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DROPOUTS AND THE INABILITY FOR PERCEIVED PAY-OFF AMONG BLACK INNER-CITY SECONDARY STUDENTS

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

A Dissertation Presented

by

BENJAMIN FOSTER, JR.

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1989

School of Education



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DROPOUTS AND THE INABILITY FOR PERCEIVED PAY-OFF AMONG BLACK INNER-CITY SECONDARY STUDENTS

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

A Dissertation presented

by

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iv

Finally, the writer wishes to thank Dr. Walton L. Brown for her encouragement. She was a balm in Gilead.

The writer is immensely grateful for the opportunity to study a subject that will become increasingly significant to the social well-being of America and the international community. He sincerely hopes that the contents of this study will provide additional insight and/or stimulate new approaches to ameliorate this very grave social problem.

ABSTRACT

DROPOUTS AND THE INABILITY FOR PERCEIVED PAY-OFF AMONG BLACK INNER-CITY SECONDARY STUDENTS

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

FEBRUARY 1989 BENJAMIN FOSTER, JR., B.A., TRINITY COLLEGE M.A.T., WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS Directed by: Professor Atron Gentry

The inability to perceive the pay-off of education is predicated on the dropouts' belief that education is of no value to the improvement of his/her quality of life. The study is designed to test several null hypotheses about the significance of the inability to perceive the pay-off of education variable, as well as other independent variables, affecting the dropout phenomena.

The study design is based upon an ex-post-facto nonexperimental survey designed specifically for the study. The survey was conducted among 500 respondents, between the ages of 13-20 years, in the Northeast and Southeast, who had dropped out of school or who had remained in school. Of the 500, 143 returned complete and meaningful surveys. All of the respondents were drop-outs. The researcher

vi

examined the relationship among the variables from the 143 surveys which already existed among the subjects. The researcher did not manipulate any of the independent variables or alter the environment of the subjects.

The analysis of the data retrieved from the survey instrument allowed the researcher to test the null hypotheses. To test the null hypotheses, the chi square analyses was used. This analyses was the most appropriate given the categorical nature of the possible answers on the survey questionnaire. The rejection region for each null hypothesis was set at .05. The SPSS-X language/program was used to conduct the analysis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | | Page |
|-----------|--|------------------------------|
| ACKNOWLED | OGMENTS | iv |
| ABSTRACT | • | vi |
| Chapter | | |
| INTRODUCT | rion | 1 |
| 1. | BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY | 4 |
| | The Problem Statement Purpose of the Study Definition of Terms | 7 11 13 |
| 2. | REVIEW OF LITERATURE | 16 |
| | Traditional Models | |
| 3. | METHODOLOGY | 73 |
| | Hypotheses and Assumptions | , 75 , 76 , 76 , 76 |
| 4. | RESULTS OF STUDY | . 81 |
| | Summary of Findings | . 86 |
| 5. | CONCLUSIONS | . 87 |
| | Recommendations | . 90 |

| FOOTNOTES | • • | • | • | • | ٠ | • | • | • | ٠ | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | 98 |
|------------|-----|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| APPENDIX: | SUR | VE | Y | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | ٠ | • | • | • | 104 |
| BIBLIOGRAF | PHY | • | ٠ | ٠ | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | • | 108 |

INTRODUCTION

In 1969, President Lyndon B. Johnson commenting on education observed:

"When I became President...In inner city schools, 60 percent of the pupils who made the 10th grade dropped out before completing the 12th..."(1)

In addition:

"...One thing seems clear about the desire and ability to learn. It is affected by the student's classmates, by his family situation, and by the image he has of himself. The quality of his whole life, and of life about him, may be more important than modern teaching equipment and new buildings..."(2)

The above observations of President Johnson are as cogent today as they were in 1963. As mainstream America enters the twenty-first century filled with promises of cybernetic advancement that conurbation portends, the vast majority of Black Americans are ill-housed in economicallydepressed inner cities facing the grim reality of being rendered technologically obsolete.

In many urban areas, Black inner city youths have unemployment rates of fifty percent and over. Today, there are young Black adults who have never been participants in the labor force. In 1990, less than the blink of any eye in relative terms, the largest population of Americans will be young or teen-aged nonwhites. Without technological skills and basic education, what does the future hold for Black youth? What is the role of secondary schools in the development of Black children and youth? Given the seeming incompatibility of America's urban high schools with Black inner city youth, vis-a-vis the dropout epidemic, is the educational establishment prepared to make the structured changes necessary to motivate and meet the aims and aspirations of Black youth? These are the fundamental questions that this society must address and answer in the ensuing years. If the answer to the last question is no, then this essentially urban society must prepare to pay some very high social costs.

Having been seduced by the glitter of Madison Avenue techniques and nurtured on the machinations of urbane Hollywood, poor Black youths are modern day Sampsons seething with anger, reeling at the manufactured, negative images of their group's collective history, and waiting to pull down society's support columns. This society has everything to gain by addressing itself to the urgent needs of this vital component within our social order. The rural to urban transition of American society in general, and Blacks in particular, has placed secondary schools in a pivotal position.

This study will address Black inner-city youths' inability to complete the secondary school process. The study will present the Inability to Perceive the Pay-off of Education model. The model is a representation of the drop-out phenomena, in which it is suggested that the dropout phenomena is associated with the inability to perceive the pay-off of education, for the improvement of the dropout's quality of life.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

In 25 of our largest cities and metropolitan areas, half or more than half of the public school students are minority group members.(3) By the year 2000, 42 percent of the entire nation's public school students will be minority children.(4) While these data graphically illustrate the cultural diversity of America, they also represent the significant challenges confronting our nation. It is the minority groups in America that suffer disproportionately from unemployment, inadequate education, ill-health, and other socioeconomic inequities. Increasingly, the public school is being called upon to address these issues.

Unequal schooling in contemporary urban America is perpetuated by a stratified economic system that is predicated on the transfer of technology. That is, economic inequality originates outside the school system in social relationships that are conditioned by a market economy. Moreover, the reduction of economic inequality is ultimately a political, not an economic question. Education is the primary means for teaching citizenship skills in our society. Consequently, the lack of quality

education options within the public school monopoly in conjunction, with other socioeconomic factors (racism, segregated housing, and unemployment) represents the combustion that drives the high school drop-out epidemic; especially Black secondary school students.

Educator Michelle Fine has observed:

"Dropping out of high school can be considered a problem only if one assumes that schooling actually contributes to the educational or social well being of students, and/or that schooling and graduation credentials facilitate social mobility...many of these low-income and working class students...see little promise of a good job resulting from a high school degree...Daily they witness life in a city ravaged by the effects of advanced capitalism marked by racism..."(5)

And:

"...they hear that an improved economic picture means more white-collar and upgraded service jobs, fewer manufacturing positions and a depleted housing market. These adolescents dropout of high school not only because of inequities, but because of systematic features of school structures, policies, and practices contribute significantly to the high dropout rate..."(6)

During the early twentieth century, America's cities became the recipients of the mass influx of Black rural poor people at the same time that their industries were demanding fewer unskilled laborers. This trend has continued well into the 1980's. The ever-growing shift from a manufacturing to high-technology or cybernation oriented economy has made the integration of urban America's cities newest population less easy. There is, in fact, the implication that, in the case of Black migrants, effective integration into the work force and/or production process of modern urban America is not likely to occur.

Traditionally, all Western nations have turned to schools as a device for defining and maintaining existing distinctions among urban residents. That is to say, important distinctions such as cultural interest, speech and formal employment among the classes would be extremely difficult to maintain without customizing formal education and communication media. High school in America has always been simply the years of schooling following elementary school, as opposed to the education given those intended for preferential educational experience. It has been relatively easy for under-class youths, either by taking longer or by returning to their studies after once abandoning them, to get the secondary education for which they are ill-prepared. This condition has made a secondary education a less formidable or valued process for American youth in general, and poor youth in particular. A consequence of the non-selective nature or options within the American secondary school system, is the difficulty in

imposing standards for secondary education either statewide or nation-wide.

Whether a secondary education means a kind of education or an amount of education, its role in determining the status of urban people in a cyberneticbased economy makes it a particularly important or crucial phenomenon.

The Problem Statement

Contemporary Black youth are largely residents of America's older-industrial towns or cities' inner-core. They are and have attended public schools that have few Black faculty and administrators. And, inner-city Black youth are less likely to have had consistent interactions with Black professionals, business persons, or property owners than their suburban middle-class Black or White counterparts. Therefore, the traditional respect for formal education is not as intense in Black, inner-city youths. For many, school is equated with other social institutions (prisons, youth detention centers, and city jails) that stifle their aspiration.

The contemporary socioeconomic problems that Black inner-city youth are encountering must be viewed in the context of Black America's historical experience. The

quintessential aspect of the Black Experience was chattel slavery and its dehumanizing processes. These processes have scarred not only the descendants of slaves and slaveowners, but all Americans through the persistence of racism and the social condition of Black America.

The rural to urban transition has produced several dynamics, e.g., structural unemployment, family-life disruptions, technological- retrogression and/or displacement, economic-stagnation, consumerism, youth alienation, etc. These dynamics, depending on their degree of severity, all impact on the relationship of schooling to the Black community.

There are approximately 17,000 school boards in the country. Of the 5,700 African-American holding elective positions in 1986, nearly one quarter sit on local boards. Looked at differently, African-Americans hold only one percent of all school board seats. This small representation works to deprive Blacks of control over crucial forces affecting the education of their children. There are few activities in our society where the connection between political power and economic prospects for those who have it than in public education.

Blaming the victim through allegations of genetic inferiority, laziness, ineducability, and cultural deficiency has been and still is the primary method that

serves to abort Black progress. Black youth must contend with racism and its concomitant social ills if they choose to forge a place in mainstream America. If they are successful in their encounter with racism via social institutions, earning a livelihood threatens their equilibrium. Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett states that:

> "If Black Americans were not the victim of racism, it is estimated that our incomes would be improved by some 35 to 55 billion dollars a year."(7)

Until the Kerner Report in 1968, racial discrimination and other forms of discrimination in this nation were viewed from a sociological perspective. The Kerner Report represented a major departure from this approach. It redefined racial discrimination into racism:

> "...White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. At the base of this mixture are three of the most bitter fruits of racial attitudes: Pervasive discrimination and segregation, Black migration and white exodus, and Black ghettos..."(8)

And:

"...the first is surely the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress through discrimination in employment and education and their enforce confinement in segregated housing and schools... the second is the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities resulting from Negro migration from the rural South... the consequence is a greatly increased burden on the already depleted resources of cities...creating...crisis of deteriorating facilities and services...unmet human needs...third, in the teeming racial ghettos, segregation and poverty have intersected to destroy opportunity and hope and to enforce failure...recently, three powerful ingredients (frustrated hopes, legitimation of violence, and powerlessness). have begun to catalyze the mixture..."(9)

Racism represents a belief that one's group is superior to all others. Consequently, racism is social pathology, i.e. abnormal behavior. Pathology is defined in the medical sciences. It connotes malfunctioning of an organism and generally indicates the need for radical treatment, as opposed to palliative measures.

Respect for education and its potential to uplift the individual and group has been traditional in the collective Black American experience. The striving, perseverance, and suffering that individuals and organizations experienced, during and after slavery has been encapsulated in Black history.(10) Therefore, the decline in the traditional respect for education, and its impact upon the drop-out phenomena, among Black inner-city youth is an important development in the contemporary Black American experience.

Purpose of the Study

The Black population, in total, has undergone major geographical and labor-demand transitions. Black youths, who leave school either voluntarily or involuntarily, are reacting to these transitions. The concomitant effects of these transitions on their family and community life, underlie the development of negative perceptions about the value of education for the improvement of one's quality of life.

