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ABSTRACT

This study attempted to answer the following questions. Do differences in academic achievement, grade level, sex, and race influence peer perceptions of black and white students as satisfiers of needs achievement recognition and succorance? Can interracial peer acceptance be predicted from intelligence, academic achievement, attendance, age, sex, self-concept of academic ability, race, years of peer interaction, and racial composition of the classroom? The sample consisted of 322 seventh and eighth grade students from an integrated Buffalo, New York public school. In June 1972, the Self Concept of Academic Ability Scale and the modified Syracuse Scales for Human Relations were administered to 14 seventh and eight grade classes. The remainder of the information was obtained from school records. The most important finding is that race does not surface as a significant predictor variable for white social or academic acceptance. Grade point average seems to be a major determinant of acceptance, as it received the largest weight for females and was a secondary predictor for white males. Female (particularly white) acceptance was the most predictable from variables used in this study. (Author/JM)

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SCHOOL INTEGRATION: AN ATTEMPT
TO PREDICT PEER ACCEPTANCE¹

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Extensive research has been conducted concerning the effects of integration. Studies have focused on achievement, social class, aspirations, self concept and peer acceptance. Of these areas, peer acceptance has received the least attention. The purpose of this study is to provide evidence concerning the nature of peer acceptance in an integrated school and identify some of the determinants of acceptance. The following variables were utilized: 1) GPA, 2) IQ, 3) Attendance, 4) Self Concept of Academic Ability, 5) Sex, 6) Race, 7) Age, 8) Number of years in the school, and 9) Racial Composition within the Classroom.

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Studies of interracial interaction among junior high school students have produced varied results. Webster (1961) evaluated social acceptance over a six month period using a social distance measure. He found that white students became less accepting of blacks. The results were inconclusive for the blacks, who demonstrated a mild trend toward increased acceptance of white students. Armor (1972) reviewed five busing studies and concluded that "...integration heightens social identity and consciousness, enhances ideologies that promote racial segregation, and reduces opportunities for actual contact between the races (p. 23)". The Ann Arbor Study (discussed by Armor) found that black students lost peer status when they moved to an integrated school but that their ratings were more positive toward their white peers, which is consistent with Katz's (1968) assertion that their white teachers and peers would have high prestige value for the blacks. Benson (1969) measured academic and social acceptance of black students over a six month period and found no change in the white student's acceptance of black students. However, there was a tendency toward increased academic acceptance. Black students' acceptance scores decreased for both groups. However, they consistently showed more acceptance of white students than their own racial group. Benson and Carter (1971) found that after 6 months of integration black and white intermediate and junior high school students seemed to prefer their own racial group for satisfaction of their academic and social needs. Although differences between means were significant they were not dramatic. Carithers (1970), in her review of the literature concerning school desegregation and racial acceptance concluded that "what [her] review points to, more than anything else, is the confusing, spotty and inconclusive nature of research in this area (p. 41)."

Research to-date does not indicate strong interracial acceptance. However, it does definitely indicate interaction. A majority of research shows positive gains as the result of integration. Black students tend to have slightly more positive acceptance of white students than white students have of black students. Additional variables need to be explored to determine the nature of acceptance.

Self concept is a pervasive factor frequently associated with acceptance and achievement seems to be a cornerstone of self acceptance. Katz (1968) found that individuals try to obtain the achievement standards of their peers. This particularly relates to lower class blacks who are at this time on the lower end of the educational totem pole. Ausabel and Ausabel (1963) found that lower class alienation results from frustration due to the inability to meet school standards. Vrædevoe (1967) found blacks want to be accepted and feel frustrated by their inability to keep up with white peers. This frustration results in anti-social behavior, as "...the inability, typically black, to meet academic and social standards of the middle class white majority may directly initiate rejection by teacher and peers alike, leading to defensive responses (Pettigrew, 1969, P.4)." McPartland's (1968) analysis of Coleman data revealed that peer acceptance and achievement were related for black students. "Those schools with more than half white student bodies whose Negroes score well, when compared with similar schools whose Negroes score poorly, are characterized by greater cross-racial acceptance (Katz, 1968, p. 261)."

