telephone to ask for an appointment time. We hope to conduct our interviews during the months of November and December. We wish to assure you at this time that any opinions expressed by you in the interview will be as an anonymous person. No names will be recorded and all information will be confidential. Our interview should require no more than twenty to thirty minutes of your time.

We sincerely hope that you will be able to grant us the necessary cooperation.

Yours Truly,

Bernard J. Farrell

Dr. Edwin Strowbridge

APPENDIX B

Prefacing Statements to the Questionnaire

The Questionnaire

The Hypothetical Situations

Prefacing Statements to the Questionnaire

1. The Model School Transfer Program provides for the voluntary transfer of students from the Model School area to other schools in the city that have available room. The school district provides free transportation. About 600 students, mostly Negro, are now attending other schools in the city under the transfer program.
2. Some people contend that minority group children have an adverse effect on the academic growth of other children in any classroom.
3. Some people contend that minority group children have an adverse effect on the social behavior of other children in any classroom.
4. The concept of the neighborhood school refers to the practice of having children attend schools only within the neighborhood boundaries as established by the local school district. This means that children would not be allowed to transfer to other schools in the district unless they moved their home to that school neighborhood.
5. Some school districts in the United States have integrated their schools by moving Negro children out of the ghetto areas, bus-sing them to other schools in the district. This is often called one-way integration.
6. Some school districts in the United States have integrated their schools by moving some Negro students from the ghetto area schools and bringing some White students to the ghetto area schools. This is often called two-way integration.
7. Some people believe that the integration problem will not be solved until Negroes are allowed to live wherever they wish without rejection by Whites. Open housing is an attempt to give this opportunity to Negroes.
8. It is thought by some that the only way Negroes will achieve integration is by becoming more militant, using political and economic power to gain the desired ends. Others believe that militancy only polarizes feelings which make it less possible to achieve integration.

Questionnaire

The following questions will be marked by use of the scale:

	Strongly Favorable	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable	Strongly Unfavorable
	1	2	3	4	5
1.	In general, how do you feel about the present transfer program of Negro students in the Model School Program?				_____
2.	In your opinion, what kind of effect does the Negro student have on the academic achievement of White students?				_____
3.	In your opinion, what kind of effect does the Negro student have on the social behavior of White students?				_____
4.	How do you feel about the concept of the neighborhood school?				_____
5.	How do you feel about the integration of Portland schools by bussing of Negro students?				_____
6.	How do you feel about the integration of Portland schools by bussing of Negro students and Non-Negro students?				_____
7.	How do you feel about the integration of the community by open housing?				_____
8.	How do you feel about militant behavior as a means of achieving the goal of integration?				_____

The Hypothetical Situations

1. Your school district has decided to integrate all of the schools in your city. You realize that your children must take a bus to a school two miles from your home. What are your feelings about this?

2. In Detroit, Michigan, the White members of the Construction Union marched in protest against the idea of placing a certain quota of Negroes in the various construction jobs. What are your feelings toward this action by White construction workers?

3. Your neighbor who has lived next door to you for 15 years has his house for sale. He announces to you that he has an opportunity to sell his home to a Negro family with two children. What are your feelings about this announcement?

4. You have a young daughter in the eighth grade. She is looking forward to attending a local school dance and party. She indicates that she may be asked to dance at the party by a young Negro boy. What would your feelings be about this?

APPENDIX C

Method for Conducting the Approximate Analysis of the Data

Method for Conducting the Approximate Analysis of Data

The design of the study was a 2 x 2 x 3 factorial design (school x grade x socio-economic levels) with one missing cell (transfer school, upper grade, upper socio-economic level). The exact method of analyzing this type of incomplete data is to place the data into a general linear model framework. This provides the best estimates of the main effects (school, grade, socio-economic level) and of the interaction effects. Because the output of the general linear hypothesis program at Oregon State University was difficult to interpret, it was decided to place approximate values into the missing cell and run the usual factorial program.

