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ABSTRACT

On a measure of conflict between home and school values relating to 4 areas in which cultures can be shown to conflict (Locus of Control, Activity Orientation, Time Orientation, and Authority Relationships) 481 ninth grade students from 5 ethnic groups in a variety of California school settings were studied and alienation from school values was reported. A multivariate analysis of variance was employed to generate separate cultural profiles for individuals within ethnic groups and between groups, while controlling for academic ability and socioeconomic status. A major area of concern was whether high achieving students of diverse ethnic groups have become "Anglicized" to be successful in the U.S. school setting. Similarly, low educational achievement was considered in relation to the degree of "conflict" with school values. This research suggested that ethnic minority students were being asked to make a choice between their own cultural group and that of white middle-class America in order to win success within the present educational system. (Author/KM)

CORRELATES OF CULTURE-CONFLICT IN SCHOOLS

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On a measure of conflict between home and school values relating to four areas in which cultures can be shown to conflict: Locus of Control, Activity Orientation, Time Orientation and Authority Relationships, 481 ninth grade students of five ethnic groups in a variety of school settings have been studied and alienation from school values reported.

A multivariate analysis of variance has been employed to generate separate cultural profiles for individuals within ethnic groups and between groups, while controlling for academic ability and SES in the sample drawn from California Schools throughout the state.

A majority area of concern in this study is the question of whether high achieving students of diverse ethnic groups have become "Anglicized" in order to be successful in the U.S. school setting. Similarly, it considers those of low educational achievement in relation to the degree of "conflict" with school values. This research suggests that ethnic minority students are being asked to make a choice between their own cultural group and that of white middle-class America in order to win success within the present educational system.

By almost any criterion one wishes to use, there is little doubt that the American dream of opportunity for all has not been realized. In an attempt to reduce these inequities, considerable attention has centered on schools in recent years.

For many Americans, the school has been the traditionally assumed vehicle for social and economic mobility (Sexton: 1964), however, attention also has been focused on the glaring disparities found in the effect schools have on students from diverse cultural groups and from the "culture of poverty" (Harrington: 1963).

At the turn of the century the doors were closed to minority groups in terms of upward social mobility. For the society at large there was "room at the top" and

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movement could be characterized as fluid. Wealth, not education was the determiner of one's status. Ironically, today upward mobility is legally and more socially possible for minority groups but the society has solidified to such an extent that there is little social class movement. Where it does exist, notably among minorities, education, not wealth is the prime requirement (Deutsch: 1963; Weisbrod: 1964; Girod & Tofigh: 1965; Karpinos: 1966; Hansen: 1968).

Several studies have shown that minority children tend to start out on much the same level as White middle-class children, both in I.Q. scores and scholastic achievement, (Garth & Johnson: 1934; Carlson & Henderson: 1950; Heller: 1963 and others). It seems tragic, however, that the longer these children stay in school, the less they resemble the other children, according to the findings of these investigations.

Americans pride themselves on being adaptive, inventive and on having a basic good will toward and concern for all, but it must be questioned whether good will and concern are enough. For the most part, the numerous programs designed to improve academic performance of minority youngsters, have persisted in using an unquestioned acceptance of the superiority of the American middle-class way of life as the measure deserving of reward and the value guideline for educational curricula.

Nationally, the issue is a critical one; internationally it is a crucial one. The United States today faces serious problems of many kinds in its relations with hundreds of groups of highly variable cultural traditions. Educational processes

and content are value-laden operations, yet it is rare for educational processes to encompass within students' learning experiences an awareness of these values.

Would not this country be in a better position had greater advantage been taken of the understanding of variation that its own great heritage of diversity so richly offered? Should not the still dominant implicit view of assimilation in America be challenged or at least evaluated? Can a value guideline be developed for educational curricula to form a basis for greater awareness by educators and students? This research is an attempt to assess the degree to which such cultural sensitivity is needed in curriculum development today, and indicate the broad cultural areas in which to begin.

Educators have long been perplexed by inferior academic performance on the part of students who otherwise evidence superior intellectual capacity. Research on academic underachievement, however, typically has been insignificant in its findings and inconsistent in its explanations (Hackett & DuBois: 1961; Peterson: 1963; Tiedeman & McArthur: 1956; Thorndike: 1963 and others).

Underachievement has been attributed variously to parental disinterest, cultural impoverishment, personality maladjustment, teacher inadequacy, and just plain laziness. Whatever one's interpretation of its source, however, underachievement is generally recognized to be a serious drain on society's reservoir of talent (McClelland: 1958; Miller: 1961) and on an individual's chances to realize a sense of worth and fulfillment in an increasingly technological society.

