MOTIVATION AND PERFORMANCE OF NEGRO STUDENTS*

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INTRODUCTION

In this report, I will be concerned with questions about the processes which lead to the development of various levels of achievement motivation and performance among Negro Americans. There is no reason to assume, however, that the process of motivational development is different for Negroes than for other Americans, or for human beings anywhere. Unfortunately, much important motivational research has dealt with limited samples (e.g., white college students), neglecting for the most part Negroes and other ethnic groups of low socio-economic status in which the problem of unrealized potential is acute. The experiences and adaptations of individuals growing up in such subcultures have not yet been systematically investigated in relation to motivational theory.

The growing national interest in the problem of unused intellectual talent has resulted in a considerable amount of research in recent years on motivational determinants of scholastic success. Such work as that of Sarason et al. (1960) on test anxiety and McClelland (1953) and Atkinson (1958) on the achievement motive, has important theoretical as well as practical implications. However, since these investigations have dealt almost exclusively with white (usually middle class) samples, they have not been very helpful in explaining motivational problems of Negroes. Thus, the interpretation of the fact that Negroes tend to score lower than whites on achievement tests has been debated for many years, yet the controversy has produced virtually no adequately controlled studies of nonintellectual factors that may influence Negro test-taking behavior in particular, and Negro performances in general.

There is evidence that among Negro youths there are large numbers of school dropouts, low academic achievers and youngsters with few job skills. A high portion of these youngsters are poor students and many do not perform well on the job. This does not imply that Negro youths do not want to be successful. It does not mean that Negro parents lack concern for their children's future success. It
does imply, however, that growing up in the Negro community - both north and south - does not prepare one for competition in a modern industrial society.

What is responsible for substandard performance by culturally deprived youngsters in the schools and in the world of work? There appear to be two aspects of the motivational basis of this problem. One source for concern lies in the area of positive motivation and values. A number of studies present data suggesting that culturally deprived children are poorly motivated for achievement and that their aspirations are low (Rosen, 1959; Sprey, 1962). Yet there also is evidence that the parents of these youngsters have high aspirations for their children, particularly in the area of education (Morgan, 1962; Rosen, 1959; Reissman, 1962). Reissman cites evidence that mothers of deprived children are more concerned about their performance in elementary school than mothers of middle-class children.

Another aspect of the problem, perhaps even more important than that of positive motives and values, is concerned with transforming motives and values into acceptable levels of performance. There is the distinct possibility that, even where motives are high and values are favorable for good performance, other factors may intervene to prevent the culturally deprived youngster from performing effectively. A negative self-image - as shown in self-deprecation, lack of self-confidence and inferiority feelings - is frequently reported as a characteristic of lower status youth. The negative self-image may engender a feeling that the chances of success in education or in high status occupations are very low. Thus, in order to avoid painfully frustrating experiences, culturally deprived youngsters may develop defensive reactions which cause them not to develop their skills or to lower their aspiration levels.

In Murray's language, even in cases where the processes of perception, memory and thinking are adequate for a given task, actual performance depends on the motives and emotions. A person may be motivated toward achievement, but a competing emotional motive may prevent his success. Anxiety, for example, may interfere with his performance to such an extent that he may fail.
How is this kind of conceptualization related, for example, to the McClelland theory of achievement motivation? McClelland's theory uses an affective-arousal model. What this means is that certain environmental stimuli arouse a state of pleasure or pain, with a corresponding tendency to approach or avoid such stimuli as goals. The degree of pleasurable or painful affect (or emotion) aroused depends on a person's prior adaptation. Thus, motivation, for McClelland, consists of the learned anticipations of a goal as arousing positive or negative emotional reactions. Goals previously known to arouse pleasure are approached, those that produce pain are avoided.

In this context, it seems plausible to conjecture that for Negroes, growing up in the restrictive environment of a subordinate caste position, engenders reaction patterns characterized by fear of failure — a tendency to avoid painful loss of self-esteem by withdrawing from competitive evaluative situations which are viewed as having high potential for failure. Such situations would be likely to arouse high levels of anxiety, thus causing an impairment of performance when it is not possible to withdraw from the situation.