Self acceptance is also closely bound with acceptance of others. Long and Henderson (1966) concluded that a realistic acceptance of self as "dark" may be one aspect and possibly a prerequisite for adequate self-esteem and good relationship with peers. Derbyshire (1964) in a study of Baltimore College students found those students most secure in their identity as blacks were also most likely to accept other minorities. Trent (1957) found that children who were most self accepting expressed significantly more positive attitudes toward both Negroes and whites than did children who were least self accepting. Geisel (1962) found that blacks with the highest self-esteem were more aggressive, more race conscious and higher achievers.

Social class should also be considered in any study of social acceptance. Glidewell, Kantor, Smith and Stringer (1966) summarized several investigations and concluded that there was substantial evidence to indicate children more often tend to accept or choose others from their own or higher social class levels. These findings are extremely important with regard to integration as there are

indications that a child's classroom status may be determined by his social status rather than his race.

This study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. Do differences in academic achievement, grade level, sex and race influence peer perceptions of black and white students as satisfiers of needs achievement recognition and succorance?
2. Can interracial peer acceptance be predicted from intelligence, academic achievement (GPA), attendance, age, sex, self concept of academic ability, race, years of peer interaction, and racial composition of the classroom?

Method:

Sample The sample consisted of 322 seventh and eighth grade students from an integrated Buffalo, New York public school (K-8).² The school is located in a lower middle class white neighborhood and is a receiving school for three predominantly black elementary schools. The racial composition in grades 7 and 8 is about two-thirds white, one-third black. The remainder of the school is essentially white. Some black students were bused to this school at grade 6 due to a change in program at one of the schools.

Materials The Self Concept of Academic Ability scale (SCOAA), developed by Brookover, LePerc, Hamachek, Thomas and Erickson (1965), is designed to measure the specific aspects of self concept concerning school ability. The vocabulary was modified for intermediate grade administration. The SCOAA scale consists of an eight item Guttman Scale. Responses to each item are made along a five point continuum: 5 indicating superior quality, 4 above average, 3 average, 2 below average and 1 poor. A total of 40 indicates that the student has superior self concept of academic ability, 32 above average, 24 average, 16 below average and 8 poor.

²The authors wish to express their appreciation to Ronald Banks, Director of Evaluation, Buffalo Public Schools and to the principal and staff of the school, without whose assistance and cooperation, this study would not have been possible.

The SCOAA has coefficients of reproducibility of .95 for males and .96 for females. Reliability coefficients and coefficients of reproducibility were found to be quite stable over a four year period (Brookover et al., 1965).

The modified Syracuse Scales for Human Relations measures Murray's (1938) needs for succorance and achievement recognition. The instrument consists of a class list and a five point scale. The student rates all of his classmates on the scale by comparing them with all other people in his social realm. The ratings depend upon the degree to which each person can satisfy the raters' needs for succorance (social acceptance) and achievement recognition (academic acceptance). The test-retest reliability coefficient for two sixth grade classes was .91 (Benson, 1969). Acceptance scores for each student were determined by computing the mean of the ratings received from his classmates. Ten acceptance scores for each student were calculated from the following subgroups:

- 1) Academic Acceptance received from black males (ABM), 2) Academic white male (AWM), 3) Academic white female (AWF), 4) Academic black female (ABF), 5) Academic total (AT), 6) Social black male (SBM), 7) Social white male (SWM), 8) Social black female (SBF), 9) Social white female (SWF) 10) Social total (ST).

Procedure

In June, 1972, the Self Concept of Academic Ability Scale and the modified Syracuse Scales were administered to fourteen seventh and eighth grade classes. The remainder of the information was obtained from school records. Intelligence was in almost all cases taken from a group intelligence test, with the most recent measure recorded. Grade point average was based on academic subjects only (Mathematics, Social Studies, Science and English). Absences included half days as well as whole days for the total.