The critical differences between the reactions of one child and those of

another to the expectations imposed by the school, however, may also be a function of preferences, attitudes, drives, needs, interests and values: The child who remembers the batting averages, to the third decimal place, of a dozen members of his favorite baseball team may also be the one who cannot remember the single date of the discovery of America.

By the time the child is ready to take his place in the educational system and assume the role of pupil, s/he is ready to react to it in a certain way (Getzels: 1957). All children of a particular grade level may be exposed to the same expectations, but they do not therefore perceive the expectations in the same way. Instead, each child comes with a characteristic set of cognitive and affective dispositions which determine in a large measure his or her particular relationship to the role of learner -- what will be heard, what will be remembered and forgotten, what will be thought and said, what will be done gladly and what only under duress.

Psychologically speaking, it is well known that the developing personalities of children are greatly affected by the kinds of relationships they have with a mother, a father, and siblings. Yet not much attention has been given to the differing effects of culturally variable family patterns upon the relationships themselves and the kinds of personalities which result from them, (Hollingshead: 1939; Kleinfeld: 1973).

One factor needing attention, then, is the cultural one -- the value orientation factor. The value orientations of a people are so deeply rooted and pervasive that they markedly affect the patterns of behavior and thought of a people in all areas of activity:

There is a 'philosophy' behind the way of life of every individual and of every relatively homogeneous group at any given point in their histories. This gives, with varying degrees of explicitness or implicitness, some sense of coherence or unity to living both in cognitive and affective dimensions. Each personality gives to this 'philosophy' an idiosyncratic coloring, and creative individuals will markedly reshape it. However, the main outlines of the fundamental values, existential assumptions, and basic abstractions have only exceptionally been created out of the stuff of unique biological heredity and peculiar life experience. The underlying principles arise out of, or are limited by, the givens of biological human nature and the universalities of social interaction. The specific formulation is ordinarily a cultural product. In the immediate sense, it is from the life-ways which constitute the designs for living of their community or tribe or region or socio-economic class or nation or civilization that most individuals derive their 'mental-feeling outlook.' (Clyde Kluckhohn: 1951)

It is for the most part in school that the child first realizes that values other than his own exist. However, in many cases, unable to comply with the requirements of two cultural systems, frequently under the stress of their conflicting demands, the child often experiences an uncomfortable sense of insecurity and disorientation, possibly forcing him into the unfair decision of having to choose one group and reject the other. Chicanos, for example, faced with this dilemma find it necessary to become as Ramirez defines it, either "identifiers," those remaining loyal to their ethnic group, or "Anglicized," those accepting Anglo ways and rejecting identification with their ethnic group.

Philip D. Ortega (Saturday Review: 1971) writes that the dropout rate for Chicanos is more than two times the national average, and estimates of the average number of school years completed by Chicanos (7.1 years) are significantly below the figures for Black children (9.0 years) or Anglo children (12.1 years).

Various writers have pointed out that achievement motivation is strongly associated with the middle class in American society. According to McClelland, achievement motivation comes as the result of reward and approval for achievement and punishment for failure. The individual who is motivated or oriented to maximum rewards will perform achievement behavior.

The public school is a middle-class institution in the sense that it embodies the middle-class culture and thereby serves the upwardly mobile child of the lower class as a secondary acculturating agency, a place where he or she can assimilate the customs, morals, manners and values essential to acceptance in the higher strata. On the other hand, the school preserves the stability of the stratification system by limiting upward mobility to those youth who are willing and able to play within the rules of the game, or more specifically, to acquire the value orientations and dispositions appropriate to middle-class membership.

The Ramirez study, mentioned above, tested a number of Mexican youths in the United States and found that those who were "Anglicized" reported having disagreements with their parents, but had good relationships with people outside the home. They were outgoing, friendly and trusting of others. The "identifiers" on the other hand, reported pleasant relationships with their parents, yet they felt alienated in relationships outside the family. In both cases, these youngsters seemed to be sacrificing a great deal. Other studies report similar findings, (McWilliams: 1948; Farris & Brymer: 1965; Heller: 1966).

Although the limited assimilation and acculturation of Mexican Americans

have often been commented on by social scientists, there are very few scholarly studies of the factors accounting for this situation, although one effort along these lines is that of Florence Kluckhohn, who relates the slow rate of assimilation to sharp differences between the "deeply rooted" value orientations of the original Mexican culture and those of the dominant American culture. She shows that the two cultures have contrasting orientations toward some basic universal human problems.

