

NEGLECTED TALENTS

BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES

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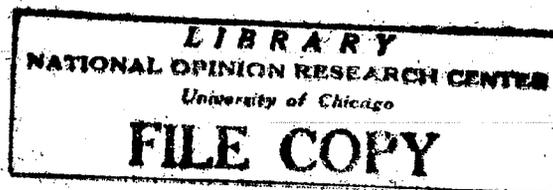
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Three major human problems have caught the domestic attention of Americans in their reflections about President Johnson's blueprint for the Great Society. The problems center around the extent of "residual" poverty in the world's wealthiest nation, the adequacy of the educational system among a highly literate people, and the continuance of racial discrimination in a democratic country of widely advertised opportunity. These three problems converge in this study of a representative sample of the 1964 graduates of fifty-two American Negro colleges.

NORC contracted for this survey with the government agencies most directly concerned with the recruitment, training, and utilization of American manpower: the National Science Foundation, which has focused on recruitment for careers requiring advanced study in science; the National Institutes of Health, which attempt to encourage and promote people who will go into the health professions; and the Department of Labor, through its Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training, which has deep interest in the great majority of college graduates who enter the labor force directly. These three agencies have cosponsored our study of Negro college graduates, which is paralleled by a contemporary survey of white college graduates employing the same research instrument.

Much of the analysis in previous NORC reports on surveys of college graduates paid close attention to the "intellectual index" of the respondents, on the valid assumption that, if a college is successfully performing its function of academic training, it will produce people who want more academic training. The analysts therefore concentrated on the kinds of college seniors who were going on to graduate study and further professional training. But American colleges are also preparing people to enter--and most of them immediately--the world of work. And Negro college graduates are much more likely than whites to seek gainful employment right after they get their degrees.

The previous surveys in this series did little analysis of the data on Negro graduates, either about plans for graduate study or about employment prospects, mainly because relatively few Negroes were included in the sample. To reach this manpower pool of talented Negroes, then, it was considered necessary to go directly to the Negro colleges, which, in spite of the increasing racial integration of American colleges, still produce the great majority of educated Negroes. From these colleges come the teachers and professors who man schools and colleges--still largely segregated--attended by Negroes. From them come the physicians, lawyers, and social workers who give professional service mainly to Negroes in the South.

The practical utility of survey research data increases tremendously when the group under investigation can be compared with one or more control categories of respondents. Such a control was possible in this study because the major portion of the questionnaire answered by the Negro collegians had also been administered to a large sample of seniors in 184 American colleges and universities, the student bodies of which were almost exclusively white. For purposes of comparison this "main" sample of respondents was subdivided into two categories: those who graduated from white southern institutions and those who came from nonsouthern "typical" American schools.

The convergence of the social problems of poverty, schooling, and race relations has allowed us to make numerous comparisons, to test several hypotheses, and to clarify certain assumptions concerning Negro educational and occupational opportunities and experiences. The evidence is unquestionable, for example, that southern regional poverty is basically southern Negro poverty when we look at the family background and social status of the three categories of respondents--the southern Negro graduate, the southern white graduate, and the graduate of a nonsouthern college.

The Negro college graduates come from families in which the annual income is low and the schooling of parents is meager. These parents are employed at the lower occupational levels, and a significant minority are from rural areas of the South. They are more often than whites the products of broken homes and of homes in which the head of the family is a woman. Most of them are of the Protestant religion, but a substantial minority list

themselves as belonging to "other religions," especially those from the lowest income bracket.

While all these graduates of Negro colleges have received a relatively standardized education, as symbolized by the bachelor's degree, there are certain clearly marked class distinctions among them. Some of them have parents who were themselves college graduates, who are in professional employment and are fairly well-off financially. This kind of family background obviously becomes an important factor for educational achievement when one makes internal comparisons among categories of Negro graduates. But in many ways even these upper-class Negroes are culturally disadvantaged when compared with white southern college graduates.