Over the past decade, most studies on school dropouts cite the following factors as reasons for the drop-out phenomena:

- 1. Student achievement
- 2. Family background
- 3. Student behavior
- 4. Poverty
- 5. Teacher expectations

The purpose of this study is to improve upon the approaches of past studies of the drop-out phenomena. This study will query the drop-out phenomena among Black innercity youths, through the use of a model entitled the "Inability to Perceive the Pay-off of Education". The model is designed to represent the drop-out phenomena as a social behavior associated with the decline in the belief

that education is of value for the improvement of one's quality of life. The model, most importantly, associates the perceptual decline in the value of education with the variables of low-self esteem, in-school experiences, family conditions, and economic factors.

This study is primarily concerned with patterned relationship between student expectations/perceptions, of the impact of secondary education on their quality of life and the decision to drop-out or stay in school; and the patterned relationship between the traditional reasons given for drop-outs(poverty, family background, etc.) and their impact upon student expectations/perceptions of the value of secondary education.

The study will be descriptive in nature. It will be based upon an assessment of survey responses of Black secondary students and dropouts in Hartford and New Britain Connecticut and Jackson, Mississippi. A complete description of the research design is found in Chapter III.

As a result of the study, tentative answers to many questions will become possible. The following are two of those questions:

- 1. Is there a connection between students perception of life chances to the educational and human services needs of students' family and community?
- 2. Is there a connection between the Black innercity drop-outs' lack of exposure to Black professionals property owners, entrepreneurs, and other educated Blacks?

The author hopes that the study can provide a constructive perspective regarding the application of educational options for educators and policy-makers. As a result of this study, a comprehensive approach to the drop-out phenomena, which centers around the enhancement of self-consciousness, among Black inner-city students, should develop. Moreover, the implementation of policy, based upon the results of this study, should build bridges among the school, the family and the community.

Definition of Terms

Commorants

Conurbation

Dwellers of villages, communities or neighborhoods.

Process of metropolitan areas expanding their boundaries into exurbia and eventually connecting through freeways and interstate highways; conurbation ultimately transform rural and exurb to metropolitan communities.

Cybernation To control the industrial processes by computer, mechanical,

electronic or biological systems, especially the mathematical analysis of the flow of information in such systems.

A situation in which workers are laid-off or cannot find jobs because of general economic recession and overall shortages of jobs.

Those who voluntarily leave school or are administratively withdrawn.

Needing public assistance or government support for food, clothing and shelter.

A community that does not have viable businesses that generate jobs for residents. A community where the majority of the residents are unemployed and receive public assistance or some

Cyclical Unemployment

Dropouts

Economicallydependent

Economically Depressed

form of transfer payments or federal entitlements to subsist.

Effective Schools

Schools in which a majority of students score at or above the national average on standardized test. Administrators of effective school displays strong leadership. Teachers share in decision-making. Effective schools have strong parental involvement. Effective schools are safe and have an environment conducive to learning.

Structural Unemployment

A situation in which certain groups of workers cannot compete successfully in the labor market because of 1) deficiency of skills or education and 2) discriminatory hiring practices or a depressed regional economy.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to present a comprehensive review of the literature and studies on the drop-out phenomena. The chapter is divided into several sections. Each section is a review of the literature that deals specifically with each of the variables or concepts that are represented in the Inability to Perceive the Payoff of Education model, and of concern to the researcher in the study. The chapter begins with a review of the traditional models used in the past to approach the study of the drop-out phenomena.

Traditional Models

It has been 34 years since the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision in <u>Brown vs. Board of</u> <u>Education</u>. The decision reversed <u>Plessy vs. Ferguson</u>, by declaring White-controlled public facilities that actively and covertly maintained separate but unequal facilities unconstitutional. For Blacks and liberal Whites the Supreme Court's decision in 1954, represented a moral victory and signaled that judicial activism would guarantee

the rights of Black children and youth to equal education in the present and in the future. In retrospect, the psychosociological perspective that Kenneth Clark, et al, used to highlight the plaintiff's allegations has been the primary model employed by scholars, when analyzing Black student's interaction with our nation's public schools. Whether intended or not, few studies that focus on Black students have not utilized the "deficit model" analysis.(11) In tracing the history of racial discrimination from slavery to the present, Blacks have been systematically excluded from the mainstream of American society. The 1950's witnessed some changes in the mobility of Blacks into the mainstream. However, this movement has changed little for most Black Americans. What has emerged is a hierarchical Black class structure.

Historically, there have been four continuous models used to examine and to explicate the condition of Black life in America. These models are as follows:

> 1. System imposed - Usually presented by Blacks, this model takes the position that previous conditions of servitude and racism have stifled Black socioeconomic development. Moreover, it posits that racism is an abnormal psychological illness

that affects both Blacks and Whites. This position is especially powerful and relevant, when interpreting Black children's and youths' interaction with the public school system.

2. <u>Deficit model analysis</u> - This model argues that because Blacks have been isolated from the dominant culture, they operate when competing or interacting with Whites, from a deficit.

> Consequently, Blacks have to receive remedial education, training, or special programs to prepare them to enter the mainstream in limited positions under restricted conditions.

3. <u>Genetic Difference Model</u> - Those Blacks who are products of poverty cannot be expected to be socialized according to dominantgroup's values and/or norms. The increasingly matriarchal structure of Black families is the result of immoral sexual behavior. Increased expenditures on public education is not necessary as the root of the problem is Black inferiority. The high

incidence of unemployment among Blacks is the natural result of automation.

4. Integrationist model - Proponents of this approach advocate that racial segregation is harmful to children and youth in general and Black children and Black youth in particular. Moreover, this model holds that exposure to dominant group's culture, especially in its schools, is the only viable method of improving the educational output of Black children and youth. Integrationists dismiss the proposition that slavery has permanently affected Blacks with adverse psychological scars that hamper their interaction with other Americans.

Banfield's <u>The Unheavenly City</u> is typical of the nomenclature of deficit-modelers. Their nomenclature absolves social institutions of any responsibility for the urban underclass condition. Banfield's essential thesis is that life in the city is much better for most of us than it ever was; that among the poorest of citizens their condition is to be explained by their "class cultures", that class is a function of how well people can provide psychologically for a distant future; and that given the

limit of lower class behavior there is not much others can do. Banfield insists that much of what afflicts urban Blacks is a product of their class, not their color.

Banfield's position had an important role in the Nixon administration's urban policies. The policy of "benign neglect" was the prelude to the "trickle-down theory" which is the foundation of our current national domestic policy.

Deficit-modelers take two tactics in their defense of the status quo:

- 1. They argue that some of the apparent deterioration in the situation of the underclass is not as bad as it looks. About one-half of the relative deterioration in the employment status of young Blacks has been due to technological development.
- 2. They dismiss some of the proposed causal connections between symptoms of deteriorating conditions and welfare policy. They point to the slight difference between the employment experience of Black youth from two-parent and one-parent families. This finding contradicts the view that single-parent families are a spawning ground for a culture of dependency.

3. They view the increased Black domination of the military service (people in the military are considered out of the work force) as generally bad macroeconomic conditions that have always had greater impact on young Blacks.

In Jencks' opinion only social and economic change will bring about educational gain. Consequently, personality and luck are major factors contributing to occupational and economic success within society. Variations in what children learn in school depends largely on variation in what they bring to school, not on variation in what schools offer them.

Jencks' analysis of schooling and social stratification is thusly represented: "...children with affluent parents want more education than children with poor parents. Those who want a lot should get a lot and those who want a little should get a little. The same is true of knowledge and cognitive skills"(12)

Black educator Ronald Edmonds countered:

"...In the world of work, for many social competence or personality factors enable us to make our own breaks. Those skills are reachable but often go untaught. Most schools address them only incidentally and usually accidentally. Even if social skills are not in the curriculum, per se, school policies and teacher attitudes can subtly influence the way

in which children develop their social competencies. Racial discrimination continues to have more to do with failures of schooling, economic mobility, and job achievement for Blacks than anything else...."(13)

and continuing:

"... By grade 9, the average poor child has not acquired the basic school skills that are prerequisite to successful matriculation. By grade 9, the cultural autocracy that characterized schools has persuaded the average poor child that the school does not like him, or his condition, except as he is prepared to behave in ways that make him seem affluent. By grade 9, many poor children are less than enthusiastic about school, largely because they have learned little in relationship to what should be taught and because the school milieu is culturally responsive to the affluent. which is another way of saying it is anti poor. Compensatory education makes the child responsible for learning to learn in the ways that the school is prepared to teach... our society's perception of "equality" is ethnocentric... high income will not make an individual equal unless the individual has habits of speech, appearance and behavior that conforms to society's ethnocentric notions..."(14)

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Reports on educational "excellence" have engulfed the nation. Unfortunately, these reports, to a large degree, have ignored issues of educational quality and special needs of underachieving students. This policy of indifference has been especially true relative to the plight of the nation's Black students. It can be demonstrated by noting the disproportionate number of Black students who drop out of school and are pushed out without proper skills necessary for job success.

The American educational system is predicated on White Protestant norms and values. Those children and youth who differ in lifestyle are juxtaposed to those norms. This norm-oriented society places great emphasis on the use of "words", verbal symbols, and concepts. This value criterion does not consider that youngsters in the average public school are from various ethnic backgrounds, which represents many cultures and languages.

Educational content should be first of all based on the realities of social life or on what is real to students' immediate experience. The contemporary society has glorified fantasy and synthetic things to the extent that they have become more attractive than reality. School socioeconomic climate; student absence; racial/ethnic climate; students' age; parental authority structure; achievement value orientation, and measured intelligence quotient are major variables that are intercorrelated through multiple regression analysis to determine individual factors that contribute to Black drop-out behavior.

Black drop-outs are often students with higher intelligence, but lower educational aspiration and

motivation than those students remaining in school. They are highly sensitive to social inequality. Black dropouts perceive American society to be closed and that educational background will not enable them to participate. These youth have deemed the concern of social mobility through educational attainment to be dysfunctional.

There exists a prominent vacuum in the home-school collaboration in inner-city communities. An element of distrust and discomfort permeates the experience of many low income parents in their dealings with schools. Some schools with a rich variety of parent participation also show dramatic achievement gains.

Most studies of school effectiveness focus on inputoutput. Most have neglected the "within" school variables that impact whether a school is effective or ineffective. An ecological analysis of effective schools focuses on orderliness, atmosphere noise levels, color schemes, and significant parental involvement.

Contemporary inner-city Black youth have been attracted to methods other than hard work and a good education to make money. School is not enough. It demands only certain skills and tests for certain concepts. Youth have deduced that life in the raw is about money, not a good education. Adolescence is not a training ground for adulthood now, it is a holding pattern for aging youth.

Education Week quotes a Norfolk, Virginia educator addressing the drop-out issue:

"...students who leave school are not dropping out of society... but are dropping into it to find a job and support themselves... many of our youngsters assume sole support of themselves, because if they don't have a job or some likelihood of earning money, they just can't make it... the support system is not there... there are no jobs out there..."(15)

- - - - -

Edward Gordon, Yale University professor and past chairman of the New York City school chancellor's Commission on Minimum Standards, believes:

> "...we've lost the sense of an individual's responsibility for contributing to society and the common good... students invest their energy in proportion to the reward they expect... minorities see that opportunities available to them and to whites as disequal..."(16)

The typical elementary or secondary school inculcates virtues required for unskilled or semi-skilled work. The primary purpose of public education is to preserve and conserve the <u>status quo</u>. Working class parents usually endures this approach to education because they expect their children to need these virtues in the employment they are likely to get. Save a few, parents are willing to go along with the rewarding of docility and passivity. Schools not only teach children how to read and write, and the facts of history and civics, but they also teach them

how to behave, and relate to authority and competition, how to prepare themselves for the life that awaits them. Children going to low-income schools are taught different work habits from those going to elite schools. The psychological attitudes that win approval in a lower class school would be regarded as symptomatic of dullness in a good upper class prep school.