Neither have American anthropologists made a systematic and comprehensive study of the culture of the United States. The few attempts have on their own admission been tentative and suggestive rather than definitive (Mead: 1942; Gorer: 1948; Parsons & Shils: 1952; Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn: 1947).

Nevertheless, the existing literature points to a strong relationship between cultural orientation and educational achievement. The present study is an attempt to fill, if only partially, the lack of empirical data needed to reinforce the developed theory and provide a firm basis for program planning. It asks whether a cultural orientation toward a minority ethnic group causes conflict with school values, and whether this orientation can also affect educational achievement.

This study examines the relationship between a minority cultural orientation and (1) conflict with school values, and (2) educational achievement. Some of the questions investigated are:

- (a) Are mean scores for high ability students lower than mean scores for low ability students and therefore more like the middle-class school culture?

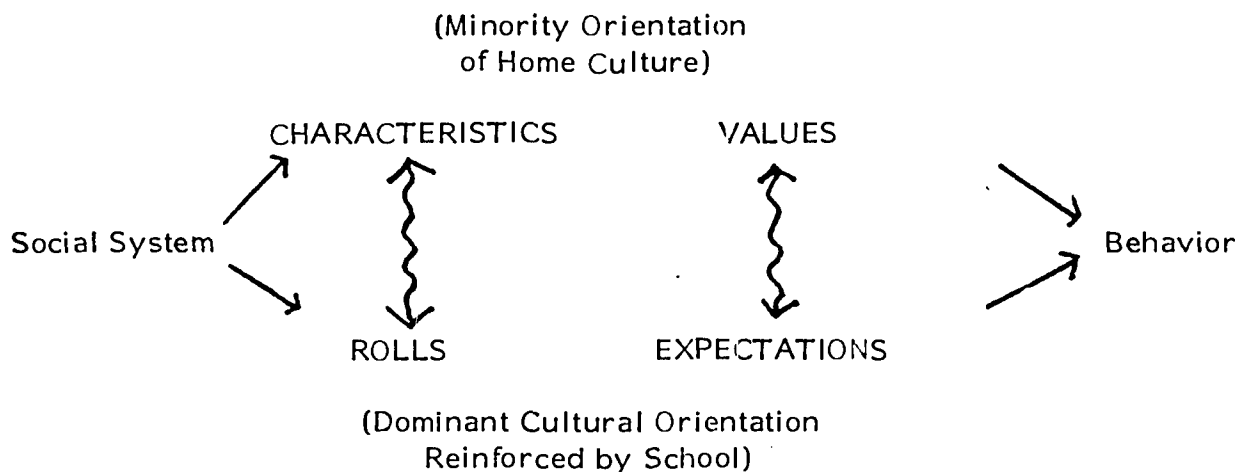
- (b) Are mean scores for high SES students lower than middle and low SES students and therefore more like the middle class school culture?
- (c) Do some ethnic groups have a cultural orientation more favored by the middle-class school culture than other ethnic group orientations?

In order to answer these questions, four basic cultural areas are related to academic ability, as well as to ethnicity and SES in an attempt to note culture conflicts experienced by different groups of students.

The four areas have been selected by anthropologists as the crucial ones common to all human problems, according to Florence Kluckhohn:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. What is the relationship of man to nature? | (Locus of Control) |
| 2. What is the modality of human activity? | (Activity Orientation) |
| 3. What is the temporal focus of human life? | (Time Orientation) |
| 4. What is the modality of man's relationship to other men? | (Authority Relationship) |

Previous studies and the developed theory seem to imply a strong relationship between educational achievement and cultural orientation. It is therefore postulated that the following framework (adapted from Getzels, 1963) may represent an influence on school behavior and achievement in diverse ethnic groups:



On the one hand, the expectations of the school derive at least in part, from the values of the culture in which the school is situated, and on the other hand, the dispositions of the child are also, at least in part, internalizations of the values of the culture (or subculture) in which the child is reared. It is possible, therefore, to note sources of conflict for culturally diverse students who face the impatience and intolerance of those who expect easy and rapid "Americanization".

CONCEPTS AND WORKING DEFINITIONS:

RACE

According to Pettigrew (1964), "anthropologists agree that there is only one species, homo sapiens." Race in this study is therefore considered in the social sense of ethnicity to depict certain groups, not as a biological or physical fact. Ethnic groups making up the "human" race are used in the sociological sense and are identified in this research as American Indian, White, Asian, Mexican American and Black, based on students' own self-identification.