Cultural disadvantages follow them from their childhood homes into their high school years and tend to be maintained there. The separate southern high school system from which these Negro college students emerged is made up mainly of smaller public schools which seldom offer a college preparatory curriculum, provide fewer years of foreign language study, and graduate fewer seniors who matriculate as college freshmen. The differences in high school experiences are greater between the races than they are between the southern and the nonsouthern whites. Again, however, the children of better educated, higher status Negro parents appear to have had certain precollege advantages in schooling over those Negro students who come from the least educated, lower status families.

Everyone knows that the average American Negro has less schooling, a poorer job, and a lower income than the average American white. In this study, however, we are not looking at the average Negro, nor are we comparing him with the average white. The Negro college graduate is still an exceptional person, proportionately more exceptional among Negroes than the white college graduate is among whites. There is a higher rate of dropouts among Negroes than among whites at every level of schooling--elementary, secondary, and collegiate. Considering the cultural handicaps in their childhood and adolescence, it seems remarkable that the dropout rate among Negroes is not even higher, and it seems even more remarkable that increasing numbers of Negroes survive to enter college and earn the undergraduate degree.

An important aspect of this study is its focus on Negro poverty. The myth of regional poverty, which has directed much national sympathy to the southern states, is largely dispelled by these findings, at least as the myth pertains to college students. Southern white college graduates compare favorably with nonsouthern whites on practically every index of financial status. The significant economic disparities that show up in this survey are racial, not regional. The South may be poor, but its white college students do not seem aware of this poverty; it is the southern Negroes among our respondents who are poor, not the southern whites.

The evidences of this assertion are numerous and clear-cut. The Negro students, especially the males, are delayed in starting college and delayed in getting through college. They say that they cannot afford to attend a college they consider better than their present school, even when they have been accepted by that college. When they graduate they are much more likely to be in debt, both for their education and for other expenditures. Lack of financial resources is their principal deterrent to graduate education and further professional training. Their relative poverty also keeps them from preparing for certain occupations in which American manpower needs are greatest.

The Negro woman graduate is a special educational case and attracts separate attention in this study. It is a peculiarity of southern society that more Negro women go to college than do Negro men and that, at all class levels, more Negro women than white women are gainfully employed. The Negro coeds have a more definite work orientation than do the white coeds, but larger proportions of them also anticipate combining marriage, family, and child-rearing with gainful employment. The married women among them have more children per capita than do the married white women graduates.

Negro women enter the teaching career in about the same proportions as do the white women. The reason for this common phenomenon among the coeds of both races is that future teachers are being drawn largely from lower class families and those who are culturally less advantaged. In spite of their higher employment expectations, Negroes of both sexes are less likely than white college graduates to have the assurance of a job after commencement.

Nevertheless, the Negro coeds express more confidence than do the white coeds in their own abilities to handle all suggested occupational careers and to have a suitable personality for these careers.

It has now become customary to talk about "predominantly white" and "predominantly Negro" colleges, but in any currently practical meaning of these terms, the Negro respondents to this survey are the products of segregated colleges. They are quick to recognize certain shortcomings on their own campus--as is also the case with white college students--but they do not think highly of the white southern state universities, in which they feel they would be subjected to a great deal of social discrimination. The majority of them tend to be indifferent to the desegregation of their own campus. Negro coeds tend to have a deeper attachment for, and appreciation of, their own school than do the men students, but they are also more indifferent to having an increase of white students on their campus.

While educational opportunities represent to them a high social value as one of the main aims of the organized Negro protest, these college graduates show no desire to "push" themselves into white southern colleges and universities. Whether this attitude springs from fear, disdain, or a kind of reverse prejudice is not evident in the study's findings. The attitude appears to be more prevalent among the Negro students from private colleges, who express more satisfaction with their own school than do the Negro students from public colleges.

While all the Negro male graduates, and most of the Negro female graduates, intend eventually to begin occupational careers, they do not have the same realistic job prospects enjoyed by white college graduates. Negroes make their job plans earlier in life, they decide sooner than whites on what they want to do, and they are more strongly committed to the career choices they make. Yet they are not sought out in their senior year by employer representatives, who do make job offers to white college seniors. The greatest racial difference in employment plans is that a larger proportion of Negroes go into teaching at the lower school levels, while a larger proportion of whites go into business and industry.