Schools exist to produce the socioeconomic skills and attitudes needed to perpetuate the economic system.(17) Ignoring the abundant evidence of keen competition in the international trade arena, the shift from a labor-intensive manufacturing base, to a service-oriented economy that began in the 1960's, the Black urban underclass growth is explained as being self-propelled by conservatives. They attribute Black inner-city commorants socioeconomic status to welfare, anti-poverty programs, crime, illiteracy, and family breakup. In addition, the decline of learning in schools is placed at the feet of the poor.(18)

To substantiate their analysis of Federal programs for the domestic poor and the decline in urban schools standards, conservatives and deficit-modelers use data on Blacks to discuss the poor. This research technique reinforces the common error of viewing Blacks as the only group with serious socioeconomic problems.

When schools pursue social purposes, they are trying to influence these patterns in particular ways. Schools cannot proceed without reliable knowledge regarding the current rates for each behavior form of interest to them. Schools are not finely tooled machines. Schools are generally oriented toward individual purposes.

Private schools for Blacks have existed since the late 18th century. Such schools have experienced recurring cycles of growth and decline. After desegregation, many of these smaller schools disappeared, only to re-emerge in the 1970's. Most of these schools serve poor urban families. Joan Davis Ratterary conducted a study of Black private schools in 1985. Her research led her to assert:

> "there is a real sense of urgency in these schools to get kids on the right track early. Most of the students are behind academically when they enroll. Classes never exceed 15 students. The students know if they can't make it in this small setting, they'll never make it on the outside..."(19) The trend is primarily an indictment of pubic education. It represents a disinvestment by minority parents in the public schools,... there is a sense of hopelessness about the poor, young Black youth... in private schools, teachers praise, reprimand, and demand the same level of performance for all their students..."(20)

The nation's largest public school are becoming minority-majority student populated. This has led to the establishment of all White church academies. Currently,

public schools that are minority-majority have been forced to address the issue of drop-outs. Drop-outs, broadly defined, are those students who do not complete high school. However, to this definition can be added the subsets of "push-outs" and "phased-outs". They are those students who are administratively withdrawn due to excessive absenteeism, pregnancy, or incarceration.

The culture of poverty perspective posits that sustained poverty over generations is partly the result of transmitting to and socializing poor children with values inconsistent with the normative axis. Despite the importance of these perspectives for comprehending the roots of inequality, there has not been a great deal of empirical work in the economic literature that measures the cogency of subjective attitudes, values, and beliefs on earnings and employment. Most studies that impact on background variables of socioeconomic achievement concentrate on the education or occupation of the individual's parents, family composition, and environmental surrounding and residential pattern. This approach generally links the outcome variables of the out-group to background variables.

From the 1950's research of Kenneth Clark, et. al., evolved a liberal orthodoxy that viewed Black life and

culture as a sub-set of the dominant culture operating on deficits. The solution proposed by Clark, et. al., has been racial integration. Their premise is rooted in the historic fact that Blacks have been socially and politically isolated from Whites. Accordingly, the natural consequences of political and social-isolation of Blacks from the larger society are a ghetto culture and poor academic performance. Other educational researchers have tended to discount the cultural-deprivation concept. Instead, they focus on aptitude tests and eugenics to explicate the differences in educational attainment and performance by Black children and youth.

Few researchers consider the effects of integration on Black teachers and administrators. Similarly, very few recognized the difference between schools segregated on a <u>de jure</u> and on a <u>de facto</u> basis. Very few educators examined the consequences of a dramatic increase in the size of the school population.

The Effects Of Urbanization

In 1951, housing scholar Robert C. Weaver in reference to pre-Brown litigation stated:

> "... as long as we do not do anything about residential segregation, we are something like the Australian who was given a new boomerang and ... spent the

rest of his life throwing the old one away..."(21)

Based on the results of national efforts to desegregate schools Weaver's skepticism was justified. Commenting on the landmark <u>Swann</u> case, the Supreme Court observed:

"...the achievement of desegregation had been rendered more difficult by changes... in the structure and patterns of communities, the growth of student population, movement of families, and other changes, some of which had marked impact on school planning, sometimes, neutralizing or negating remedial action before it was fully implemented... people gravitate towards school facilities, just as schools are located in response to the needs of the people. The location of schools may thus influence the pattern of residential development of a metropolitan area and have impact on composition of inner city neighborhoods...segregated residential patterns which, when combined with neighborhood zoning further lock the school system into the mold of separation of the races..."(22)

Between 1940 and 1960, the United States underwent a fundamental transition. Aided by the events of World War II, world market demands and technological discoveries, America became an essentially urban society. The process of urbanization has several spinoffs and phases. Not least of these is the displacement and unskilled and semi-skilled laborers.

In 1985, 43 percent of Black males between the ages 16 and 24 in Northeastern cities had not finished high school, compared with 29 percent of Whites. Only 22 percent of Black males had received more than a year of higher education, compared with 37 percent of Whites. Statistics for the Midwest are similar.(23)

The vast majority of today's Black youth are residents of urban economically-depressed inner-cities. Better than one-third of the Black population is located in fifteen cities and eighty-five percent of the nation's commercial and technological development is occurring in suburbs. Joblessness, poverty, and anomie are the primary ailments of Black youth. Dropping-out and poor educational performance are mere spin-offs of infinitely greater problems besetting contemporary Black youth. The future of Black America, in cybernetic America, is the real issue.

Moreover, Black youth locked in economically-depressed inner-cities are cut-off from those Black adults who could function as mentors or role models owing to the everincreasing suburbanization of lower-middle and middlemiddle class Blacks. The stifling effects of these internal and external forces are leading Black youth towards crime, social catatonia, and economic obsolescence. -

The industrial revitalization of America's older towns and cities coupled with technological development and

suburbanization of the middle class has created a surplus of skilled jobs in the midst of largely unskilled non-white inner-city residents.

Historically, the industrial base of the nation was focused in Northeast and Midwestern cities. In the previous decade, the smokestack industries in the Northeast and Midwest declined rapidly. They have been replaced by information processing and other jobs that require skills and education.

In the 21st Century, U.S. Congressman James Scheuer projects that, "three fourths of the new jobs in the United States will be knowledge intensive."(24) Demographer, John Kasarda in assessing the plight of urban minorities opens:

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"...the continued exodus of white residents... threatens to create in urban America a "dual city" of which rich and poor, with no middle class,... unless urban school are "revamped" to enabled them to increase the number of blacks who continue their education beyond high school, the high unemployment rate of blacks in Northeastern and Midwestern cities will worsen..."(25)

For two and half decades U.S. Census data shows that the older industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest experience huge losses in jobs and population during the 1970's.(26) The current population of Black secondary inner-city students were born in the 1970's.

Gentrification and downtown development has enabled many cities to experience segmented economic recovery. It has not however, lessened "white flight." According to Kasarda the role of education in employing low-income and minority people is crucial:

> "...the issues raised by the large numbers of displaced workers and highschool dropouts who are already outside the labor force, and who have serious educational deficiencies...the gap between their education and the difference in skills required for the new industries growing up in the cities is so wide that bridging it is very difficult...the solution is to provide the educational and economic resources to give minority urban residents the choice of moving where they want to move and working where they want to work..." (27)

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Sociologist Julius Wilson commenting on his three-year study of low income neighborhoods in Chicago warns:

> "...if you look at a number of schools in the inner-city, you find that they're not preparing kids for advanced industrial society...in going to some of these schools, you find only a small number of computers, if there are any at all. And these facts are at a distinct disadvantages..."(28)

Wilson continues:

"...we need to start talking about major reorganization of the school system to adjust to the new realities...kids are attending innercity high schools and grade schools in which the overwhelming majority of students come from parents who are either unemployed or female heads of families or welfare-dependent..they have little contact with families in higher income brackets who have steady breadwinners. There's an atmosphere in these schools that is not really conducive to learning...instead of talking about rebuilding the community in which they live...public assistance is a response to limited opportunities... particularly the incredible joblessness..."(29)

The economic well-being of a city is closely tied to the movements of its populace. Careful analysis of the process of conurbation reveals that socioeconomic conditions of central-city populations parallel the racial composition.

A review of social indices, such as youth crime, vandalism, secondary school drop-outs, unemployment, and homicides in the inner-cities between 1969 and 1979, will graphically highlight the overall impact that net-out migration of well-off Blacks has had on contemporary urban inner-cities nationally.

The masses of Black laborers in America have historically been tied to agriculture and related work. Black labor has also functioned as a reserve labor pool. Beginning with World War I and abating with the Vietnam Conflict, Blacks completed the rural to urban transition. Many sociologists believe their trek to be the greatest internal migration in modern history.(30)

African-Americans are a people whose tradition is rooted in the soil. The great migrations to urban centers

that accompanied World War I and World War II has changed the cultural groundings of Black Americans. The rural to urban transition, automation, technological advancement, and international trade has posed serious problems and presented a threat to Black survival in 21st century America. This threat is predicated on the displacement of Black workers due to cybernation.

The current problem with Black high school drop-outs represents the dynamics involved in this transition and countervailing factors of racism and advanced-technological development.

Adding her insight to the impact of the rural to urban transition of Black Americans novelist Alice Walker writes "...The bond of Black kinship...has finally been broken in the cities of the North...of all the things that happen to us in America this is...the most unbearable, the most humiliating...(31)

From 1900 to 1910, years in which segregation became entrenched and intensified, the Blacks left the South at a disproportionate rate of seven times higher than that of Whites. In every decade, the Black South to North movement has exceeded the White migration at rates ranging from two to nine times. In the early years, it was often the "talented tenth" who trekked North. Barred from most industries by a combination of race and unions, plant entry

usually was in the role of strikebreakers. More often, they were employed as maids, janitors, or waiters.

More than a million Blacks were living in major urban centers by 1910 and the demographic balance was shifting towards the North. In 1915, the dynamics were in place. The agricultural disaster of the boll weevil prepared the way to produce hard times in the South. The large migration impetus came from World War I. Industry boomed, the pipeline of European immigrant labor all but ceased. Again, Blacks streamed in to fill the vacuum. The "great migration" was under way. In analyzing the Black urbanization, Harold Cruse had this to say:

> "...From the end of the Civil War down to the 1930's economic Depression, the Blacks experienced three discernable phases of group development: 1. Political; 2. Economic; and 3. Cultural. The underlying social causations or dynamics that propelled and motivated this threephased development were the Post-Reconstruction movements out of the southern states towards the West, Midwest, and North. These Black Migratory movements of the late 19th century initiated the process of Black urbanization...the post Reconstruction...second phase was an economic philosophy...an urban philosophy... The first "mass migration" was a migration of farmers and workers, the next was not, at first a "mass migration", but as Carter G. Woodson described it, "The Migration of the Talented Tenth..."(32)

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Shedding further light on the subject, Woodson wrote:

"...The migration of intelligent Blacks, however, has been attended with several handicaps to the race. The large part of the Black population is in the South and there it will stay for decades to come...Negroes, therefore, have been robbed of their due part of the talented tenth...the educated Negroes...have no constituency... in their new home the enlightened Negro must live with his light under a bushel..."(33)

These words of the great Woodson written in his <u>A</u> <u>Century of Negro Migrations</u> parallels the plight of Blacks today. The contemporary exodus of middle-class, educated and upwardly mobile Blacks to suburbia deprives poor youths of ongoing contact with successful role models and examples of homeowners and entrepreneurs. The dearth of professional and/or middle-class Blacks in the inner-cities have left these communities in the hands of less able or politically aware representatives.