The results of some recent experiments on Negro male college students are of interest in this context. Previous investigations by myself and associates indicate that Negro male college students tend to become anxious and unproductive when anticipating comparison with whites. This part of the report will discuss these experiments, their results and interpretations.

**EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS**

In the first experiment to be described here, Katz and Greenbaum (1962) investigated whether disruptive anxiety was aroused in southern Negro male students who worked in a white setting, even when there was no social interaction and the task (digit-letter substitution) was described as nonevaluative. Negro Ss were assigned either to a white condition, in which a task administrator and
"another subject" were white, or to a Negro condition, in which both were Negro. The arousal of greater anxiety in the white condition than in the Negro condition was inferred from the fact that Negro Ss' performance was more detrimentally affected in the former condition by the introduction of a stressful stimulus (threat of strong, randomly administered electric shocks). Relatively good performance in the white environment, when there was no threat of shock, was attributed to the neutral nature of the task instructions ("This is not a test of any kind"). Presumably, these instructions kept the subject's anxiety about being evaluated by the white tester at a level not high enough by itself to impair performance, but able to sensitize him to the detrimental effects of the shock threat that was later introduced.

In another experiment, Katz, Epps and Axelson (1964) demonstrated unequivocally that anticipated comparison with white norms may have detrimental effects on the intellectual performance of southern Negro college students, even when no whites are present in the testing situation. Digit-symbol tasks were administered with three types of instructions: no test, scholastic aptitude test with own college norms, and scholastic aptitude test with white college norms. Ss scored higher when told that they would be compared with other students at their own college than they did when anticipating comparison with whites, or when given no test instructions. At the same time, Ss' responses on a post-experimental questionnaire indicated strongest concern about their performance in the white norms condition. Thus, when white standards were imposed, many Negroes apparently were more strongly aroused than was optimal for performance on the particular tasks that were administered. However, it is not clear what specific motives were aroused. According to various drive theorists, such as Woodworth and Schlosberg (1954), Hull (1943) and Easterbrook (1959), any intense motive may be detrimental to performance on a serial learning task, such as digit-symbol. Therefore, the prevailing motive of Ss in the white norms condition could have been (a) a desire to achieve white
standards of performance (achievement motive), (b) fear of not attaining them (fear of failure), or (c) a combination of the two. All three possibilities are consistent with the finding that Ss were most concerned about performing well in the white norms condition.

A more recent study of males at the same Florida school found additional support for the hypothesis that comparison instructions have a significant effect on performance in an experimental setting. The results were not in the expected direction, however, which raises several questions. The second experiment involved the solving of arithmetic problems, adding three rows of three-digit numbers. Ss were told that they were taking part in a study to see how well people liked to do different types of tasks (neutral), or (Negro) that they would be compared with students at their own college, or that they would be compared with all students attending state universities in Florida (white). Performance was best for this experiment when the students were told they were competing with all students in the state. This is the exact opposite of the previous results. If we are correct in assuming that disruptive anxiety accounted for the discrepant results for the different norms groups, the question arises as to why the Negro norms were more effective for inducing high performance in the first experiment while the white norms instructions produced the better performance in the second experiment. Another study in a Tennessee school, involving white and Negro test administrators (Katz, Roberts and Robinson, 1965), suggests to us that the difficulty of the tasks involved influences the effects of anxiety on performance. We interpret these results to mean that digit-symbol tasks are not as difficult or as anxiety producing as arithmetic tasks, therefore, the increase in anxiety based on concern about doing well in the local norms condition facilitated performance with the digit-symbol task, but because of the additional anxiety aroused by the arithmetic problems, the local norms condition was detrimental to performance in the second experiment. We are repeating the experiment with easier arithmetic problems in
order to test this hypothesis. Subsequent experiments at another Florida college support the findings of the earlier experiment with digit-symbol tasks. At both Florida schools, Negro norms elicit better performance than white norms with a Negro test administrator for the digit-symbol task.