Statistical Design

The analysis consisted of separate consideration of each of the ten acceptance means received. A three-way analysis of variance, fixed

effects model (Race x Grade x GPA) was used for each mean score received. Grade Point Average was divided into three groups: Above average (GPA>85), Average (GPA=72 to 85) and Below average (GPA<72), based on the assumption of a normal distribution of grades. Step-Wise Multiple Regression was utilized to determine the effect of each variable on the acceptance scores.

Results and Discussion

Analysis of Variance

The results show that blacks' perception of whites and of blacks are equivalent with regard to their abilities to fulfill academic need achievement recognition. (ABM mean acceptance score was 2.5 for blacks and 2.49 for whites, $F=.006$, $P<.94$; ABF mean acceptance score was 2.59 for blacks and 2.55 for whites, $F=.120$, $P<.73$). However, for the satisfaction of social needs (succorance), blacks expressed a preference for their own race (SBM mean acceptance score was 2.40 for blacks and 2.02 for whites, $F=10.32$, $P<.0001$; SBF mean acceptance for blacks was 2.35 and 1.89 for whites, $F=20.18$, $P<.0001$). White students consistently showed a preference for their own race with regard to both academic and social need satisfaction (See Tables I and II - all F's significant beyond .01 level). When black and white acceptance scores were combined to determine the total acceptance score, the mean rating received by blacks is significantly lower than whites for academic (AT black=2.34, white=2.62; $F=15.22$, $P<.0002$). No difference was found for the social acceptance total. Thus, blacks perceive whites as capable of satisfying their academic needs as well as blacks, but prefer their own race for satisfaction of social needs. Whites prefer their own race for satisfaction of both academic and social needs. In overall total scores black students receive lower ratings with regard to satisfaction of academic needs but equal ratings for the satisfaction of social needs.

Acceptance scores were found to be extremely different depending upon grade point average. All comparisons of acceptance scores by grade point average were highly significant (F's ranged from 20 to 94, $P<.0001$). High achievers received high acceptance and low achievers

low acceptance, for both races, both sexes, and for both needs. The average GPA group was similar to the low GPA group in receiving lower acceptance scores than the high achieving group. This indicates that high achievement is an important variable regarding acceptance.

For main effect Grades 7-8, no significant differences were found between seventh and eighth grade acceptance scores. Seventh and eighth grade students provide the same ratings of their peers.

The race by grade interaction yielded one significant acceptance score difference ($F=7.22$, $P<.01$). Regarding satisfaction of their social needs, black females show a greater preference for their own race at Grade 8 than at Grade 7 (SBF, Grade 7 white 2.03; Grade 7 black 2.43; Grade 8 white 1.67; Grade 8 black 2.69). This would seem to indicate that black females become less accepting of whites with age and/or contact.

There were no significant interaction effects for grade by grade point average, for grade point average by race or for the grade point average by race and grade. Seventh and eighth grade acceptance scores were equally influenced by grade point average. High achieving blacks and whites receive high academic and social acceptance scores from both whites and blacks, while low achieving whites and blacks receive low acceptance scores from both groups.

Regression Analysis

The regression analysis was conducted on a smaller group of students ($N=212$) for which information regarding all variables was available. (See Table I for the means and standard deviations for this group).

Grade point average contributes the most to the prediction equations for seven of the ten acceptance scores (Table III). Two of the social acceptance scores are better predicted by sex and one by race.

The academic acceptance scores received from black males were related to GPA, Race, percent black in the class, and IQ. All of these variables provide contribution to the prediction of black males acceptance as shown by the significant Beta F values. The black male acceptance scores are the only academic acceptance scores not related to sex, as sex is the second most prominent factor in the prediction of all other academic acceptance scores. The percentage of blacks in the classroom is a variable in the prediction of female academic acceptance, both black and white. Race also contributes to academic acceptance by black females and IQ contributes to the academic acceptance by white females. Total academic acceptance (based on both black and white, male and female scores) includes age and absences as variables with significant Beta weights.