In spite of continued employment discrimination against Negroes, the majority of these college graduates think that changes are occurring for the better in all the occupations about which they were questioned. As may be expected, they are of the opinion that job opportunities for Negroes are best in the larger northern cities and are worst in the southern region. They feel that at the present time Negroes have their best opportunities in the military, in education, and in social work and their poorest opportunities in the world of business, especially in executive and administrative positions.

There may be implications of attitudes about racial discrimination in these opinions, but the Negro graduates in large minorities say that they did not enter the fields of business, law, and engineering because they felt that Negroes could "get nowhere" in these careers. There is little admission of incompetence on their part or of lack of preparation for the various career fields; this seems to be simply a practical judgment derived from their own experience and observation of Negroes in the occupational world. A class difference of opinion appears in these data. The Negro students from better educated families are not as optimistic about equal employment opportunities as are those from the less educated families.

By and large, however, the Negroes' aspirations are higher and more ambitious than those of the white graduates. A much larger proportion of them say that they want to go to graduate school, but a much lower percentage expect to enter graduate studies immediately after college commencement. More of the Negroes say that they had already planned on entering graduate school while they were still freshmen in college. When they reach the end of the senior year, however, they appear to have second thoughts about these plans. At that time a smaller percentage of Negroes than of whites have actually decided on what graduate school they will attend or have made application for admission to it.

Even the Negroes who cannot go immediately to graduate or professional school say that they would like to do so, and more Negroes than whites anticipate that they will eventually work for a graduate degree. The sex pattern in this regard shows little difference between the races; like the whites, more Negro men than women will enter graduate school. The Negroes obtain

stipends for graduate work having less monetary value than those the whites receive, and fewer Negroes get stipends with duties attached. In spite of their financial needs, the Negroes do not receive greater assistance from the federal government than do the whites. When asked about equal opportunities for Negroes to do graduate work, they felt that the least opportunities for such training are in medical and business schools.

In a supplementary section of the questionnaire, administered only to Negro college graduates, they were asked about their opinions and experiences in the civil rights movement. They report that they have personally gained better educational opportunities through this movement, but that its most important objective lies in better job opportunities. About three out of ten of these Negro students were "bystanders" on the matter of civil rights, in the sense that they did not participate in such activities on the campus.

As may be expected, a larger proportion of men than of women say that they were leaders, or very active, in the campus civil rights movement, but the numerical sex difference is not as great, because there are more females than males on the Negro college campus. The leaders are more optimistic than the bystanders about the success of the civil rights protest, but the majority of all the Negro students think the movement is a success rather than a failure on their own campus. They are also, and obviously, convinced that there is more progress in civil rights in the nation as a whole than in the southern region. Also for fairly obvious reasons, the students in the private Negro colleges are more active and successful in the promotion of civil rights than are the students in the public Negro colleges.

In the face of these realistic data it may seem ironic to suggest that these college graduates represent a facet of the "success story" of the American Negro. Certainly when their responses are compared with those of white college graduates, both southern and nonsouthern, they reveal shortcomings and large disadvantages. All the information available from this and other studies uncovers an educational system for Negroes that is generally less adequate from kindergarten to graduate school. It shows the handicaps to formal schooling that exist in the cultural and economic environment in which most American Negroes live. Race, poverty, and schooling must be seen as being

intimately connected when one makes an appraisal of the life chances of American Negroes, or of the extent to which the American society can benefit from the contribution of properly trained Negro manpower.

From another point of view, that of the Negro college graduates themselves, there is a "success story" here, and it is not attenuated by the proven fact that Negro graduates do not do as well as white graduates on civil service exams, on graduate school entrance tests, on tests for federal employment. In appraising his own competence, the Negro college graduate seems to use as a point of reference the great majority of American Negroes who have not "made it." He is an academic survivor who has outstripped most of his fellow Negroes. He reaches for his bachelor's diploma with a sense of satisfaction and self-confidence that is indeed realistic, but realistic in terms of his own experience. This appears to be the reason why Negro college seniors entertain higher aspirations for graduate and professional study and a greater belief in their own abilities than do white college seniors.