Let us turn now to the question of race of test administrator. Epps, Katz and Axelson (1964) found no relationship between instructions and race of tester on an easy task. More recently, however, Katz, Roberts and Robinson (1965) conducted an experiment in Tennessee in which white and Negro experimenters administered digit-symbol tasks of three levels of difficulty to southern male Negro college students. The task was described as a test of eye-hand coordination. On the most difficult task Ss worked more efficiently when tested by a white than when tested by a Negro. On the two easier codes the skin color of the administrator had no effect. Next, two additional groups of Negro Ss were tested by the same Negro and white experimenters on the most difficult task only, but now the task was described as a test of intelligence, rather than as a test of motor coordination. The effect of the IQ instructions was to elevate slightly performance with a Negro tester and to lower scores markedly in the white tester group.

There are alternative interpretations of these results which deal with the significance to the subject of the various experimental conditions. Of particular relevance is Atkinson's (1958) conception of motivation as a joint function of the subjective probability and incentive value of success. From a postulated inverse relationship between the latter two variables, he derives an hypothesis that the strength of motivation is at a maximum when the probability of success is .50, and diminishes as this probability approaches zero or certainty. Assume that a white experimenter has higher status for the Negro subject than does a Negro experimenter, so that the white person's approval is more attractive. It follows that when the likelihood of winning approval by scoring well is equally high whether the tester is Negro or white, the subject will work harder for the white person. Thus, in
the present experiment, Negro students performed better with a white tester than with a Negro tester when the task was supposed to assess an ability which Negroes are not stereotyped as lacking (eye-hand coordination) and which did not involve potential ego-threatening failure. Presenting the task as an intelligence test ought to have raised the incentive value of achievement in both racial conditions, with perhaps a greater increment occurring when the experimenter was white (since intellectual approval by a white person might be uniquely gratifying to the Negro student's self-esteem).

But suppose that on an intellectual task the Negro subject sees very little likelihood of meeting a white person's standard of excellence. In that situation, Atkinson's theory would account for the observed decrement in performance under a white tester by postulating a marked reduction in the perceived probability of success - despite the possibility of a relatively smaller simultaneous increase in the incentive strength of success.

The questions of race of administrator, incentives, and norms have been the subjects of experiments conducted in Tennessee. Subjects were experimentally subjected to tests in the following conditions:

1. White administrator-white norms comparison
2. White administrator-Negro norms comparison
3. Negro administrator-white norms comparison
4. Negro administrator-Negro norms comparison

In addition, one-third of each group received different probability of success feedback. One-third were told that pretest results indicated that they had a ten percent chance of bettering the norm; one-third that they had a 60 percent chance of bettering the norm; and one-third that they had a 90 percent chance of bettering the norm.

All three variables, Race of Tester, Comparison Norms, and Probability Feedback appear to be significantly related to performance. Perhaps the most
interesting feature of these results is the apparent triple interaction effect. Taking level of performance as an indicator of motivation, the white tester/local norms condition is clearly more motivating than other norms/tester treatments. The least motivating of all norms conditions is the Negro tester/local norms condition. In the white norms condition, there is little difference in performance for the Negro or white tester except in the ten percent feedback condition, where performance is better for the Negro tester.

A similar experiment conducted in Florida produced somewhat different results. There the most highly motivating condition was that of Negro tester with local norms comparison. This completely reversed the previous results which were from a Tennessee sample. Since there is other evidence supporting the Florida response pattern, we must assume that there are regional variations in the responses of Negro students to the various norms/tester conditions.*

There also is clearly a difference in performance in the three feedback conditions. The 60 percent feedback condition definitely elicits better performance than either the ten percent or 90 percent feedback conditions for both the white and Negro tester in all norms conditions. Another interesting feature of the performance of Negro students in relation to norms instructions and feedback conditions is an apparent lowering of performance (motivation) in the ten percent feedback condition when a white comparison is implied, as compared to a control condition in which no feedback is given. When Negro norms are used, with both the Negro tester and the white tester, performance is better in the ten percent feedback condition than it is in the no feedback condition. This suggests that when Negro subjects are told that they have only a ten percent chance of at least equaling the average score of Negro age peers they are spurred into greater effort (it also raises the question of the perceived relevance of the comparison).