For social acceptance, sex is associated with female acceptance for both races. However, it is more highly related to white female acceptance. GPA, percent black and age are also factors in the prediction of white female social acceptance, while Race, GPA and percent black are factors in black female social acceptance.

Black male social acceptance is predicted by Race, GPA and Age, while white male social acceptance is related to GPA, Sex and percent black. Total social acceptance is related to GPA, Sex, Grade and IQ.

The most highly predictable scores are those of the white females followed by black females, white males and then black males. In other words, the variables in the study account for the smallest percent of predictable variance in the black male acceptance scores.

These results show that although race is a factor in the academic and social acceptance of students, it is prominent only for social acceptance by black males and is a contributing factor only for the social acceptance by black females and the academic acceptance by black males. For most groups sex and/or GPA surpass race as a predictor of academic and social acceptance. Race appears to be a more important factor for black acceptance than white acceptance.

Preferences for the same sex surpasses preference for the same race in the prediction of most acceptance scores.

The most important finding of this study is the predominance of grade point average as a determinant of social and academic acceptance which overshadows racial differences in all groups except black male social acceptance. This would seem to follow from the relationship between intelligence and social acceptance and academic achievement and social acceptance as reviewed by Glidewell et.al., (1966) and Buswell's (1951) causality hypothesis: that achievement determines classroom status. Partial explanation of this finding could be the use of a sociometric instrument which measures social and academic acceptance of each member of the entire group rather than the first two or three sociometric choices frequently utilized. It appears that junior high students perceive each other as helpful in fulfilling needs succorance and achievement recognition when allowed to rate each other without requiring a specific number of extreme choices.

The reason for black males utilizing race as the most important variable for social acceptance ($F=.35$) is not readily apparent from the study. However, the amount of predictable variance accounted for, in black male social acceptance scores was low (23%). Therefore, much of the variance is unexplained by the variables in the study. Other factors are influencing black male social acceptance. Some of these variables may be athletic ability, power influence, and teacher attitude.

Not only is race not highly related to acceptance for both races (with the exception of SBM), it is a secondary factor for the prediction of acceptance scores ONLY for blacks. However, the first order correlations are low between black acceptance and race (ARM, $r=.10$; ABF, $r=.02$; SBF, $r=.19$) as only the social acceptance by black females is significant. The partial correlations at entry and the Beta weights for race were significant for academic acceptance by both males and females and for social acceptance by black females. Thus, the effect of race on black acceptance is only important when other variables are held constant.

Race never appears as a significant predictor variable for white students. There were, however, low but significant correlations between race and acceptance by white males (AWM, $r=-.19$ and SWM, $r=-.22$). These low correlations indicate a tendency for white males to select whites. The amount of predictable variance identified for white students differs for males and females (AWM, 37%; AWF, 54%; SWM, 25% and SWF, 65%), with white female acceptance scores explained to a greater extent. Academic acceptance was more predictable than social acceptance for white males.

Sex also appears to be a more prominent variable than race in the academic and social acceptances by whites (male and female) and black females. Sex provides a significant Beta weight to all equations predicting these acceptance scores. Sex was highly related to acceptance by females, particularly white females (AWF, $r=.53$; SWF, $r=.75$; ABF, $r=.37$; SBF, $r=.51$). For white males sex was only slightly related to acceptance (AWM, $r=-.13$; SWM, $r=-.20$). In other words, females (black and white) rate females higher than males for academic and social acceptance, even with the influence of GPA removed for academic acceptance. White males tend to select males for the satisfaction of the needs succorance and achievement recognition.

It would seem that the higher degree of predictable variance in the female acceptance scores is related to the importance they place on sex as a factor. White females' acceptance scores were the most predictable (30 to 57%), black male social acceptance scores least predictable (12%).