On this point, Cruse clearly states:

"...the migratory patterns underlying the essentials of Black social development have only been superficially dealt with ... it is the history of effects, not of basic causes, inasmuch as more causal interpretation of Black developments would reveal the influence of internal Black processes on the external broader American developments. The crucial history of American Blacks is the history of migrations from country to city, from rural areas to the town, from small town to larger towns, from the South to the West, to the Midwest, to the North. The crucial history is what happens to them after arriving in these towns, larger towns, and big cities...crucial to Black history is how the Blacks transformed American cities, and how American cities transformed Blacks. Today the fate of American cities is the fate of America..."(34)

If we accept Cruse's pontifications, then we must understand that the most fundamental events advocating Black social advance are occurring in the cities. Consequently, the problems of Black inner-city high school drop-outs lends added meaning to the future of Blacks in America.

Black Suburbanization

In 1980, a Black family living in the inner-city was almost 33 percent more likely to be in poverty than a Black family in the suburbs. In contrast, in 1970, such a family was only four percent more likely to be in poverty than a Black family living in the suburbs.

To be more specific, the decline in the income levels of Black inner-city residents, during the 1970's, both in real dollar terms and in relation to their suburban counterparts, took a drastic downturn. In the main, this decline is directly attributable to the movement of relatively richer Blacks to older suburbs. For instance, the median income in 1979 of central-city Blacks was only 76.8 percent of suburban Black median income, whereas 10 years earlier it had been almost identical.

The minority rush to the suburb was biggest in five counties where Black population increased by well over 100 percent during the 1970's. All counties were next door to cities with large Black populations. In addition to Prince George and Montgomery County, they were Baltimore county, Maryland, where Black population exploded by 170 percent;

St. Louis County, Missouri, with an increase of 141 percent and Dekalb County, Georgia, part of metropolitan Atlanta, where the number of Blacks soared by 130 percent. The Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., according to the 1980 U.S. Census are where the nation's best educated and most affluent Blacks live. Prince George and Montgomery County had average Black family income in 1979 of nearly \$23,000. They also have 77 percent high school graduation rate for Blacks 25 years and older. These are the highest figures for any of the 93 U.S. counties with Black population of at least 50,000.(35)

American Blacks are landlocked, living primarily in the largest thirty cities regardless of their economic condition.(36)

A quick scan of Black urban demographics would reveal the following:

1. The movement of Blacks out of the old South, a demographic fact of life for 100 years, came to a halt in the 1970's. The big factor in the turnaround seems to have been industry's move to the Sun Belt at the same time that traditional jobs in the industrial west were drying up. (37)

2. The 25 largest cities in the nation have over 100,000 Blacks in their borders;

3. In 1979, Blacks represented 33% of the population of those cities;

4. Of the fifty largest cities where two-thirds of Americans live, Blacks comprise 22.7 percent of population; and

5. There are seventeen metropolitan areas in America where Blacks number more than a quarter million.

Clearly, the rural to urban process in the traditionally agricultural South has been ongoing for some years. The educative process for Blacks in this region has always lagged far behind others in quality and matters of equity. However, the shifting economy of the South, desegregation and decline in Black teaching force has much to do with the perceived inability for pay-off (jobs, clothing, and automobiles) that many inner-city secondary school drop-outs manifest.

Environmental Factors

Person-environmental fit refers to the congruence between characteristic of an individual and demands of the environment. This approach is used to conceptualize the discrepancies that may exist between the values, behavioral preferences, and problem-solving strategies of minority-

group students on one hand and the demands, values and expectations of the school environment on the other.(38)

Living in an inner-city environment may be cause for contributing to the high drop-out rate among lower-class Black youth. Excessive noise can leave people in traumatized states. Hearing impairment is the most obvious damage. Noise affects whole areas beyond the ears, which are simply the portals into the body through which sound passes. Research indicates loud noises cause a host of physical reactions, including a slight increase in heart and blood pressure rates, that go unnoticed by the person experiencing them. Dr. Thomas H. Fay, an audiologist and physician conducting research on the effects of noise on people's mental and physical health states:

> "...studies show that people that hear noises at night do not sink into the deep sleep they experience when there is silence. The noises have unconsciously cleared their bodies for fight or flight. Constant noise...in a city may keep people ever vigilant. Noise makes people irritable..."(39)

Madeline Hurster, another noise researcher, interprets her finding:

"...noise that people hate cause people to become consciously angry or distressed because they associate the sound with something detestable. Some noses, such as sirens or certain types of music, cause people to become consciously angry or distressed...it is difficult to measure the long-term health consequences of repeated noise or loud noises, however fistfights and quarrels often resulted in controlled studies where experimental group were subjected to several days of constant noise..."(40)

Unemployment

Almost one-half of all Black seventeen year olds are functionally illiterate. Official unemployment rates among Black teenagers project a fifty percent rate of joblessness, but the reality is that less than twenty percent actually hold jobs. The rest are simply not counted as being a part of the labor force. Moreover, to unemployment must be added the more subtle symptoms of underemployment and underpaid jobs. There is a direct correlation between the unprecedented unemployment rates among Black teenagers and the high birth rate among Black women under twenty.

The persistently high unemployment rate for Black youth stifled opportunities for any employment experience during the 1970's. Black youths are rejected in the 1980's by many employers for not having experience or work histories. The flagrant discrimination against Black youth was institutionalized by the end of the 1970's. Less than half of the Black male teenagers, sixteen to nineteen years old, had work experience in 1978 (42.2 percent), compared

to nearly three-fourths of white males in the same age group; while 93.2 percent of white males, 20-24, had some work experience. While only about three-fourths of the Black males (76.7 percent) had work experience. Black teenage females have encountered a similar fate to males: An Urban League researcher states:

> "...Black teenagers also were entering the 1980's with less work experience. Only slightly above one-third (37.5%) of Black females, 16-19 had work experience in 1978, compared to almost two-thirds (64.8%) of the White females in the age interval, 79 percent of the White females had some work experience, compared to approximately two-thirds (63.6%) of Black females..."(41)

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Educational attainment has not assisted younger Blacks in the manner that is generally expected. For Blacks, sixteen to twenty-four years old, four years of high school, the unemployment rate was 24 percent compared to ten percent for Whites. Blacks with one to three years of college have higher unemployment rates than White high school graduates (22 percent compared to 10 percent). The attainment of a high school diploma has only partially lessened the burden of unemployment for Black youth.(42) Consequently, many Black youths, especially those in economically depressed inner city communities, do not perceive education to have the 'pay-off' factor necessary to improve their quality of life.

Automotive worker and social critic James Boggs has observed: "Constant expansion and modernization of the means of production made possible the exploitation of labor, and have now become the driving force of the system. With increasing investment in modern equipment the increasing productivity of labor and thence-forth a constantly decreasing proportion of capital is invested in labor compared to that invested in machinery... In 1950, the inanimate sources of power did 98.% percent of the work and the work and effort of men and animals provided 1.5 percent."(43) Today, America is largely a service-driven economy. In 1983, America was delivering \$8.5 billion worth of goods and services a day. The service sector is broadly defined as all non-manufacturing industries, including business, legal and medical services, education, retail, trade and finance. In his last book Martin Luther King, Jr. observed:

> "...Depressed living standard for Negroes are not simply the consequence of neglect. Nor can they be explained by the myth of the Negro's innate incapacities, or by the more sophisticated rationalization of his acquired infirmities (family disorganization, poor education, etc.)...They are a structural part of the economic system in the United States."(44)

And again:

"... of the good things of life he has approximately one-half those of whites. Thus, half of all Negroes live in substandard housing, and Negroes have half the income of whites. When we turn to the negative experiences of life, the Negro has had a double share. There are twice as many unemployed. The rate of infant mortality (widely accepted as an accurate index of general health) among Negroes is double that of whites."(45)

Fifteen million unemployed adults are illiterate, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, and fifty to seventy percent of the unemployed lack basic reading and writing skills and cannot be retrained for new positions. It is estimated that by 1990, three out of four jobs will require some education or technical training beyond high school. The U.S. Department of Education estimates that the number of functional illiterates grows by 2.3 million each year. Of this astronomical number, 850,000 are high school drop-outs and 150,000 are pushouts.

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Public education reflects and reinforces dominant economic and social conditions. Consider the world view of children and youth that are surrounded by adults consistently unemployed; peers trying to find work (fifty percent Black youth unemployment); people who subsist on monthly welfare checks; those who work but cannot make ends meet, or people who have given up altogether.

In 1985, only one percent of all funds spent for training of employees by American corporations has gone to basic math, reading and writing skills.(46)

The psycho-historical model of explicating the African-American slavery experience is not popular among large segments of educated Blacks. And, White scientists, generally, totally reject, or give little importance to the role of chattel slavery on the present status of African-Americans. Blacks who reject the psycho-historical perspective do so for fear of its debilitating effect on Black aspiration and the possibility that it could fuel the smothering fire of eugeneticists and racists. From within and without, the Black Community is presented with examples of other minority groups' successes, e.g., Asian immigrants, southern Europeans, etc. that when not viewed from a psycho-historical perspective, induces self-doubt and social catatonia among economically-dependent Blacks and contempt from other social groups.

Education is preparation for the age in which it is given. An educational program becomes regressive when it loses its sense of comparative values and refuses to subordinate incidental activities to essential ones. Many schools located in inner-cities operate within conceptual frame of references which asserts that a majority of Black children are intellectually incapable of rigorous academic efforts.

Materialism or the excess propensity to consume while not limited to any particular racial or ethnic group is

especially noticeable and disturbing in African-American communities, both middle-class and the more economicallydisadvantaged. In communities that have teenage unemployment rates of fifty percent and above, it is not uncommon in many instances, to see youngsters wearing designer outfits. Status is not achieved by good character or scholarship, but by the depth and expense of one's wardrobe, by the "freshness" of one's hairdo, or by one's style.

In 1975, 23 million adults lacked the competence to be effective consumers or wage earners. They were deficient in reading, writing, math and problem solving skills. However, Blacks were predominant in overall performances. In 1975, sixty-five percent of America's Black teenagers were unemployed. The changing nature of the economy has ushered a whole generation of young black adults in the 1980's without ever having full time employment.

In assessing the future on the American labor force, Reich informs us that:

> "...one out of every five unskilled manufacturing jobs in America is in the textile industry...one out of every three American workers now depends for his livelihood, directly or indirectly, on American industries that are losing rapidly to international competition..."(47)

And, again:

"...Social programs in America have not been geared towards helping the poor change their economic status. Urban renewal, public education, public housing, Medicaid, food stamps, etc. tended to perpetuate poverty by defining a separate welfare economy segregated from the system of production..."(48)

The ongoing spectacle of massive unemployment in inner-cities, scarce examples of entrepreneurism, property ownership by members of students' immediate group and the general nonaesthetic appearance of students' neighborhood and community fosters two attitudes: fatalism and resentment of the values and sanctions of the dominant group and/or authority figures regardless of their color. Moreover, it is my position that the "deficit" that are heretofore used to explain the anti-social behaviors of Black inner-city students are not inherent properties. The drop-out problem and the educational underachievement are cause by environmental living conditions, unemployment, and the continue utilization of a racially exclusive curriculum and/or textbooks.