CULTURAL ORIENTATION

Sir Edward Tylor, a British anthropologist, is the author of the definition of culture most often quoted. He defined culture in 1871 as:

... that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Briefly, "culture" in this study is considered to be the sum total of ways of living built by a group of people which is transmitted from one generation to another.

"Cultural orientation" is thus considered as that adjustment a student has made either toward his own ethnic group or toward that of the dominant group, which here will be considered as those cultural values rewarded by the school, or "school values." This cultural orientation is measured by a 10-point scale in each of the four basic cultural areas: Locus of Control, Activity Orientation, Time Orientation, Authority Relationship.

"Culture-conflict" likewise, is the difference between "school values", i.e. those of the dominant Anglo-culture and any other cultural orientation of a student, and is measured by the degree of variation from 0 on the 10-point scale. (Cf. Method).

SES

Socio-economic status is a system of social stratification that approximates a hierarchial social class structure thought by some to exist in our society (Kahl: 1959). The use of SES in this study is proposed as a predictor of prestige placement and is based on occupation of pupils' father and the average level of education of parents.

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Achievement is determined in this study by a standardized test yielding a verbal, and math score.

The investigator shares the concerns of practicing educators and researchers in the field of educational testing regarding the inappropriateness of many standard tests in measuring the abilities of educationally disadvantaged youngsters. In particular, students with reading problems are handicapped on these as well as on related ability tests. Nevertheless, both students and school personnel, in actual practice, use such test scores in measuring achievement during the school years and students receive the rewards and benefits of the educational system primarily according to their performance on these.

LOCUS OF CONTROL

In this study, the term "locus of control" is used to designate the first of four basic cultural areas in which different groups of people are thought to differ.

Locus of Control will be considered to range from internal to external on a scale from 0 to 10. The following examples may be helpful in understanding this concept as used here:

Internal Locus of Control - People will find ways to solve social problems just as doctors have found ways to improve people's health. If people pay attention to these ways, the result will be a better life. The majority of persons in the United States believe that natural forces are something to be overcome and put to the use of human beings. In general the orientation is one of overcoming the obstacles imposed by the environment. "The Lord helps those who help themselves." Man's duty is to overcome obstacles; hence the great emphasis on technology.

Optimism, as contrasted with fatalism, is valued. Any problem can be solved if suitable energy and ingenuity are applied to it. Furthermore, God, insofar as he represents a cultural formulation, will help, because he approves of these methods.

External Locus of Control - There is not much people can do to change the quality of life. Everyone is given a certain amount of happiness or good health with which he must make do. The rural Mexican culture gives us an example of this orientation that the environment cannot be controlled. The typical shepherd until only recently believed firmly that there was little or nothing a man could do

to save or protect either land or flocks when damaging storms descended upon them. He simply accepted the inevitable. In rural Mexican attitudes toward illness and death one finds the same fatalism. "If it is the Lord's will that I die, I shall die." Physicians, nurses and other hospital personnel geared to American middleclass ideas of medicine become frustrated when confronted with this fatalistic view. Similarly, upward mobility does not present itself as completely unrealistic for the middle-class American, while for the American of Spanish culture, resigned to "that state of life to which it has pleased God to call him," and for whom overt competition is frowned upon, a possible effect may be a real unwillingness to compete.

The Mexican-American child may have the choice of remaining in his own cultural stratum where achievement and competition is not emphasized or of trying to enter the dominant stratum where achievement is rewarded. He is thus faced with a very real conflict between traditional rural Mexican values and middle-class American values. Similarly it has been reported that Blacks are more external than Whites with lower socioeconomic status, Blacks having the most external scores (Gurin, Gurin, Lao & Beattie: 1969; Lefcourt: 1966; Rotter: 1966; Coleman Et Al: 1966).

ACTIVITY ORIENTATION

In this study, "activity orientation" is used as the second of four basic cultural areas. It is considered to range from an orientation of "doing" to one of "being", on a scale from 0 to 10.

"Doing" Orientation - Accomplishing things is of the utmost importance.

Personal output of energy is regarded as a good thing in its own right. It implies "keeping busy" and "hard work". "Laziness" is bad. Stock phrases are: "Let's get this done" and "Let's do something about it".

Again, the Mexican-American and middle-class American cultures can be used to illustrate the very different orientations toward the problem of desirable kinds of activity. The rural Mexican culture utilizes the alternative of "Being," that is, the preference for the kind of activity which is a "spontaneous expression of what is considered to be 'given' in the personality." It is antithetical to the "Doing" orientation of the American middle-class culture, whose distinctive feature is a demand for measurable kinds of activity resulting in accomplishments external to the acting individual. In the appraisal of persons, the primary questions in the American scale are "What does the individual do?" "What can he or will he accomplish?" (F. Kluckhohn and F. Strodtbeck: 1961). In the rural Mexican scale the primary questions are, "Quien es?" (Who is he?) and "Que clase de persona?" (What kind of person is he?)