Although not one of the most important variables, intelligence contributed to several of the regression equations. It provided a minimal contribution to the prediction of black male academic acceptance, white female academic acceptance and social acceptance by the entire class.

Percent black by classroom was also found to provide a contribution to the regression equations for all groups except social black male and academic white male. The first order correlations were very low

(ABM, $r=.03$; ABF, $r=.02$; AWF, $r=.04$; SWM, $r=-.27$; SBF, $r=.12$; and SWF, $r=.07$). This finding is difficult to interpret since the range of percent black was from 29.6% to 54.5% and the classes were somewhat homogeneously grouped. St. John (1970) cites the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1967) as finding "Classroom percent white influences ability and has a stronger effect than school percent white (p. 120)." She also notes that percent black in the classroom was negatively related to black achievement but this effect was not significant once SES and IQ were controlled. For this study, percent black seems to be slightly related to social and academic acceptance by whites when sex and GPA are controlled and by blacks when Sex, GPA and Race are all controlled. The partial correlations were all positive for females and blacks but negative for white males. Thus, acceptance of all students is higher when the percent black is high, for black students and white females, if the other variables are controlled. White males, on the other hand, provide lower acceptance scores as the percent black per class increases, with GPA and Sex held constant.

Summary and Conclusion

Our most important finding is that race does not surface as a significant predictor variable for white social or academic acceptance. This would seem to indicate that white junior high students did not use race as a basis for judging their classmates for the fulfillment of needs succorance and achievement recognition. However, the analysis of variance results show that despite the negligible effect of race in the prediction of acceptance scores, overall, whites prefer whites for the satisfaction of both needs, when sex and grade point average are not considered. Although these differences are significant, they are small in comparison to the range of scores and to the differences observed between levels of GPA. Thus, grade point average seems to be a major determinant of acceptance. The child who does well in school is, or is seen as fulfilling academic needs for both racial groups and to a lesser extent the social needs of these groups.

When black students judge their classmates regarding satisfaction of their academic and social needs, race was the most important predictor for male social acceptance and a significant predictor for female social acceptance and the academic acceptance of both. There were, however, no differences between their mean academic acceptance ratings of whites and blacks. Therefore, although race is used as a variable in black acceptance, black students perceive both races as equally valuable in the satisfaction of their need for achievement recognition. Black students prefer members of their own race for satisfaction of their succoral needs.

Sex was also found to be an important determinant of acceptance, as it received the largest weight for females and was a secondary predictor for white males. Only black males did not use sex as a determinant of acceptance measures. It should also be noted that female (particularly white) acceptance was the most predictable from variables used in this study.

Further research is necessary to establish the validity of these findings beyond the single junior high school used in this study. However, the authors feel that this study points to the need for the consideration of the many facets of peer acceptance when studying the effects of integration.

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Table I

Means and Standard Deviations of Variables
Used for Regression Analysis

N = 212 % Female - 45

Variables	\bar{X}	S
Years in School	3.26	2.77
GPA-Grade 6	84.88	7.38
GPA-Current	78.39	10.13
Absences-Grade 6	9.69	9.55
Absences-Current	14.00	15.33
IQ	98.23	16.24
Age	13.73	.83
Self-Concept	27.00	4.91
% Black	35.50	10.09
Acceptance Scores		
ABM	2.57	.87
AWM	2.55	.82
ABF	2.66	1.11
AWF	2.70	.90
Academic Total	2.63	.72
SBM	2.20	.75
SWM	2.17	.69
SBF	2.07	1.00
SWF	2.37	1.01
Social Total	2.27	.56