Cybernation is robot technology in which computers tell machines what to do and can program them for different jobs. Many unskilled and skilled workers are at risk of losing their jobs to robots, but African-Americans are

especially at risk because they are most highly concentrated in those jobs.(49)

The anticipated effect of increased automation will leave the Black-White income gap intact, or even to increase it. Speaking on the future of Black workers in labor-intensive industries, James Boggs contends:

> "...The scavenger role in production which white workers, acting consciously on behalf of their own social mobility and unconsciously on behalf of constantly advancing capitalism, have assigned to Blacks...in the same way that Blacks have been forced to take on old substandard jobs, disdained and discarded by socially mobile whites, they have been confined to used homes, used schools, used churches, and used stores..."(50)

The use of automated technology is irreversible because of its quality. Manufacturing helped African-Americans most, it gave them entry into middle-class status through relatively high paying jobs. Blacks' economic status will deteriorate and there will be a massive displacement, as automation increases. Robert Hill analyzed data that demonstrated that unemployment rates for Blacks has worsened since 1955:

> "...In 1955 the unemployment rate for Black males 16-19 years of age was 13.4 percent; for those 20-24 it was 12.4 percent. By 1978, the unemployment rate for Black males 16-19 years of age had reached 38.4 percent, and it reached 21.4 percent for the 20-24 age group. In contrast to Black teenage males the labor force participation

rate for white males increased. For white males 16-17 the participation rates for white males increased from 28.9 percent in 1955 to 45.5 percent in 1978, and the rate for white males 18-19 climbed from 50.9 percent to 62.1 percent."(51)

In further analysis Hill asserts: "...that even during the so-called "good" economic years of the Kennedy-Johnson administration of the 1960's, the unemployment picture for these youths still remained bleak..."(52)

A decade ago, economist, Bernard Anderson estimated:

"...from 500,000 to 600,000 youths from 16 to 19 are continuously out of work. Actual rates of unemployment go up and down, depending on economic conditions, but what must be remembered is that, whatever the rate is two or three times as high for Blacks of all ages, and at least three as high for Black youth. Throughout the Nixon-Ford years, Black youth unemployment remained anywhere from 30 to 35 percent of their actual numbers within the work force...the under-class also includes youths from 8 to 16, who are not necessarily counted because they are so young, but who must be counted for our purposes because so many of them are committing violent crime and using narcotics..."(53)

Black youth enter the labor force early because their income is needed for the support of their families. They are generally without formal education or job skills and experience. Therefore, they accept menial or low-paying jobs. These are the jobs most easily automated. The most obvious consequence of this economic certainty is an extremely high unemployment rate among Black youth. In 1975, the official unemployment rate for Black female teenagers was 41.3 percent. For Black male teenagers the unemployment rate was 38.1 percent.(54) In 1987, the figure for Black youth unemployment ranges from fifty to seventy percent. Sociologist Robert Staples suggests:

> "...The suicide rate and its characteristics reflect the subjective reality of many Black youth...death records nationally show that since 1960, Blacks age 15-20 kill themselves at a rate higher than that of the total population of all ages...(55)

And later:

"...Just as many of them should be reaching the flower of their...they find themselves in a society which has written them off and a future with nothing but roadblocks ahead...in recent years the suicide rate among Black women has risen...many...were heads of households...young Black males may be spared these family responsibilities, but life is not easier...they see themselves locked in a life and death struggle..."(56)

The government's response to Black youth labor market dynamics has been a variety of job and career development programs, often combined with research. After more than a decade of research and programmatic efforts, there was general consensus that little was learned that could be utilized to positively impact employment problems in the 1980's and 1990's.(57)

The unemployment of Black males represents a major source of crime and delinquency which could become a major

disruptive force in society. Traditional institutions (family, school, churches, etc.) are no longer able to provide the motivation and support to assist at-risk or alienated youths. Many of the programs aimed at youth have been crisis emergency oriented in thrust and fragmented.

Moreover, the short-lived programs of the late 1960's were directed at children in kindergarten through sixth grade. In the 1970's service and programs were mainly focused on out-of-school youth (phased-outs, pushed-outs, and drop-outs).

Beyond the lack of continuity, the paramount problem with these programs was the exclusion of Blacks from nearly all the research and evaluation projects on the achievement of Black youth. This exclusion prevented the input of a unique Black Cultural perspective, as well as sensitivity to these youths' development.

Human Services

What we now have in America is a volatile underclass of youth who are not working, have few (if any) marketable skills, are in constant trouble with the law, and are seemingly beyond reach of any of the social and educational institutions in this country.

Historians or sociologists might posit that America and other Western capitalist societies have always had such an underclass of Black youths and adults. But what makes their present condition so critical and uncertain is the rapidly increasing size of this under-class and the tension it is creating within American society.

Many Black economists and researchers have documented the existence of chronically high, structural unemployment among Black youth sixteen to nineteen years old. Their data prove that, year after year, no matter what the rate of unemployment within Black inner-cities, 25 to 50 percent of the youths are out of work and beyond the reach of traditional human services.(58)

From a conventional perspective, services are generally acknowledged to be inadequate. Direct-Service providers attempt to make the system work. They recognize that their clients' problems are rooted in the social order. However, they tend not to identify the kinds of changes that need to be made in order to deal with the problems. Traditional direct-service providers address themselves usually to issues of coordination and legislative lobbying. They believe services would be adequate in solving their clients' problems or meeting some needs, if they had state-of-the-arts innovation in service delivery, adequate funding, and proper staffing.

Traditional human services providers accept the social order as fundamentally sound or ignore its destructive elements as being permanent. In contrast, the radical approach to social services is focused on political organizing to change the system. Without change it is believed unlikely that individuals problems will be resolved.

The dwindling interest or capacity of our economy to create continuously new productive jobs in proportion to national income expansion appears to be a distinctive characteristic of our present economic order. Given the structural sources of our present unemployment problem, how adequate a solution is the perpetual expansion of the human services sector?

The system imposes penalties when it should offer rewards. The system asks for the gratitude of the poor when it ought to point out their rights to them. This would consist of nothing more than opportunity to receive a good trade, alternative education, revitalized communities, increased employment of long-term jobless Black males, and integrated human services programs to keep families intact. (59)

Enforced-leisure is one condition that Black innercity residents are slowly beginning to comprehend through long-term unemployment. Black youth do not readily accept

his condition. Dropping out of school is a reaction to structural unemployment and its social and psychological spinoffs.

The major activities of all inner-city male youths in a typical day in a study conducted by Freeman were:

1.Person care - 24%

2.Hanging out/talking with friends - 11%

3.Watching TV/movies - 11%

These activities could be described as consumption activities; however, inner-city youths are not the idle rich.

Freeman's insightful study provides insight into the "main" activities of "out of school youths":

Person care - 35%
 Hanging out/talking with friends - 13%
 TV/movies - 12%

According to Hare:

"...A statistical glance at Black men in America reveals that to be Black and male and to survive means to overcome incredible odds...a homicide rate of 125.2 deaths per 100,000 within 24-44 age range. This sharply contrasts with homicide rate for white males in the same age group: 14.2 percent per 100,000."(60)

It is imperative, for educators to understand the needs and lifestyles of Black populations. Schools can play a vital role in helping students to comprehend the nature of crime and violence and help them to cope with potential violence. While it may only be true that a pattern of non-violent acts will eventuate into violent acts, there is more suggestive evidence that there is a link between a history of delinquent and criminal acts and future violent acts. Intervention at an early age, before the child has made an opportunity to develop a habit of delinquency, may be the most effective deterrent. In most urban areas there is no concerted effort to utilize the services of Black parents as a crime-preventing resource.

Low-income Black parents are often seen as significant causal factors in their child's asocial behavior, delinquent or criminal activity. In a similar way, the parents are ineffectual and impotent in preventing the asocial activities of the child.

Contemporary Black youths who live in our nation's economically-depressed inner-cities are making profound sociopolitical statements through withdrawing from society, i.e. dropping out of school, engaging in gang activities, committing suicide and homicide.

Research on the role of thought processes in human behavior suggest a correlation between life experiences and the perceptions we hold of ourselves and our environment. Cognitive behavior techniques or restructuring are preventive strategies that aim at reducing the stress,

diminishing self-defeating behavior, and irrational thinking, and providing information and alternatives that might help individuals in handling potentially violent experiences.

Black youth are incarcerated three to four times more frequently than White youth in the United States. What factors contribute to this? Troy Duster, et. al., attributes this phenomenon to:

> "...the labor market forces...are creating...a criminal Black urban underclass. Minority youth now account for more than 50 percent of juveniles incarcerated in public correctional facilities on any given day. Minority youth are being incarcerated in public juvenile correctional facilities at rates three to four times that of whites...there is a general association between steady employment and the absence of street crime...Black youth unemployment has quadrupled in the last 25 years, while White youth employment has remained relatively steady..."(61)

Several models are offered to explain Black homicide and acts of physical aggression. These include: 1) <u>instinctual model</u> which suggest that aggression is innate; 2) <u>biological model</u> which emphasize the role of organic malfunctioning and biological defects in acts of violence; 3) <u>social learning model</u> stress the learning of aggressive behavior from one's environment. This model suggests that socialization and reinforcement are major contributors in acquiring aggressive behavior; 4) <u>low self-</u>

esteem feelings of inadequacy and stressful life experiences triggers aggressive behavior; 5) Electronic Media suggestion model television and movie violence reduces the trauma of homicide and aggressive behavior. The variety and glamour associated with perpetrators of violence engenders a justification for individuals who have overcontrolled their hostility, are psychopathic personalities, or seek economic gain; (62) 6) Oppression and Anger Model, Blacks are angry because of the oppression and prejudice they have historically had to endure in many instances, to which they are still subject. This hostility is expressed by violence towards other Blacks. Black homicide and aggressive acts against other Blacks have historically been punished less severely. Thus, Black life is viewed as cheap.

Collectively, these positions posit that those who are in lower socioeconomic levels in our society are more likely to commit anti-social acts. Low-income or poor individuals live in an environment with limited opportunities for achievement which in turn contributes to feelings of alienation, low self-esteem, drug abuse, and crime.

The problem of Black homicide is complex. There are many possible reasons, but there is no one causal factor to explain this growing phenomena. Some acts are certainly

pathological. Others are misdirected reaction to stress. Still others are for economic reasons.

American institutions are pathologically racist, as portrayed by the President's Report on Civil Disorders:

"...In terms of mental health, racism is more pervasive and far more serious threat than childhood schizophrenia or any other emotional derangement. Its destructive effects severely cripple the growth and development of millions of our citizens both old and young alike. Yearly it directly and indirectly causes more fatalities, disabilities, and economic loss than any other single factor in our national life."(63)

To understand properly Black homicide, the role of racism in-depth analysis of social, political, and economic factors related to the quality of life is needed. This includes quality education, employment training and opportunities. The lack of these services may induce some motivations and frustrations that create delinquent criminal behaviors.

Suicide among Black men is increasing because the amount of violence among Black men in the inner-city has also increased over the past several decades. According to Dr. Alvin Pouissant, "suicide is just another form of violence. It's just turned against oneself."(64) Increasingly, more and more Black men are demonstrating signs of being unable to deal with unemployment, racism, stress, poverty, relationship problems, and low selfesteem. Consequently, they are taking their own lives,

making Black male suicide a national epidemic. Most suicides in this country are committed by White men ages 65 and over. Black men come in second, followed by White women, and then by Black women.

Joblessness can often precipitate self-inflicted violence.(65) A 1983 study conducted by the Center for Study of Social Policy in Washington, D.C. found that 46 percent of all Black men of working age were jobless, not participating in the labor force, or simply unaccounted for. The fact that 12,685 Black men killed themselves between 1970 and 1980 is an indication that society must deal with suicide as a community issue. Writing for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's <u>Crisis</u> commentator Norman Riley provides the following insight:

> "...86 percent of Black youth live in poverty. The Black high school dropout rate is approximately 72 percent. 51 percent of violent crime in America is committed by Black youth...25 percent of the income of Black youth comes from crime. One out of every 104 Black females will be killed by violent crimes. One out of every six Black males will be arrested by the time the reach age 19...twenty-five percent of Black children are being raised by high school drop-outs..."(66)

Writing on the subject of young Blacks in American society, Kenneth Jones adds:

"...The elementary school years are perhaps the most critical in the development of black males. The interaction between young Black males and the educational system can determine their destinies... unemployment hovers near the 40% mark. By the time we hit our 20th birthdays, nearly 22 percent of Black males dropout..."(67)

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The value of negative and positive reinforcement behavior, symbols, and words has a cogent effect on perceptions.(68)

Speaking to the subject of Black youth, sociologist Nathan Hare ruminates:

> ".... Unfortunately, there is no safety net...in the Black community. In this respect, the Black church partially fulfills a role...I suggest supplementary... schools of our own, similar to the schools Asians and Jews have, not to the exclusion of public schools, but to supplement them with special emphasis on Black uplift...Since women in the current economic framework are still largely dependent on men as material providers, it put an extra strain on the young Black male member of the underclass to provide, which is nearly impossible for him to do in a legitimate context, so he turns to crime to help fulfill this requirement..."(69)

Omission or ignorance of cultural diversity in schools is responsible for our education systems' failure to respond to Black students' aspirations and to their home environment. The school environment provides a cluster of interpersonal values and techniques, structure, and atmosphere to which the student must adapt.(70)

School Suspensions

Suspended students become leery of school personnel's motives. Suspended students perceived school personnel's actions as self-serving and a control mechanism. Powerlessness and the inability to control their own lives in school suspension, in many instances, produces low achievement, lack of motivation, and withdrawal from school.