"Being" Orientation - Thinking and acting in the ways that best suit the way one really is, enjoying life as one goes along, that is the best way.

TIME ORIENTATION

"Time orientation" is used as the third of four basic cultural areas to differentiate groups of people in this study. The range is thought to encompass a range extending from a future orientation to a present one on a scale from 0 to 10.

Future Orientation - In the United States dominant culture, at least until very recently, it is precisely planning for a future visualized to be ever "bigger and better" that is emphasized. The ways of the past are not considered good just because they are past, and the typical middle-class Americans are seldom content with the present.

Present Orientation - Life now is good and things should be kept just as they are. When it comes down to it, only the present really matters. For the most part, the rural Mexican culture is a present-oriented one, paying little attention to what happened in the past and regarding the future as vague and unpredictable. This strongly held presenttime attitude is troublesome to those United States citizens who live by calendars and date books, ever pressing themselves into minute-by-minute molds. But there are many in the world, both at home and abroad, who do not wish life to be such a wild rush and do not consider such a way of life to be sensible.

AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIP

The fourth basic cultural area considered in this study is that of man's relation to other men, ranging from an individualistic relationship to a lineal one on a scale from 0 to 10.

Individualistic - One should decide for oneself, as an individual. One should "make up one's own mind," "decide what one is going to do". One should "care for oneself" and not expect others to look out for him. In this orientation, individual goals have primacy over the goals of specific groups. For example, the man who

joins a business firm in the United States is expected, in pursuing his own goals of money-making and prestige, to be cooperative with other similarly oriented fellow-workers and, in addition, is expected also to have a positive attitude toward the over-all goals of the organization. Yet it is not expected that this man will remain in cooperation with particular workers or dedicated to the goals of the particular firm if he receives an offer from another firm which will increase his salary or prestige. Similarly, individual freedom or liberty, as formally guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, for example; self-reliance and initiative; status achieved "through one's own efforts" are all values in U.S. culture reflecting this basic individualistic orientation.

Lineal Relationship - It is best to do what authority figures think best.

One does not take much part in deciding one's future, but can depend on those who do decide to help out in many ways. Group goals have primacy, since it is crucial that the group as an entity continues through time. Oscar Lewis (1960), in describing the child-rearing practices in lower-class Mexican families, says, "One of the underlying principles in child rearing is to develop children who are easy to control ... independence is discouraged from infancy through young adulthood." And as Cloward and Jones, in their study of the middle-class school, observe, children who have not acquired the independent, activity value orientations in their homes and communities are not so likely to compete successfully with youngsters among whom these values are implicitly taken for granted.

METHOD

THE SAMPLE:

In order to secure as wide a range as possible, students from public and private schools representing urban and suburban areas of California, were used.

The sample was a stratified random sample according to the ethnic groups (American-Indian, White, Asian, Mexican-American and Black); academic ability and SES. Data was selected from over 10,000 students in the scope California sample (school to college opportunities for post secondary education -- a project of the Center for the study of Higher Education, Berkeley, California, in cooperation with the College Entrance Examination Board).

In order to limit the sample to a manageable size while attempting to achieve equal cell sizes of about 30 each, only ninth graders were used.

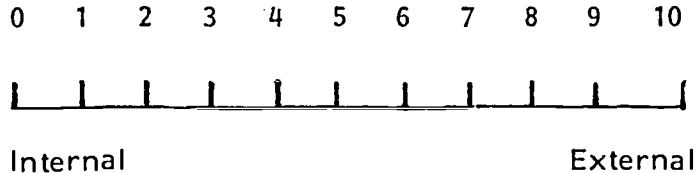
The size of the sample was 481 students selected as follows: each of the five ethnic groups' ninth grade students were randomly chosen from the selected public and private, rural, urban and suburban schools. Within each ethnic group, high and low academic ability groups were represented as well as high middle and low socio-economic status. The sample distribution as follows:

| Race | American Indian 78 | | | White 118 | | | Asian 95 | | | Mexican American 92 | | | Black 98 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|----|---|--------------|----|---|-------------|----|----|------------------------|----|----|-------------|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|---|----|----|---|----|----|
| | Lo | Hi | | Lo | Hi | | Lo | Hi | | Lo | Hi | | Lo | Hi | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ability | 37 | 41 | | 58 | 60 | | 46 | 49 | | 44 | 48 | | 49 | 49 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Socioeconomic Status | L | M | H | L | M | H | L | M | H | L | M | H | L | M | H | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 19 | 18 | 0 | 14 | 18 | 9 | 20 | 20 | 18 | 20 | 20 | 16 | 20 | 10 | 17 | 20 | 12 | 20 | 4 | 20 | 8 | 20 | 20 | 9 | 20 | 20 |