*The results of the last two experiments described are now being prepared for publication.
However, when Negro subjects are told they have only a ten percent chance of achieving the average score of white peers, they tend to accept this prediction as valid and are too discouraged to perform well. This impairment is significantly greater when the test administrator is white.

These experiments, then, provide support for the contention that Negro college students exhibit reaction patterns which may be described as fear of failure when faced with an implied comparison with whites. These results lend some credence to the notion that negative motivation may partially account for poor performance by Negroes in many competitive evaluative situations.

Little is known, however, of the processes by which these reactions develop. It also is not clear how these processes affect performance in non-experimental settings. The generalizability of these findings needs much more investigation with other populations and a variety of tasks. Plans are under way for such extensions of this type of research.

FAMILY AND ACHIEVEMENT

Let me now turn to another area of research which needs clarification. One of the questions with which I am concerned is the origin of the types of reaction patterns described above. What is the relationship between family structure, socialization practices and motivation and performance? Previous research suggests that social class and racial differences in socialization practices affect achievement motivation, values and performance (Davis and Havighurst, 1948; Rosen, 1959). Generally, these studies indicate that there is a positive relationship between social class and achievement orientation and that Negroes are less achievement oriented than whites. Within the Negro group, social class is held to be positively related to achievement orientation as it is within the white group. Frazier (1957) argues that although all Negro children in the United States must learn a racial identification which is different from that of the
dominant white population, the content of this learning differs considerably from one class to another within the Negro caste. Middle class Negro children are socialized in a milieu which more closely approximates that of white America.

One of the specific questions which needs further investigation is: "What aspects of family structure are important determinants of achievement orientation?" Several studies suggest that family structure influences achievement motivation and behavior (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959; Strauss, 1962; Strodbeck, 1958; Veroff, et al., 1960). Findings from these studies suggest that maternal dominance, separation or divorce and death of one or both parents are variables which must be considered in a study of family influences on achievement orientation. One study (Anastasi, 1956) suggests that size of family may influence intelligence test performance, while another implies that maternal employment may be important (Epps, Katz, Axelson, 1964). Another study (McCord, McCord and Thurber, 1962) singles out paternal absence as a relevant variable for understanding deviant and acceptable behavior among male adolescents.

Another question to which research should be directed is "what effect does parental behavior have on achievement related motivation and behavior in children?" Several studies have investigated this question with white children (Chance, 1961; Feld, 1959; Winterbottom, 1958). The results, though they are not all consistent, suggest that mothers who said they expect their sons to be independent relatively early have boys with high achievement motives. There is some evidence that reversals occur in the relationship of maternal attitudes toward independence and achievement motives in high school boys. Rosen (1959) argues that motivation is generated by at least two kinds of socialization practices: achievement training that teaches the child to do things well and independence training that teaches him to do things on his own. Achievement training fosters a strong valuation of high goals and the realization of such goals. Rosen found that the various ethnic groups (Greeks, Jews, Italians, French-Canadians, Negroes and white Protestants) placed different emphasis upon such training in the rearing of children.
Veroff (in press) predicted and found results that suggest that moderate demands for independence and achievement are most effective in developing high achievement motivation. Veroff also hypothesizes (1964) that "maternal attitudes reflecting moderately early pressures for achievement will induce higher achievement motives than attitudes reflecting either very early or late pressures for achievement." He suggests that the role of the father, the parents' general nurturance and the family power structure should be examined as conditioner variables in this hypothesis.