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Blacks, especially males, are reported to be suspended at a disproportionately higher rate than are Whites. Socio-psychological stresses attendant to adaptation in a predominantly white and occasionally hostile school environment pose an especially difficult challenges for Black youth.(71) The cognitive response of divergentlearners, in general, and student anti-social behavior, in particular, is rooted in structural or policy characteristics of the school environment. More precisely, school rules, rewards, and socio-cultural expectations.

The Media: Visual

Television is the most important mass opinion-shaper in modern history. The average American adult views television three hours a day. The average American child

four or more. Poor and unemployed Americans tend to view television more than the norm.(72) The dearth of significant roles for Blacks on television, and a high percentage of the hours of television viewing by children and youth generate low self-esteem on the part of Blacks and a superiority complex in Whites.(73)

The precise impact of television viewing on Blacks have yet to be determined. However, the higher frequency of television viewing by Blacks is associated with the high rate of unemployment among Black males.(74)

Media critic Djata analyzing racism in advertising states:

> "...first, the problem with television is indicative of other media. Programming is designed for a white audience. Many advertisers do not wish to offend these white viewers and take a chance on losing their patronage. Ten years ago, research showed that many whites had trouble accepting advertising with Black models. Today, experts claim that the problem no longer exists, but the fear remains...even when some marketers have used Blacks in ads, they have been careful to present the Blacks in situations they feel are acceptable to Whites... if the marketers' views of Blacks is narrow and stereotypical, it will reflect in decision-making process... I decided to watch... commercials to count the Blacks appearing in them. I watched television for eleven hours in two-tothree hour sittings, viewing 133 commercials on all three major commercial networks. The commercials presented 229 White males (54%), 156

White females (37%), twenty-five Black males (6%) and ten Black females (2%), two Oriental males (0.5%), and one Oriental female (0.2%). Of the above number, forty percent of the Blacks and four percent of the Whites were highly visible personalities..." (75)

In commenting on the role of television on race relations in American society, Harvard psychiatrist Chester Pierce has observed:

> "...Television...is a major vehicle for carrying the cultural cues upon which humans learn how to behave and to be civilized...(76)

and

... TV is one of many sources where all people are exposed, over and over, to the notion that a Black cannot and should not demand or require as much respect and dignity as a White. The Black simply is not worth-while (time/space/energy) and his presence is at best to be tolerated but not accepted..." as a Black watches...TV he observes over and over that Blacks have more difficulty doing something well. If it is done well the promise is ;modulated or more likely shared with a White who has not performed as well. The Black thinks this continues the racial injustice he has known and that the general society makes achievement more an likely and more strenuous for him. The feelings brought forth by these observations are charging, anger, and resentment. They are the well known accomplices of stress that theorists indicate are associated with a host of psychosomatic illnesses. For example, could it be that viewing TV aggravates an existing hypertensive diathesis in Blacks?"...(77)

Advertising in the mass media is one of the principle techniques whereby the individual is taught to accept his role in society. Commercials are important since they give us glimpses of society. Blacks can see that in most commercials featuring both sexes and various races, White men usually outnumber Blacks and Orientals. Having one Black model among ten or fifteen white models is not equality. Sensitivity is often missing in commercials that do utilize Blacks.

The common stereotypes of society tend to be copied unconsciously in the mass media communications. One of the first methods for making someone act in an inferior way is to convince him/her psychologically that he/she is inferior. One of the things that happen when one unrealistically perceives what he is, is that he begins to create a situation whereby he cannot, naturally correct himself.(78) A 1979 study by the United States Commission on Civil Rights reported that Blacks and other minorities continue to be presented on television as blatantly negative racial stereotypes. The study points to the fact that Blacks are portrayed disproportionately more often than Whites as comic figures, and Black teenagers generally have no identifiable occupation.

While the Commission's report is concerned with the portrayal of Blacks as insubstantial people, it does not

consider the stark consequence of the images television viewers receive. Prime time television transmits images of Black people as the pimps, hookers, drug pushers and gunmen of American society.(79)

Television is the most powerful medium in the history of mankind for shaping behavior. Consumption and violence represent a skill and passion that are encourage by television. According to newspaper columnist Chuck Stone:

> "...Fifty percent of Americans use television as their own source of news and information! In a recent poll, 1,000 high school students responded that they admired television and movie stars more than their parents and relatives. (sic)...With the cable television explosion, 1,208 television stations and 9,766 radio stations, Americans have more potential access to diversity through electronic media than they do through 1,688 daily newspapers..."(80)

The poorer, a person, the more television they watch. (81) Entertainment for the masses also shapes public opinion. American children are nursed on television. For most people, television will shape attitudes and opinions and will create or smash desires for new knowledge.(82)

The University of Michigan conducted a survey in 1950 and repeated it in 1980 to determine the major influences on children. The results follow:

| | <u>1950</u> | | <u>1980</u> |
|-----|-------------|-----|-------------|
| 1.) | home | 1.) | home |
| 2.) | school | 2.) | peers |
| 3.) | church | 3.) | television |
| 4.) | peers | 4.) | school |
| 5.) | television | 5.) | church |

The vast majority of Americans are visual and oral in their educational orientation. Television has replaced school as the principal secondary-group socialization process.

In his extensive interpretation, author Neil Postman proffers:

"...television is different because it encompasses all forms of discourse. Television is our culture's principal mode of knowing itself. Therefore...how television stages the world becomes the model for how the world is properly to be staged. An American who has reached the age of forty will have seen well over one million television commercials in his/her lifetime, and has close to another million to go before the first Social Security check arrives...(83)

Images, especially those portrayed by the media have a strong influence, not only on self-concept but on behavior. The self-concept and behavior of children and young people are more negatively affected by images portrayed by the media.(84)

Computer Literacy

According to a survey of all schools in 1983, the 12,000 wealthiest schools are four times as likely to have micro-computers as are the 12,000 poorest schools. The number of students enrolling in computer programming is much lower in schools that qualify for Title I assistance than those that do not. (Schools qualify for Title I assistance by having a large percent of the parents with income below the poverty line.) In 1982, only 7 percent of the students in Title I schools had taken programming while 14 percent of students in other schools had taken such classes.(85)

This lack of computer training and literacy, when all of the national growth in entry-level and other low education requisite jobs are accruing in the suburbs, exurbs, and non-metropolitan areas that are isolated from the increasing concentrations of poorly educated youth.

A quick review of American history provides a poignant lesson; no group that has been or is removed from power, public or private, obtains power without obtaining access to information or education. Technological mastery is paramount to Black youths' future in the United States. But the inner-city Black population does not have access to information that explicates interplay between technique and

socio-economic development. The degree of power one possesses will depend largely on one's position with regard to information.(86)

The introduction of technology compounds the problems faced by a race, sex, or economic group that occupies an inferior position in society. Between two-thirds and three quarters of the richest U.S. schools have at least one microcomputer, but about sixty percent of the poorest schools have none.(87) In 32 of the nation's largest urban school systems there are 186 students for every computer and 863 elementary school students for every computer. Schools with one or more microcomputers are more likely to add to their stock than are computerless schools to buy a microcomputer for the first time.(88)

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Johns Hopkins University's center for Social Organization of schools analyzed data from 1,088 computerusing schools to obtain the following:

91 percent of secondary schools with more than
 1,200 students own at least one microcomputer;
 89 percent of suburban public high schools in
 the Northeast have at least one computer;
 86 percent of all high schools serving a high
 socio-economic status student population own at
 least one micro-computer, and

4. only two-thirds of the secondary schools serving low socio-economic status students own microcomputers.

Generally computer literacy aside, elementary schools use micro-computers primarily for drill and practice, but in high schools, programming is the preferred activity. Predominantly minority, low socio-economic status elementary schools use drill and practice activities more than programming with their students and give below-average student access to the micro-computer more often than do other categories of elementary schools.

Predominantly White, low socio-economic elementary schools, on the other hand, use micro-computers for programming more than for drill, even more than high schools do. And, they report extensive use of the machine by above average students.(89)

Music

Parents and teachers face the new obstacles of competing with popular songs that openly advocate negative values. Music is a powerful medium. It works on moods and emotions. It can stir action as mere spoken works cannot do. People will listen to messages that contain attitudes and beliefs that they agree. Little transistor radios, live

rock concerts, records, T.V., keep deviant concepts in the minds of impressionable youth. A poll of pregnant U.S. high school students revealed that of the 1,000 unmarried girls questioned, 984 had become pregnant with suggestive pop music as a background.(90)

There is a dearth of literature on the effects of popular music on Black children and youth. Yet, the fact that teenagers and young adults purchase the greatest number of records and tapes indicates that music does have influence on their self-concept and behavior.(91)

The Philadelphia public schools have embarked on an experiment in which children will have their curriculum sung to them. Wearing Walkman equipment, students were shown listening to rock music whose lyrics were about the eights parts of speech. Mr. Jocko Henderson, the originator, is planning to delight students further by adapting mathe- matics, history, and English to a popular music format.(92)

These findings are consistent with theoretical foundations of music therapy, which states that regardless of the environment, clientele, therapist, and theoretical techniques employed three factors:

> the establishment or re-establishment of interpersonal relationships;

2) the bringing about of self-esteem through self-actualization;

3) the utilization of the unique potential of rhythm to energize and bring order.

Printed Media

Textbooks help perpetuate racial stereotypes. Culturally relevant content is needed as an integral part of regular curriculum and not isolated in Black History Month. Positive role models are needed in every textbook because without them or with poor models, the selffulfilling prophecy is a direct modality for advancing racial stereotypes and inducing students to withdraw from school. (93)

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This study maintains that there is a significant relationship between the dropout phenomena and the inability to perceive the pay-off of education. In empirical terms, it is maintained that the variable dropout status is dependent upon the independent variable of the inability to perceive pay-off of education.

The inability to perceive payoff is essentially the view that education is of no value for the improvement of one's quality of life. The inability to perceive pay-off of education variable is dependent upon a series of independent variables, such as, the visual media, urbanization and conurbation processes, levels of unemployment within a student's community, the view that work is not important, the emergence of a secondary economy based upon illegal activity and the association with peers involved in the secondary economy; and drug and alcohol usage.

It is clear that the drop-out phenomena is complex and multi-dimensional, the approach of this study provides new insights and data which will widen the scope of the

debate on dropouts, and, aid in the development of appropriate corrective educational policies.

Hypotheses and Assumptions

The inability to perceive pay-off model makes several assumptions about drop-out behavior. The assumptions are:

- There is a relationship between the decision to dropout or to remain in school and perceptions of the value of education to the improvement of one's quality of life.
- 2. It is possible to empirically measure the significance of the inability to perceive the pay-off of education variable to the drop-out variable.