THE INSTRUMENT:

A score for the degree of culture-conflict with school values was based on responses to a questionnaire administered in May of the ninth grade. The questionnaire focused on the following four basic areas in which cultures have been shown to differ (Kluckhohn: 1950). A range of from 0 to 10 was possible for each of the four areas, with a hypothetical mean for ideal U.S. middle-class values, based on the literature, being set at 0. The higher the score, therefore, the greater was considered the degree of culture-conflict with school values. Thus, a score of 1 indicated very little conflict, while a score of 9 would represent a high degree of cultural-conflict with school values:

LOCUS OF CONTROL:



Sample Items

TRUE or FALSE

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

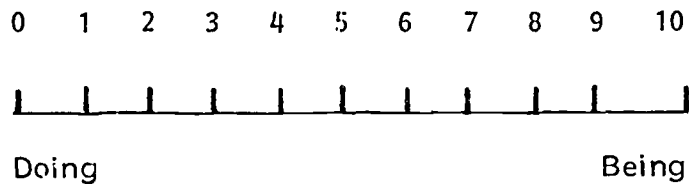
Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyhow.

Getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.

Many people are victims of things beyond their control.

When I face a tough problem I don't work on it much because I probably won't solve it.

ACTIVITY ORIENTATION:

Sample Items

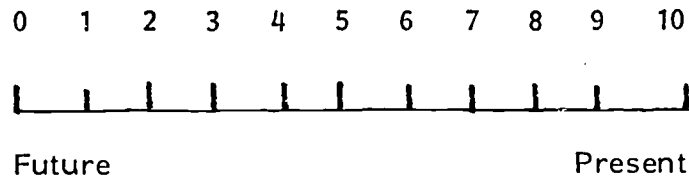
TRUE or FALSE

People ought to be satisfied with what they have.

I want to know that something will really work before I am willing to take a chance on it.

More than anything else it is good hard work that makes life worthwhile.

TIME ORIENTATION:

Sample Items

TRUE or FALSE

Every wage earner should be required to save a certain part of his salary each month so that he will be able to support himself and his family.

I'd rather spend my summer earnings on dates and clothes than to put them in the bank for the future.

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

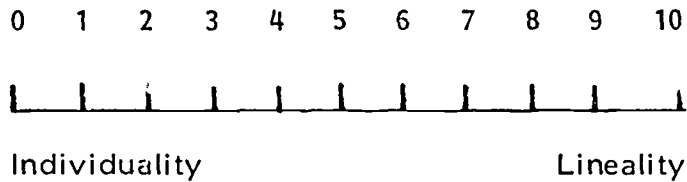
I'd rather have \$10 right now than \$30 a month from now.

I usually go out with my friends even though I have homework to do.

I'd rather have an expensive gift later than a less valuable gift right now.

If I sacrifice now, I will be better off in the long run.

AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIP:



Sample Items

TRUE or FALSE

It is never right to disobey the government.

I have been taught to live by certain standards which I carefully follow.

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

SES will be based on questionnaire responses concerning the occupation of the father and the average education of the parents.

Data will be supplied for ethnicity and sex by information gathered in a similar manner from the questionnaire.

DATA ANALYSIS:

In order to determine the relationship between the independent variables -- ethnicity, academic ability, SES and sex -- and the dependent variable -- culture conflict with school values -- an univariate and multivariate analysis of variance and basic correlational techniques were employed.

For the multivariate AOV, locus of control, activity orientation, time orientation and authority relationship scores were entered as dependent variables to determine whether or not each score separately carried more weight in the outcome for the independent variables: race, ability and socio-economic status.

The questionnaire items measure in an a priori way, the constructs studied.

RESULTS

The analysis of variance for the dependent variables: Locus of Control, Time Orientation, and Activity Orientation were each found to be significant across race, while all four constructs were significant across ability (See Tables).

LOCUS OF CONTROL. Results indicated that Asians and Whites are more inner directed than Mexican Americans, Blacks and American Indians, with low ability groups and low SES groups having a greater external locus of control than high ability groups. Low SES Blacks were most externally controlled.