Several studies suggest that the caste position of the Negro has a negative effect on the development of achievement motivation, values and behavior (Davis and Dollard, 1940; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951; Karon, 1958). These studies support the view that the effects of caste pressures on Negro youth are greater in the south than in the north. As stated by Lott and Lott (1963), "the specific conditions of lower caste status vary with the laws and customs of particular communities... It is to be expected, then, that cultural differences associated with color will vary among communities with: (a) the nature of the existing segregation-integration pattern; and (b) the degree to which differences exist in socioeconomic status." Relative access to prescribed paths for goal attainment should be greater in the north than in the south.

There is evidence from previous research which indicates that living in the north tends to raise the standardized test scores of Negro children (Klineberg, 1935; Lee, 1951). Nuttal's survey of male and female Negro subjects using TAT pictures (1964) also supports the view that being raised in the north or south has a definite effect on achievement motives and their correlates. He found that for northern raised men and women, there is a positive correlation between need achievement and occupational and educational status. For southern raised men and women, these correlations tend to be negative. There was, however, a positive correlation between need achievement and family income which was raised when
education was partialed out. This latter finding suggests that the educational system may not be viewed as the primary source of upward mobility by southern raised Negroes.

These studies imply that subcultural attitudes and values which have negative influences on achievement orientation may be more evident in the south than in the north. Thus, northern raised Negro children should have higher achievement motivation scores than southern raised Negro children. The northern raised subjects should also have stronger achievement related values and exhibit more achievement related behavior.

In summary, we may detect two broad strands of achievement-related research in the literature relevant to this area of study. On the one hand, achievement orientations have been related to broad societal status categories - social class and race. On the other hand, these orientations have been related to family structure and socialization practices. Both approaches have been integrated in a series of studies which have focused on family structure and socialization practices as the crucial variables for interpreting the relationship between social class and achievement orientation - arguing that the social classes differ in family socialization practices and these differences in turn help create the differences in the achievement orientations of the people socialized in the different class groupings.

The integration of these two approaches, however, has been predominantly confined to studies of the social class differences within white populations. With the exception of Rosen's study, previous studies have not investigated the process by which achievement motives and values are instilled in children by Negro parents during socialization. Even Rosen's study concentrated on northern Negro families, so that there is no previous research on the effects of socialization practices on the achievement orientation of southern Negro children and no studies have investigated possible differences between socialization practices of northern and southern Negro families and their relation to achievement orientation.
There is also virtually no research on the effects of family structure on achievement motivation among Negroes. There is some fairly substantial evidence that performance differences may be related to family structure but the interrelationships with socialization, achievement motives and values have not been made clear. Much psychological research has deliberately been confined to middle-class white populations in order to avoid "uncontrollable racial and social class influences."

A major focus for research, then, should be to extend to Negro populations the study of the relationships between achievement orientations and family structure and socialization practices. Moreover, by studying Negro populations in both north and south, with their differing patterns of discrimination and segregation, we would be able to investigate the ways in which the family may mediate the effects of caste on the child. Ausubel (1963) suggests that the type of home life a Negro enjoys may be far more crucial for governing the influence of segregation upon his personality than the form the segregation takes. This possible role of the family in mediating the effects of caste on the child has received little or no attention from researchers.

COLLEGE STUDENT STUDY

Preliminary results from a study of "Educational and Vocational Motivations of Students in Negro Colleges," being conducted by the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan and directed by Daniel Katz, raises some provoking questions about the nature of family influences on motivation and performance. I will present a few excerpts from a paper which Patricia Gurin and I prepared for a symposium at the recent (1965) American Psychological Association meetings in Chicago.

This study is being conducted at eleven predominantly Negro colleges in the Deep South. We have tried to include a wide variety of colleges so that we can explore the influence of certain situational factors on motivational change and development. In all eleven colleges, the upperclass students were measured at one
point in time (fall 1964) and the freshmen at both the beginning and end of the freshman year. Interviews, exploring the possible influence of the college situation and experience in greater depth, were conducted at three institutions. The major analyses will be done this year.