Given these basic assumptions, the study design and procedures will address the following null hypotheses:

| H _o : | There is no significant relationship between gender and dropout status. |
|------------------|--|
| H _O : | There is no significant relationship between employment status of mother and/or father and dropout status. |
| H _o : | There is no significant relationship between residency status (city or country) and dropout status. |

| H _o : | There is no significant relationship between belief in self-actualization and dropout status. |
|------------------|--|
| H _o : | There is no significant relationship between perceived value of education and dropout status. |
| H _O : | There is no significant relationship between peer group association and dropout status. |
| H _o : | There is no significant relationship between drug/alcohol usage and dropout status. |

Research Design

The design of this study is an ex-post facto nonexperimental survey, which was conducted among samples of students who have either dropped out of school or remained in school. Kirlinger (1986), explained the difference between experimental and non-experimental (ex-post-facto) designs as follows:

> "An experiment is a scientific investigation in which an investigator manipulates and controls one or more independent variables and observes the dependent variable or variables for changes concomitant to the manipulation of the independent variable. An experimental design then is one in which the experimenter manipulates at least one independent variable. In

nonexperimental research one cannot manipulate variables or assign subjects or treatment at random, because the nature of the variables are such to preclude manipulation. Subjects come to us with their differing characteristics intact."(94)

In this research the investigator did not manipulate any independent variable. He examined the relationship among variables that already exist among the subjects.

The Sample Populations

The participants in the study were 500 individuals, aged 13-20. There were 300 who have dropped out and 200 who are still in school. The dropout sample is composed of individuals who are preparing for the General Educational Development (GED) examination. They were identified and selected from the northeastern and the southeastern innercity urban areas of Hartford and New Britain, Connecticut and Jackson, Mississippi. The in-school sample was identified and selected from inner city urban high schools in Hartford, Connecticut and Jackson, Mississippi.

Survey Instrument

The research instrument was a survey questionnaire, developed by the investigator, specifically for the study.

It included items that permitted the investigator to test all of the null hypotheses stated above. (see Appendix) Each question on the survey operationalized the variables in the set of hypotheses.

Procedure

The survey questionnaire was administered to all 500 subjects. It was administered to the dropout sample during April 1988, at the Greater Hartford Urban League's Alternative Center for Education (ACE) project and the Opportunities Industrial Center (OIC) in Hartford and New Britain, Connecticut. It was administered to the in-school sample during April 1988, at Weaver High School, in Hartford Connecticut and a high school in Jackson, Mississippi.

Students were required to complete to questionnaire in group settings in the presence of the investigator or an assistant. Students were required to return the questionnaire immediately upon completion.

Analysis

To test the null hypotheses the Chi square analysis was used. This analysis is most appropriate given the

categorical nature of the data generated by the survey questionnaire. The rejection region for each null hypothesis was set at .05. The SPSS-X computer language was employed to conduct the analysis.

Limitations of the Study

This study provides the basis for future and continued research. The limitations of the study are:

- Survey questions may have been too sensitive for respondents.
- Respondents did not answer those questions deemed too personal.
- 3. Respondents refused to take the survey.
- 4. Respondents may not have understood or misinterpreted the questions. Respondents may not read well.
- 5 The results of the survey may support the null hypotheses.
- Supplemental sources of data, i.e. previous research, were not be available.

The qualitative sources of information found in the prevailing literature may also have limitations. They are: 1. The dearth of qualitative research and scholarly articles on the topic.

2. The dearth of contemporary research on the topic.

3. The dearth of research on the influence of specific concepts found in the study, such as the impact of unemployment, visual media, peer group association, or the secondary economy on Black inner-city youth.

Despite these limitations and the possible weaknesses in the research design, the study will produce the basis for future research and the development of policy recommendations. The study will also provoke other questions about the future of the education of Black innercity youths. Some of these questions are:

- What is the path of the causal relationships among the variables in the hypotheses?
- 2. Are Black inner-city youths viewed as a vital part of America's future? Do teachers, policy-makers, administrators perceive the pay-offs of education for Black inner-city youth?
- 3. Are public secondary schools responding to needs of Black inner-city youth? Can they address the needs of Black inner-city youth?
- 4. What is the role of the Black community and communities, in general, in addressing the drop-out phenomena?

This study will greatly enhance the direction of future research questions and solutions to the phenomena of Black inner-city drop-outs.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS OF STUDY

This dissertation examined the relationship between dropout status and several significant variables among a sampled population, aged 13-20. Of the 500 individuals surveyed, 143 individuals returned meaningful and complete surveys. All 143 individuals had dropped out of school.

The significant variables that were examined, as a result of the survey, in relation to dropout status were 1) gender, 2) employment status of mother and/or father, and dropout status of mother or father, 3) residency (city or country), 4) belief in self-actualization, 5) perceived value of education, 6) peer group association, and 7) drug/alcohol abuse.

To measure the seven variables, the responses from the returned complete and meaningful survey instrument, generated data which made it possible to apply the statistical analysis. Since frequency data were generated as opposed to ordinal or rational data, the chi square analyses was employed to determine the nature of the relationship between the variables and dropout status. Each relationship was stated as a null hypothesis, and tested.

In this chapter the results of the tests of the null hypotheses are presented. Each null hypothesis is restated and the results of the test presented.

NULL HYPOTHESIS ONE:

There is no significant relationship between gender and dropout status.

To test this hypothesis a 50:50 chi square test applied to the data, as follows:

| | MALE | FEMALE | TOTAL |
|---------------------|--------|--------|-----------------|
| OBSERVED | 89 | 54 | 143 |
| EXPECTED | 71.5 | 71.5 | 143 |
| (O-E) | 17.5 | -17.5 | |
| (O-E) ² | 306.25 | 306.25 | |
| $\frac{(0-E)^2}{E}$ | 4.28 | 4.28 = | 8.56 CHI SQUARE |

DF=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi square is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected.

NULL HYPOTHESIS TWO:

There is no significant relationship between employment of mother and/or father and dropout status.

To test this hypothesis a 50:50 chi square test was applied to the sample.

| | EMPLOYED | UNEMPLOYED | TOTAL |
|----------|----------|------------|-------|
| OBSERVED | 20 | 123 | 143 |
| EXPECTED | 71.5 | 71.5 | 143 |
| (O-E) | -51.5 | 51.5 | |

| (O-E)2 | 2652.25 | 2652.25 |
|---------------|---------|------------------------|
| <u>(О-Е)2</u> | 37.09 | 37.09=74.18 CHI SOUARE |

DF=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi Square is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected.

NULL HYPOTHESIS THREE:

There is relationship between residency status and dropout status.

To test this hypothesis a 50:50 chi square test was applied to the sample.

| | CITY | NON-CITY | TOTAL | |
|--------------------|---------|----------|------------|--------|
| OBSERVED | 123 | 20 | 143 | |
| EXPECTED | 71.5 | 71.5 | 143 | |
| (O-E) | 51.5 | -51.5 | | |
| (O-E) ² | 2652.25 | 2652.25 | | |
| <u>(О-Е)2</u> | 37.09 | 37.09=74 | 4.18 CHI S | SQUARE |

DF.=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi square is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected.

NULL HYPOTHESIS FOUR:

There is no relationship between belief in selfactualization and dropout status.

To test the hypothesis a 50:50 chi square test was applied to the sample.

| TOTAL | POSITIVE BELIEF | NEGATIVE BELIEF |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| OBSERVED | 7 | 134 |
| EXPECTED | 70.5 | 70.5 |
| (O-E) | -63.5 | 63.5 |
| (O-E)2 | 4032.25 | 4032.25 |
| <u>(О-Е)2</u> Е | 57.19 | 57.19=114.4 CHI SQUARE |

DF=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi Square is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected.

NULL HYPOTHESIS FIVE:

There is no significant relationship between perceived value of education and dropout status.

To test the hypothesis a 50:50 chi square test was applied to the sample.

| | VALUABLE | NOT VALUABLE | TOTAL | |
|--------------------|----------|--------------|---------|-------|
| OBSERVED | 13 | 39 | 143 | |
| EXPECTED | 71.5 | 71.5 | 143 | |
| (O-E) | -58.5 | 58.8 | | |
| (O-E) ² | 3422 | 3422 | | |
| <u>(о-е)2</u> Е | 195.5 | 195.5=391. | 1 CHI S | QUARE |

DF=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi square is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected.

NULL HYPOTHESIS SIX:

There is no relationship between peer group association and dropout status.

To test the hypothesis a 50:50 chi square test was applied to the sample.

| TOTAL | POSITIVE ASSOC. | NEGATIVE ASSOC. |
|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| OBSERVED | 60 | 83 143 |
| EXPECTED | 71.5 | 71.5 143 |
| (O-E) | -11.5 | 11.5 |
| (O-E)2 | 132.25 | 132.25 |
| <u>(О-Е)2</u> Е | 1.85 | 1.85=3.7 CHI SQUARE |

DF.=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi square is not significant.

The null hypothesis is retained.

NULL HYPOTHESIS SEVEN:

There is no significant relationship between drug/alcohol usage and drop-out status.

To test this hypothesis 50:50 chi square test was applied to the sample.

| TOTAL | DRUGS/ALCOHOL | NO DRUGS/ALCOHOL |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|
| OBSERVED | 138 | 1 139 |
| EXPECTED | 69.5 | 69.5 139 |
| (O-E) | 68.5 | -68.5 |
| (0-E) ₂ | 4692.25 | 4692.25 |
| (O-E)2 SQUARE E | 9.96 | 9.96=19.92 CHI |

DF=1. Critical value at .05 is 3.84. Chi square is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected.

Summary of Findings

| RETA | IN/REJECT HO | CHI SQUARE VALUE | |
|------------------|--|--------------------------|----------|
| | Gender and dropout status. | 8.56 | Rejected |
| Н ₂ : | Employment status mother and/or father and dropout status. | 74.18 | Rejected |
| н _{3:} | Residency and dropout status. | 74.18 | Rejected |
| Н ₄ : | Belief in Self-Actual ization and dropout status. | 114.4 | Rejected |
| H ₅ : | Perceived value of education. | 39.11 | Rejected |
| Н ₆ : | Peer group associ- ation and dropout status. | 3.7 | Retained |
| H7: | Drug/alcohol usage and dropout status. | 19.92 | Rejected |
| DF-1 | Chi aquara valua a | t 05 for each hypothesis | 10 3 94 |

DF=1. Chi square value at .05 for each hypothesis is 3.84.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions ascertained from this study support the generally accepted proposition that there is a direct relationship between dropout rate and socioeconomic status and/or class. In addition, this study revealed the following:

> 1. There is a significant relationship between gender and dropout status. Whether an individual is male or female does influence whether they dropout. Increasingly, Black inner-city families are being headed by females. Students from single-parent homes are twice as likely to dropout of school as are students from intact families. Nationally, fifty-one percent of the males but only 33 percent of the females dropout.(95)

2. There is a significant relationship between employment status of mother and/or father and dropout status. Significantly

more dropouts have mothers/fathers who are unemployed.

3. There is a significant relationship between residency and dropout status. Significantly more individuals who dropout live in the city as opposed to the country.

4. There is a significant relationship between belief in self-actualization and dropout status. Significantly more individuals who dropout doubt their ability to succeed.

5. There is a significant relationship between perceived value of education and dropout status. Significantly more dropouts do not perceive any value in education,.

6. There is no significant relationship between peer influence and dropout status. Whether an individual knows someone else who dropped out does not influence that person's decision to dropout. (However the chi square value for this hypothesis, in this

study, was very close to the chi square value at .05, which tests significance. The rejection of the hypothesis on the basis of the data from this study may not be conclusive.)

7. There is a significant relationship between the use of drugs and/or alcohol and dropout status. Significantly more dropouts report having used drugs and/or alcohol.

The results of this study have significant implications for our understanding of the dropout problem, and the development of corrective/preventative policies.

Educational attainment does not depend on any particular measure. No one concept or approach meets the various needs that motivate students to leave school. School systems that have been successful in lessening the potential for dropouts have several common features: small class size, some degree of isolation from regular school programs, positive interaction with community and parents, strong support services, provision for individualized instruction, cogent administrative leadership, noncompetitive instructional formats, and employment placement programs or counseling.