Table II

Mean Acceptance Scores Received by Race,
Grade and Grade Point Average

Variable	Grade		GPA				Race				GPA					
	7	8	High		Aver.		Low		Black	White	High		Aver.		Low	
			Black	White	Black	White	Black	White			Black	White	Black	White		
Academic Acceptance																
ABM	2.50	2.50	3.07	2.56	1.98	2.50	2.49	3.77	2.96	2.75	2.48	2.08	1.87	1.85	1.78	1.97
AMM	2.41	2.53	3.18	2.55	1.87	2.20	2.62	3.21	3.17	2.33	2.62	1.97	1.85	1.78	1.97	1.93
ABF	2.52	2.61	3.37	2.54	2.00	2.59	2.55	4.28	3.21	2.69	2.48	2.18	1.78	1.78	1.97	1.93
AMF	2.57	2.50	3.43	2.50	1.94	2.25	2.69	3.39	3.47	2.42	2.54	1.91	1.97	1.97	1.97	1.93
Academic Total	2.52	2.55	3.25	2.55	1.97	2.35	2.62	3.49	3.21	2.52	2.56	2.01	1.93	1.77	1.77	1.77
Social Acceptance																
SBM	2.01	2.22	2.42	2.16	1.93	2.40	2.02	2.87	2.34	2.66	1.97	2.13	1.70	1.77	1.50	1.94
SMM	2.08	2.18	2.48	2.22	1.74	1.90	2.24	2.08	2.55	2.11	2.26	1.72	1.77	1.50	1.94	1.93
SBF	2.12	1.96	2.48	1.98	1.82	2.35	1.89	3.53	2.31	2.42	1.81	2.07	1.50	1.50	1.94	1.93
SMF	2.21	2.15	2.78	2.12	1.83	1.97	2.29	2.50	2.82	2.13	2.12	1.75	1.94	1.50	1.94	1.93
Social Total	2.13	2.30	2.62	2.26	1.85	2.13	2.25	2.56	2.63	2.29	2.24	1.93	1.77	1.50	1.94	1.93
N	171	151	75	144	103	109	213	11	64	41	103	57	66	66	66	66

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Table III

Multiple Correlations From Step Wise Regression for
Academic and Social Acceptance (N=212)

Academic									
Black Males					White Males				
Variable	R	R ²	Partial r at entry	First Order r	Variable	R	R ²	Partial r at entry	First Order r
1. GPA+	.43	.19		.44	1. GPA+	.58	.33		.58
2. Race+	.50	.25	.27*	.10	2. Sex+	.61	.37	-.25*	-.13
3. %Black+	.52	.28	.19*	.03					
4. IQ+	.54	.29	-.15*	.15					
Black Females					White Females				
1. GPA+	.51	.26		.51	1. GPA+	.54	.30		.54
2. Sex+	.59	.35	.35*	.37	2. Sex+	.71	.51	.55*	.53
3. %Black+	.62	.39	.23*	.02	3. %Black+	.72	.53	.19*	-.04
4. Race+	.64	.41	.18*	.02	4. IQ+	.73	.54	-.15*	.23
Academic Total					Social Total				
1. GPA+	.64	.41		.64	1. GPA+	.47	.22		.47
2. Sex+	.67	.45	.26*	.28	2. Sex+	.59	.35	.40*	.41
3. %Black+	.69	.47	.20	-.07	3. Grade+	.61	.38	.22*	.23
4. Age+	.70	.49	.15*	-.10	4. IQ+	.63	.39	-.15*	.19
5. Abs	.70	.50	-.15*	-.25					
Social Acceptance									
Black Males					White Males				
1. Race+	.35	.12		.35	1. GPA+	.40	.16		.40
2. GPA+	.46	.21	.31*	.18	2. Sex+	.48	.23	-.28*	-.20
3. Age+	.48	.23	.17*	.02	3. %Black+	.50	.25	-.15*	-.27
Black Females					White Females				
1. Sex+	.51	.26		.51	1. Sex+	.75	.57		.75
2. Abs	.55	.30	-.22*	-.14	2. GPA+	.78	.61	.32*	.30
3. Race+	.57	.33	.19*	.19	3. %Black+	.80	.63	.24*	.07
4. GPA+	.59	.34	.21*	.21	4. Age+	.81	.65	.22*	-.02
5. %Black+	.63	.39	.21*	.12					

*Partial r = 0, P < .05