Using the student's estimate of family income, we find approximately 31 percent of this college population coming from what Harrington and others define as poverty conditions - less than $3,600 annual income for a family of four. Following the procedures of the National Policy Committee on Pockets of Poverty, we subdivided this poverty group into what we will call the SEVERE POVERTY GROUP, the 16 percent of our sample from families with less than $2,400 a year, and the MARGINAL POVERTY GROUP, the additional 15 percent with family incomes of less than $3,600. A third group, which might be called the ADEQUATE INCOME GROUP, with family incomes of $3,600 to less than $6,000, comprises less than 30 percent of our sample. Finally, we have 39 percent of the sample in what we will call the COMFORTABLE GROUP, those with family incomes of at least $6,000. It should be noted, however, that even using this more optimistic student estimate of income rather than a more conservative census based estimate, only 16 percent of these college students have family incomes of $10,000 a year.

One motivational issue which is involved here is how the 31 percent of these college students from SEVERE AND MARGINAL POVERTY backgrounds got to college at all. This is three times as many students from poverty conditions as would be found in a national population of young people in college. What are the channels by which they came to college - do they differ from their more comfortable peers in the influences that were important in bringing them to college?

Several differences appear. As would be expected, the more comfortable students knew at a much earlier age than the young people from poverty backgrounds, that they would go to college some day. There was also a difference in the importance of family figures, relative to other persons, as influencers in the
decision process. There is a significant, linear relationship between income and the mention of a non-family member as the person who gave the student special encouragement. It is especially the high school teacher who has particular importance for the SEVERE POVERTY GROUP as a positive influence in going to college.

Looking just at the family figures who are mentioned, we also find some interesting differences between the income groups. Though the mention of the mother alone doesn't differentiate the groups, the mention of both parents or the father alone is significantly more frequent the higher the student's income, with siblings more important for the poor than the comfortable students. The greater importance of both parents in the comfortable and intact families is compensated in the poor and/or father absent families, not by increased importance of the mother as Frazier's work would lead us to expect, but by increased importance of siblings and extra-familial figures.

We found no evidence for differences in broad personality dispositions that are presumably relevant to achievement behaviors. The various income groups don't differ, for example, on the Mandler-Sarason Test Anxiety Scale, a measure widely used as an indicator of the negative achievement motive, fear of failure. Nor are there any differences in our own measures of the students' self-confidence with respect to their grade getting potential. Similarly, we find no differences in either of two approaches to measuring the positive achievement motive. One follows Willerman's revision of the Test of Insight, producing two scales presumably relevant to achievement, one a "hope for success" and the other a "desire for recognition of achievement." The other measure is the Atkinson-O'Connor Achievement Risk Preference Score, a theoretically derived measure of the high achiever's preference for intermediate risk situations.

We also find no differences in the various groups' expressed reasons for going to college, or in the incentive value or importance attached to graduating from college (measured by willingness to drop out for a really good job or to get
married) or to going on to graduate or professional school after college. We do
find differences in expectancy of finishing college among freshmen which are
related to income, and we find a significant relationship between income and the
expectation of being able to go to graduate school among upperclassmen. There are
differences in the way college is financed, of course, with parents paying a larger
share for the more comfortable students. There is no difference in the proportion
of scholarship aid among the various income groups, but the poor students depend
to a much greater extent on loans for college financing.

**IMPLICATIONS OF COLLEGE STUDY**

These data raise some interesting questions about the importance of family
structure and early socialization for motivational development. To review briefly -
the family structures of the SEVERE POVERTY GROUP are very different from the
COMFORTABLE GROUP. Yet, even these extreme groups are strikingly similar in their
values and attitudes, their motives and the incentive they attach to educational
goals. Therefore, despite their different family backgrounds, they must have been
socialized toward the same values, though not necessarily by the same agents. The
major way in which they do differ seems to reflect their different reality situa-
tions - differences in expectancies and the grounds on which they base their
expectations.