ACTIVITY. Mexican Americans were found to be less oriented toward "doing" than Whites, American Indians and Blacks. Similarly, low ability groups and low SES groups had a less orientation toward "doing" than high ability groups, regardless of race.

TIME. Asians and Whites were found to be more future oriented than other groups, with American Indians the most present oriented, and with low ability Blacks and Mexican Americans having the strongest orientation toward the present. In addition, low SES groups across race were more oriented toward the present than higher SES groups.

AUTHORITY. High ability groups were found to be oriented toward an individual approach to authority, while low SES and ability groups were found to be more authoritarian than high SES or high ability groups.

DISCUSSION

The findings of this study confirm that mean scores for high ability students are lower than mean scores for low ability students and therefore more like the middle-class school culture on the four constructs tested here. This data supports the theory that achievement motivation is valued and rewarded by schools and that internally controlled, future oriented, individually motivated students will appear more able in an educational system that rewards their patterns of behavior.

Similarly, mean scores for high SES students were lower than middle SES students, whose mean scores in turn were lower than low SES students (the lower the means the more like the middle-class school culture on the four constructs tested here). Low SES students across race showed a distinctly different value orientation from that of higher SES students yielding results sustaining Harrington's theory of a "culture of poverty" which like a diverse cultural orientation can be in conflict with the value orientation rewarded by American schools.

Thus, from both the standpoint of prior research and the standpoint of Kluckhohn's particular constructs used here, it is plausible that not only are certain ethnic groups favored by the values of American schools, but also that there are many ethnic minority students being asked to make a choice between their own cultural group values and those of white middle-class America in order to win success within the present educational system.

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TABLE I
Race

| Multivariate | Variable | MS | df | F | Univariate P |
|---------------------------|------------------|-------|----|------|--------------|
| F = 3.77 P = .0001 | Locus of Control | 17.29 | 4 | 5.58 | .0003 |
| | Activity | 1.83 | 4 | 3.21 | .0130 |
| | Time | 21.50 | 4 | 8.40 | .0001 |
| | Authority | .48 | 4 | .93 | .4456 |

Race Means

| | | American Indian | White | Asian | Mexican American | Black |
|-------------|------------------|-----------------|-------|-------|------------------|-------|
| ORIENTATION | Locus of Control | 3.83 | 3.20 | 2.77 | 3.63 | 3.66 |
| | Activity | 1.60 | 1.53 | 1.58 | 1.88 | 1.63 |
| | Time | 3.45 | 2.69 | 2.14 | 3.08 | 2.99 |
| | Authority | 1.22 | 1.06 | 1.16 | 1.23 | 1.17 |
| n | | 95 | 118 | 78 | 98 | 92 |

FOUR CONSTRUCTS ACROSS RACE

Locus of Control
(10 item construct)

P = .0003
1
(Internal)

2

Asian

3

White

(External)

Mex. Am.
Black
Am. Ind.

Activity
(3 item construct)

P = .0130
1
(Doing)

2

3

(Being)

White
Asian
Am. Ind.
Black
Mex. Am.

Time
(9 item construct)

P = .0001
1
(Future)

2

Asian

White

Black
Mex. Am.

(Present)

Am. Ind.

Authority
(2 item construct)

NS
1
(Individual)

2

3

(Lineal)

White
Asian
Black
Am. Ind.
Mex. Am.

TABLE II
Ability

| Multivariate | Variable | MS | df | F | Univariate P |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------|----|-------|--------------|
| F = 18.93 P = .0001 | Locus of Control | 130.65 | 1 | 42.14 | .0001 |
| | Activity | 9.54 | 1 | 16.69 | .0001 |
| | Time | 12.30 | 1 | 4.81 | .0289 |
| | Authority | 11.83 | 1 | 23.12 | .0001 |

Ability Means

| | | LOW | HIGH |
|-------------|------------------|------|------|
| ORIENTATION | Locus of Control | 3.93 | 2.89 |
| | Activity | 1.78 | 1.50 |
| | Time | 3.00 | 2.68 |
| | Authority | 1.32 | 1.01 |
| n | | 234 | 247 |