When the data are carefully analyzed, it indicates that only those efforts that are designed to improve the lives of the student and their communities will positively impact the dropout rate.

In 25 of our largest cities and metropolitan areas, half or more than half of the public school students are minority group members. By the year 2000, 42 percent of the entire nation's public school students will be minority children and youth.

Clearly, policy-makers should address the education of minority youth, in general, and Black youth in particular, in a more comprehensive manner.

Recommendations

This study attempts to make some contribution to the demand for knowledge about urban education and inner-city students. The following recommendations are presented as viable options for policy-makers in addressing the dropout problem:

-Establish extended day-school with classes from 4 8pm; to enable students with jobs and children to continue to work.

2) -Develop mentor-mentee programs utilizing community persons, e.g. athletes, neighborhood small business owners, and retired persons. Contractual arrangements should be established between mentors and school system. Mentors would counsel and intervene in situations involving at-risk students.

3) -Develop and implement services to enhance employability program for parents, drop-outs, and at-risk students.

4) -Adopt and implement <u>SECONDARY SCHOOL VOUCHER</u> <u>EDUCATION PROGRAM.</u> SSVEP would enable secondary students and their parents to select schools of their choice. Moreover, it would foster the creation of schools or academies to service inner-city secondary school drop-outs and students who are at-risk of dropping out. Students would select schools, programs or mini-academies that more readily met their needs. Teachers would be able to select the program, academy or school that would enable them to function more effectively. The Secondary School Voucher Education program would be public only initially, but private alterative or mini-schools could be established. Cost for alternative and/or mini-academy would be the same as the per pupil allocation expend by LEA. All academic

subjects would conform to those established by the State Boards of Education. Teaching methods, tests and other matters would be subject to school board, parents, community and students.

5) -LEA should establish community school counselors corps(CSCC). The support services staff would fall under direct supervision of school principals. CSCC personnel would be stationed in each school. However, CSCC staff would be directly responsible to local C.E.O. or his/her designate. The function of CSCC would be concentrated solely on those activities identified by principal and LEA's that would bridge existing gaps between schools and their immediate communities.

6) -Establish 'in-school' peer, counseling program for 'at-risk' secondary school drop-outs. Peer counselors would be selected by a panel of students and teachers. Peer counselor would be paid by Local Education Agency, (LEA).

7) -LEA would establish parent counseling program. Parent counselors would be hired on the basis of their prior involvement with PTA and/or other school related affairs. LEA's would also solicit neighborhood/civic

organizations, churches businesses and other community entities in identifying parent counselors. Parentcounselors would assist parents in understanding academic and/or social services support programs in place, within their LEA system. Parent-counselors would help parents identify other support services provided by public and/or private sources within their city that would enable parents to function more efficiently as parents and contribute more to the child/children's education. Parent counselor would serve as liaison between school and home.

8) -Form ECUMENICAL COOPERATIVE (Church and Masjid, etc.) SELF-HELP VENTURE FUND. This fund would provide start-up capital for high school drop-outs entrepreneurs with proposals that would provide jobs and demonstrate service needs to economically-depressed communities. High school drop-out would sign contracts committing themselves to complete high school and/or obtain G.E.D. within specific time frames. Cooperative Ecumenical Self-Help Fund authority would pay high school entrepreneurs's salary until he/she obtain high school education. After high school entrepreneur has met educational requirements he/she would receive a percentage of enterprises profits as an incentive to encourage others to develop enterprises to

meet needed community services and complete their secondary education.

9) -State, Local and Federal regulations pertaining to AFDC would be changed to make eligibility requirements for teenage mothers and fathers contingent upon recipient completing their secondary education within a specific time frame.

a) Teenage fathers of children receiving AFDC or other forms of public assistance would have to enroll in some form of vocational training, complete high school, or develop self-help enterprise as a condition for their child/children to continue receiving public assistance.

b) Secondary school drop-outs in order to be eligible
to receive AFDC or other public assistance after one year
would have to demonstrate progress towards completing
secondary education and/or obtaining a marketable skill.
Daycare, training fees, tools etc. would be paid through
public funds for a specific time frame.

10) -ECONOMIC LITERACY CURRICULUM would be developed and taught in inner-city schools from fourth grade through completion of secondary school.

-<u>COOPERATIVE ECONOMIC LITERACY CENTERS</u> would be established in every inner-city neighborhood that has a high percentage of high school drop-outs and unemployment. Participants would be selected based on their prior work record, recommendation from civic leaders, former teachers, ministers, and an essay entitled, "Where I Would Like to Be Five Years From Today." Curriculum in economic Literacy Centers would include review of formal English, consumer economics, Career Development, Grooming, Black History in the U.S.A., and those courses and skills tailored to local labor market needs, especially in service industries.

12) -Churches in economically-depressed inner-city communities should develop and promote church-based skill centers that would utilize older church members with skills in (knitting, cooking, masonry, baking, etc.) to teach high school drop-outs and at-risk youth their considerable skills. These senior church members would also function as mentors. Stipends would be given to senior citizens through special church collection. High school drop-outs and at-risk youth would be encouraged to market products once they have marketable skills gained from church mentors.

13) -<u>COOPERATIVE SELF-HELP LEADERSHIP TRAINING PROGRAM.</u> This program would utilize the services of gainfully employed military veterans residing in urban areas or inner-city communities or former residents to establish Weekend Academies. Content of program would be directed toward meaning of manhood, good health, etc.

14) -Establish tutorial program for at-risk students utilizing former drop-outs, who have either returned to school or received their G.E.D. The former drop-outs would be paid an hourly rate established by policy of Local Education Department.

15) -Establish links between school and correction system whereby drop-out inmates would visit high schools to speak to freshmen and juniors concerning pitfalls of droppingout. In addition, at-risk students would visit correction facilities to gain more insight into life-behind the fenceor wall.

16) -Utilize the National Consumer Cooperative Bank's Office of Self-Help to provide technical assistance to economically depressed inner-city communities in developing cooperative business enterprises that would:

a) provide high school drop-outs with opportunities to improve and rehabilitate existing neighborhood housing;

b) enable high school drop-out to manage, stock, and maintain cooperative mini-markets. High school drop-outs would buy shares and salaries would be based on profits;

c) develop cooperative "Literacy Center" that would charge a "user fee" based on income levels. Eligibility would be based on "User's" patronization of cooperative mini-markets, residency in cooperative housing, heads-ofhousehold, and service to community's self-help efforts.

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APPENDIX

Survey

My name is Benjamin Foster, Jr. I am a doctoral candidate at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. I am also the Assistant Director of Norwich Regional Vocational Technical School. This questionnaire was designed to contribute to the body of knowledge on high school students who chose to remain in school and/or drop-out. PLEASE COMPLETE THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THIS SURVEY. ALL RESPONSES WILL AND/OR COMMENTS WILL REMAIN ANONYMOUS. YOUR COMPLETION OF THE SURVEY IS STRICTLY VOLUNTARY AND WILL ONLY BE USED FOR PURPOSES OF COLLECTING INFORMATION. The analysis and reporting of the responses will be in the aggregate.

| PLEASE CHEC | K ONE: | SEX: | MALE | Fem | ALE | |
|-------------------|-----------|--------|----------|-------------|-------------|------|
| RACE: | BLACK_ | WH | IITE | HISPANIC_ | OTHER | |
| AGE: | 10 | to 13; | 14- | 16;1 | 7-18; | |
| | 19 | -20 | | | | |
| EDUCAT | ION LEVE | L: | les | s than 8 ye | ars, | |
| 1 | .ess than | 12 yea | ars, | High sch | ool graduat | :e; |
| (| ther. | | | | | |
| IF OTH | HER, BRIE | FLY EX | PLAIN: | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| 1. I HAV | | N A CI | TY ALL (| OR MOST OF | MY LIFE: | _yes |
| 2. MY FA Other | | Emplo | oyed | ; Unemplo | yed; | |

- 3. IF FATHER IS UNEMPLOYED, HOW LONG: 1-2 yrs.___; 2 yrs. or more
- IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD, MOST ADULT MEN ARE: 4. Unemployed: ____ ____Employed
- IN MY NEIGHBORHOOD, MOST PEOPLE _____ Rent; 5. ____Own their own residence.
- MY MOTHER DID NOT COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL : IS A 6. HIGH SCHOOL DROP-OUT ____.
- MY HIGH SCHOOL IS VERY CLEAN. ____yes; ____no 7.
- I AM Unemployed; Employed; Other 8. PLEASE CIRCLE QUESTIONS ACCORDING TO VALUE. EXAMPLE: (l=very important)
- WORK IS IMPORTANT: 1 2 3 4 5 6 9.
- 10. RECREATION OR HAVING FUN IS IMPORTANT:

1 2 3 4 5 6

- GARBAGE COLLECTORS MAKE MORE MONEY THAN TEACHERS 11.
 - 1 2 3 4 5 6

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING HAD OR HAS THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON YOU STAYING IN HIGH SCHOOL? PLEASE NUMBER ONE (1) TO FIVE (5) IN ORDER OF INFLUENCE:

| 12. | Church | |
|-----|------------|--|
| 13. | Television | |
| 14. | Family | |
| | | |

_____Teachers/School 15.

- _____Friends _____Money 16.
- 17.

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING HAD THE GREATEST INFLUENCE ON YOUR DECISION TO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL? RANK FROM ONE (1) TO SEVEN (7) IN ORDER OF INFLUENCE:

| 18. | School teachers |
|-----|----------------------|
| 19. | Neighborhood friends |
| 20. | Church |
| 21. | Family |
| | |

22. Money 23. Drugs & crime 24. Television DO YOU LIKE HIGH SCHOOL? 25. ___yes; no PLEASE CIRCLE ONE ANSWER IN QUESTIONS 26 THROUGH 28. WHAT ARE YOUR MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS? 26. Lack of employment opportunities 1. Family and neighborhood condition 2. Inability to read as well as I would 3. like Poverty 4. WHEN YOU ARE NOT IN SCHOOL, HOW DO YOU USE YOUR TIME? 27. 1. Part-time job; Looking for a job, 2. Hanging out, 3. 4. Whatever it takes to get money. WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE SUBJECT IN SCHOOL? 28. Math 1. 2. Science 3. Social studies 4. Other 5. English WERE YOU BORN IN THE UNITED STATES? yes; no 29. HAVE YOU EVER TRAVELED OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES? 30. ____yes; ____no DO YOU BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO BECOME ANYTHING 31. YOU WANT TO BE IN LIFE? ____yes; ____no. IF NO, WHY NOT? DO YOU DRINK ALCOHOL BEVERAGES? _____yes; 32. _____no. DO YOU USE NARCOTICS? _____yes; no. 33. IS IT POSSIBLE TO STILL USE DRUGS AND BE SUCCESSFUL? 34.

| | yes;no. |
|-------------|---|
| 35. | DO YOU PLAN TO GO TO COLLEGE OR VOCATIONAL SCHOOL? yes;no. IF NO, WHY NOT? |
| | |
| 36. IF | DO YOU LIKE ATTENDING SCHOOL?yes;no. |
| | NOT, WHY NOT? |
| | |
| | |
| 37. Alco | MANY PEOPLE IN MY COMMUNITY HAVE USED DRUGS OR HOL: |
| | yes;no. |
| 38. | MANY OF MY NEIGHBORHOOD FRIENDS HAVE BEEN INCARCERATED |
| | OR HAD PROBLEMS WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT:yes;no. |
| 39. | MY FAMILY IS: Low-income; lower middle income; middle income; Other |
| 40. | A GOOD EDUCATION WILL PROVIDE:good job knowledge about many things opportunity to make lots of money |
| 41. | I KNOW SEVERAL PEOPLE IN MY COMMUNITY THAT DID NOT |

I KNOW SEVERAL PEOPLE IN MY COMMON COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL: ____yes; ____no.

107

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123