It is possible, of course, that selectivity is operating in such a way that
we're dealing with an atypical poverty group. They might come from homes that,
though characteristic of the national incomes described as "poverty," are atypical
of poverty homes in other ways. Or, they might be brighter than their peers from
similar backgrounds who don't get to college, a factor which might have encouraged
them to see themselves differently than other poor kids all along their educational
careers and to develop atypical values because of this sense of uniqueness. But,
if they are fairly typical of young people from poverty conditions, they must not
have been socialized so differently from young people from more comfortable backgrounds.
Our ability measures are only now being processed, but we did check one school's data for possible income group differences in ability. There is no evidence, at least for that one school, that the SEVERE POVERTY GROUP is either higher or lower than other groups in measured ability. This doesn't answer the question regarding their typicality of other poverty students, but at least the lack of dispositional differences between the poor and non-poor in this population should not result from a poverty group which is brighter than other income groups.

Furthermore, we are struck with the typicality of our SEVERE POVERTY GROUP in the sense of coming from families with similar family structures and comparable educational and economic resources to the national poverty group. Even in this college population, the "criterial characteristics" of poverty markedly distinguish the really poor from the less poor.

The extent of typicality and selectivity that might be operating to mask differences in the socialization effects on the poor and non-poor are factors which can't be handled in the context of the design of the college student study. I will be conducting another study, going into the field this year, that will help to answer some of the questions raised by the college student study as well as some of those raised by the experimental studies described earlier.

PROPOSED STUDY

I would now like to give a brief description of the proposed study. The new study will involve a sample of Negro high school students in one urban city in the south and one in the north. The design calls for a combination of survey and experimental methods. Data collection techniques will include the administration of questionnaires to students in school, interviews with one parent (probably the mother) in the home, and limited experimental studies. Additional data will be obtained from school records (grades, test scores, attendance records, teacher ratings, etc).
In the experiments, students will be randomly assigned to groups which will be tested either by a Negro or a white administrator and which will receive different instructions. In one instruction, the student will be told his scores will be compared with those of a Negro reference group, in another instruction, the competitive-evaluative setting will be a white norm group, and a third instruction will provide a "neutral" setting.

The survey will enable us to obtain data on motivational components, socialization and related background factors. The experiments are designed to provide data on reaction patterns in competitive-evaluative situations. The integration of the two approaches will enable us to relate the students' motivations and socialization-background characteristics to their reactions in competitive-evaluative settings and to relate all of these data — motivations, social-family background and experimental reactions — to academic performance, vocational and educational plans and school dropout behavior. North-south comparisons will be made in both aspects of the study.

The results from these studies, both planned and in progress, should be of considerable value to educators and community leaders who are faced with the problem of helping young people from so-called culturally deprived backgrounds adjust to the demands of modern technological society. Such data would increase our knowledge about the processes which lead to the development of low self-esteem, patterns of negative motivation and low levels of aspiration. These data should also have great theoretical relevance for students of motivation and performance.

I hope I have not been too vague in my attempt to integrate research findings from experimental and survey studies. Let me briefly summarize what I have tried to do here. First, I reported evidence from a series of experimental studies which support the idea that fear of failure operates to impair performance of Negro students in test-like experimental situations. Next, I reviewed literature on the relationship of family background and socialization practices to the
development of motives and values. This was attempted in order to suggest ways in
which the origins of the fear of failure motivation pattern may be investigated.
I then presented evidence from a survey of Negro college students in an attempt to
show the relationship of one background variable, income, to certain aspects of
motivation and performance. Finally, I briefly outlined a research project which
attempts to investigate the relationship between family background, socialization
and motivation in northern and southern high school students. This latter study
will, hopefully, answer some of the questions which could not be handled in the
college studies described, and fill some of the gaps in the literature on the
social origins of motives.
REFERENCES