FOUR CONSTRUCTS ACROSS ABILITY

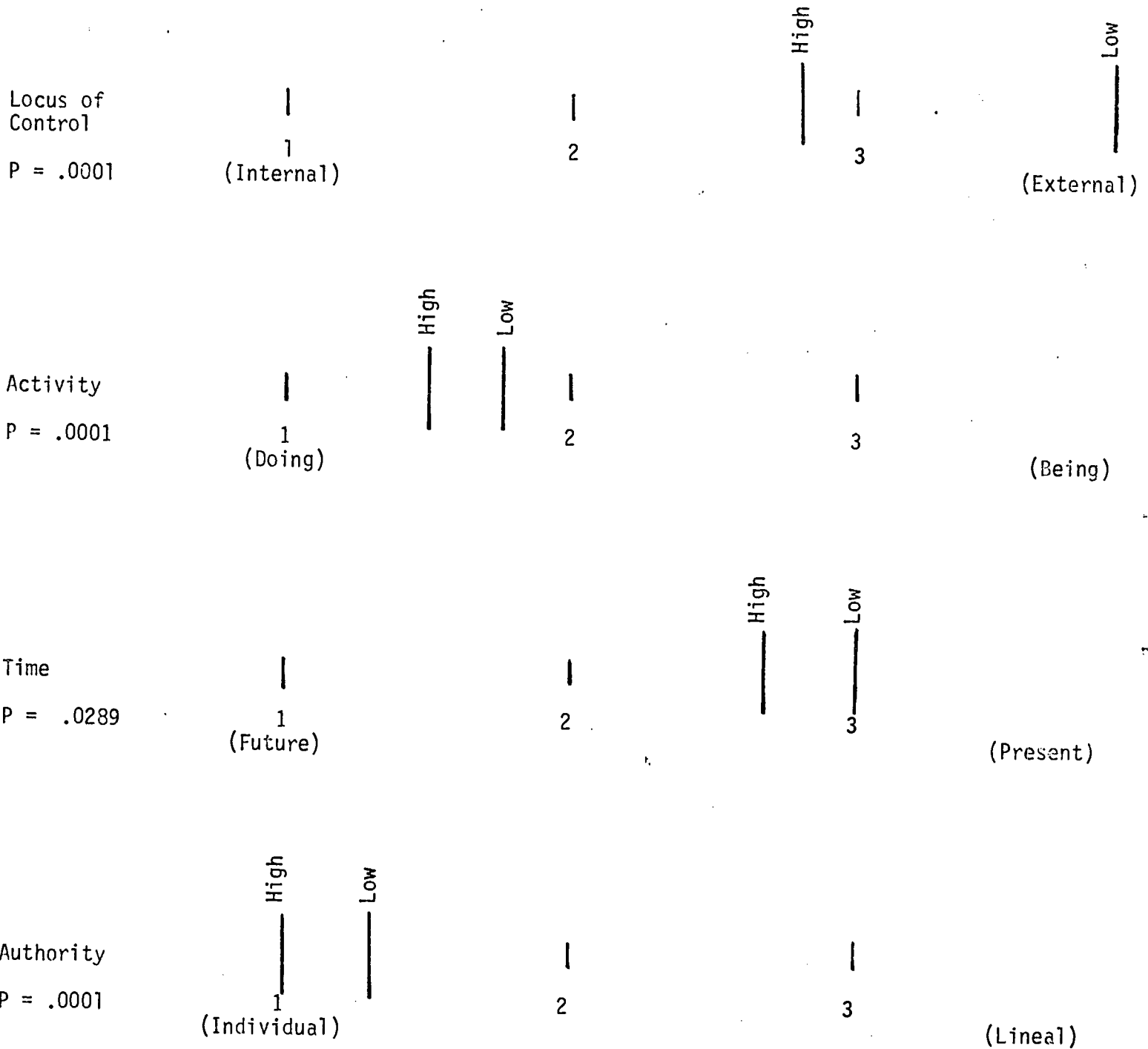


TABLE III
SES

| Multivariate | Variable | MS | df | F | Univariate P |
|----------------------------------|------------------|------|----|------|--------------|
| <p>F = 1.42</p> <p>P = .1813</p> | Locus of Control | 5.70 | 2 | 1.70 | .1835 |
| | Activity | .06 | 2 | .11 | .9005 |
| | Time | 1.55 | 2 | .61 | .5447 |
| | Authority | 1.91 | 2 | 3.64 | .0270 |

SES Means

| | | LOW | MED. | HIGH |
|-------------|------------------|------|------|------|
| ORIENTATION | Locus of Control | 3.62 | 3.31 | 3.14 |
| | Activity | 1.66 | 1.65 | 1.58 |
| | Time | 2.97 | 2.77 | 2.73 |
| | Authority | 1.26 | 1.14 | 1.00 |
| n | | 186 | 196 | 99 |

FOUR CONSTRUCTS ACROSS SES