The missing values were estimated by the randomized block formula for a single missing value. The same value was used for all ten observations in the missing block for each of the eight questions. The formula is:

$$X = \frac{4 T_4 + 3 B_3 - C}{6}$$

T is the total of the remaining observations in the 4th treatment; B_3 is the total of remaining observations in the 3rd block.

G = grand total

T_1 = control lower

T_2 = control upper

T_3 = transfer lower

T_4 = transfer upper

S. E. 1 = block 1

S. E. 2 = block 2

S. E. 3 = block 3

Schools Grades	C		T	
	L	U	L	U
	T_1	T_2	T_3	T_4
S. E. 1	x	x	x	x
S. E. 2	x	x	x	x
S. E. 3	x	x	x	missing value

The program used was the ANOVAR 3, from the Oregon State Statistic Program Library. This program produced the following analysis of variance:

Source	D. F.
Total	119
School	1
Grades	1
Socio-Economic	2
School x Grade	1
School x Socio-Economic	2
Grade x Socio-Economic	2
School x Grade x Socio-Economic	2
Error	108

Since ten estimated values were used in the analysis it was necessary to correct the degrees of freedom by subtracting 10 d. f. from the total and from the error. The mean square and the F values were adjusted accordingly. It is worthwhile to note that this procedure is almost equivalent to writing the 11 combinations of schools, grades, and socio-economic levels as 11 treatments, T_1, T_2, \dots, T_{11} and then conducting the analysis as a randomized experiment. This analysis will produce the following ANOVA table:

Source	D. F.
Total	109
Treatment	10
Error	99

The loss of one degree of freedom, for error, in the former analysis is necessary to compensate for the estimation of an interaction parameter.

APPENDIX D

Analysis of Variance for Question 1.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	2.180	1.770	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.972	.789	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	3.605	2.927	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	1.227	.996	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	2.330	1.892	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	2.945	2.391	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	.290	.235	3.08	4.79
Error	98	1.23			

Analysis of Variance for Question 2.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	.252	1.062	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.816	3.435	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.126	.533	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	.669	2.815	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	.249	1.048	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	.310	1.392	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	.022	.095	3.08	4.79
Error	98	.237			

Analysis of Variance for Question 3.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	3.032	<u>6.270</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.396	.820	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.006	.013	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	1.059	2.190	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	.309	.639	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	.080	.165	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	.072	.150	3.08	4.79
Error	98	.483			

Analysis of Variance for Question 4.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	6.933	<u>5.484</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.000	.000	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	1.200	.989	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	.300	.126	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	1.600	1.265	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	.000	.000	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	2.100	1.661	3.08	4.79
Error	98	1.264			

Analysis of Variance for Question 5.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	2.932	1.868	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	.546	.347	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	12.096	<u>7.698</u>	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	2.169	1.380	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	.054	.034	3.08	6.85
School x Grade	1	7.550	<u>4.804</u>	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	1.217	.774	3.08	4.79
Error	98	1.571			

Analysis of Variance for Question 6.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	24.373	<u>20.698</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	5.376	4.565	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.056	.047	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	.016	.013	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	1.746	1.483	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	7.203	<u>6.117</u>	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	.003	.002	3.08	4.79
Error	98	1.177			

Analysis of Variance for Question 7.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	4.362	<u>3.174</u>	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	1.900	1.382	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	8.060	<u>5.864</u>	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	.682	.496	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	1.862	1.355	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	.070	.051	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	1.232	.896	3.08	4.79
Error	98	1.374			

Analysis of Variance for Question 8.

Source	D. F.	M. S.	Computed F	Tabular F .05	Tabular F .01
<u>Main Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic	2	.160	.245	3.08	4.79
Schools	1	1.240	1.896	3.93	6.85
Grades	1	.560	.856	3.93	6.85
<u>Subsidiary Effects</u>					
Socio-Economic x School	2	.030	.046	3.08	4.79
Socio-Economic x Grade	2	.990	1.514	3.08	4.79
School x Grade	1	.040	.061	3.93	6.85
Socio-Economic x School x Grade	2	.620	.948	3.08	4.79
Error	98	.654			