The status of American Negroes as second class citizens is clearly reflected in these data on the best educated persons among them--the college graduates. There is no doubt that the Negroes themselves will continue to expend efforts that will gradually improve the situation, but a dramatic equalizing change undoubtedly requires facilities not now available to Negroes. Energetic proposals and immediate programs on the part of the American society are clearly needed to equalize occupational and educational opportunities for Negroes. The waste of human talent, potential and actual, is nowhere so apparent as it is among American Negroes. And the Negro need for a continually improving system of education and training is paralleled by the national need for a continually expanding source of trained manpower.

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCES

People who successfully complete the senior year of an accredited American undergraduate college receive a diploma of graduation indicating that they have achieved the academic Bachelor's degree. If experiences and training were standardized for all college students, this degree would assure them an even start on their life's career and equal chances for occupational success. Many factors intervene--both personal and social, both before and after commencement--to prevent this standardization of education and to alter the prospects of equal opportunities.¹ It is commonly said that the Negro American, in contrast with the white American, suffers in his educational aspirations and occupational expectations because from his earliest years he has been immersed in an underprivileged and inadequate cultural environment.

Perhaps no other presidential statement of recent times has been repeated so often by Negro teachers and social scientists as the remark to Congress of President Kennedy (1963): "The Negro baby born in America today--regardless of the section or state in which he is born--has about one-half as much chance of completing high school as a white baby born in the same place on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning \$10,000 per year; a life expectancy which is seven years less; and the prospects of earning only half as much."²

Race and Region

The data from the NORC Survey of the American college graduate of June, 1964, allow us to examine two important variables, racial and regional,

¹For a summary of these background differences in college graduates, see J. A. Davis (1964), Chapter 1, pp. 1-41).

²This message to Congress became the theme of an issue of the Journal of Negro Education (1963). President Johnson (1964) made a statement to a group of educators that is also widely repeated: "The first work of these times and the first work of our society is education."

as influences upon the early lives of our respondents. We find that nine out of ten graduates of Negro colleges are from hometowns in the southern region, identified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as the South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central states. Almost the same proportion (86 per cent) of white graduates of southern colleges are from hometowns in these same Census regions. In order to find the primary racial differences in childhood background, we are here comparing 3,543 Negroes and 5,282 whites, who are predominantly products of the American South (Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1
REGION OF HOME STATE DURING CHILDHOOD
OF THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

Region of Home State	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
New England states	^a	2	12
Middle Atlantic states . .	6	6	30
East North Central states .	3	3	22
West North Central states .	1	1	11
South Atlantic states . . .	45	38	4
East South Central states .	24	22	1
West South Central states .	21	26	3
Mountain states	-	1	4
Western states	-	1	13
N	3,395	5,037	23,036
NA	109	165	494
Canada and other	39	80	390

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

As used throughout this study, the following definitions apply: "Southern Negroes" refers to graduates of predominantly Negro schools. Ninety-six per cent of the students in this category are from schools in the South or border states. "Southern Whites" refers to graduates of schools in the southern region which are not predominantly Negro. "All Other Graduates" refers to graduates--including Negroes, who make up less than 1 per cent of the total in this category--of schools which are not primarily Negro from all regions of the nation except the South. For detailed definition and explanation, see Appendix I, "The Sample: Design and Execution."

There are no significant sex differences of home state distribution among either the Negroes or the whites; nor does there appear to be any difference in the type of college, public or private, from which these respondents graduated. What we are saying here is that neither the regional nor the racial distribution of the college graduates in the three categories of comparison is affected by variations in the sex of the respondents or in the type of college or university they attended. These variables will be introduced in later discussions of findings and conclusions upon which they do have an influence.

In this racial comparison between Negro and white college graduates, the regional similarity is held constant. Our survey, however, did take a national sample of the June, 1964, graduates, so that we are able to provide a third comparative category, that of 23,920 respondents who are predominantly (92 per cent) of nonsouthern background and origin. We must not here make the common error of calling these persons "Northerners" in contrast to the two categories of "Southerners." They are distributed throughout the rest of the country in rough proportion to the college student population. There are some shifts in hometown residence between childhood and college commencement; and the notable ones in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 are the decrease of Negroes and the increase of whites among the graduates of southern colleges who stayed in the South.

TABLE 2.2

REGION OF HOME STATE OF THREE CATEGORIES OF RESPONDENTS
AT TIME OF GRADUATION

Region of Home State	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
New England states	1	1	13
Middle Atlantic states	8	5	29
East North Central states	5	3	22
West North Central states	1	-	11
South Atlantic states	42	39	4
East South Central states	21	22	-
West South Central states	21	28	2
Mountain states	^a	1	5
Western states	1	1	14
N	3,336	5,065	23,071
NA	187	185	572
Canada and other	20	32	277

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 2.3

SIZE AND TYPE OF HOMETOWN COMMUNITY DURING CHILDHOOD
OF THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

Size and Type of Community	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Farm or open country	19	16	10
Nonsuburb less than 10,000	19	21	16
Nonsuburb over 10,000	18	14	14
Suburb of city less than 500,000	12	15	23
Suburb of city over 500,000	2	11	11
Central city less than 500,000	17	13	12
Central city over 500,000	13	10	14
N	3,382	5,083	23,305
NA	161	199	615

Differences in regional demography seem to be the explanation why more of the southern Negroes (38 per cent) and whites (37 per cent) than of the other American college graduates (26 per cent) come from rural areas and small towns with a population of less than ten thousand. Factors of financial status as well as of regional and residential patterns are also part of the explanation why the suburbs contributed a smaller proportion of Negro college graduates (14 per cent) than of southern white (26 per cent) and other American college graduates (34 per cent). Quite aside from the racial factor, the size and type of a community are related to the educational, occupational, and income opportunities of the residents.³ In the case of Negro graduates, their college experience seems to have affected both their expectations of and their preferences for their future residential community (Table 2.4).

³ See the definitive article by Mayo and Hamilton (1963).

TABLE 2.4

COMPARISON OF COMMUNITY ORIGIN OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WITH THEIR EXPECTATION AND PREFERENCE OF COMMUNITY

Community Origin	Lived as	Expect To	Prefer To
	Child	Live	Live
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Farm or open country	19	3	4
Nonsuburb less than 10,000	19	8	6
Nonsuburb over 10,000	18	13	12
Suburb of city less than 500,000	12	37	43
Suburb of city over 500,000	2	13	13
Central city less than 500,000	17	12	11
Central city over 500,000.	13	14	11
N	3,382	3,374	3,323
NA	161	169	220

We did not ask of the white graduates the question concerning their preferences and expectations about a desirable place to live. It is quite possible that, as a consequence of broad academic experience, the high mobility orientation of Negro and white college graduates is quite similar. This is part of the total picture of American internal migration and undoubtedly affects the better educated persons of both races. We have seen that one-third (34 per cent) of the nonsouthern college graduates come from the suburbs. That such a residential location is a desirable, and perhaps normative, aspiration for Americans is indicated by the fact that one-half of the Negro respondents say that they realistically expect to live in the suburbs, and more than half of them (56 per cent) would like to live there. The high proportion of this response may well symbolize a discontent with their childhood communities as well as a protest against current suburban residential restrictions on American Negroes.⁴ We must

⁴Yankauer and Sunderhauf (1963) deal with the degree of residential segregation as well as the quality of the structures in which Negroes live. See also the Housing and Home Finance Agency (1963).

While the racial discrepancy in parental education clearly favors the children of white parents, there appear to be fewer intrafamily differences among Negroes than among whites. In other words, the Negroes report that 13 per cent of fathers and 14 per cent of mothers finished college. The southern whites report a 6 per cent difference between father and mother, and the nonsoutherners report a 7 per cent difference in this regard. While it may be culturally more acceptable that there be more white fathers than mothers with college degrees, we need not be forced to conclude that the Negro's failure to imitate this father-mother ratio "will tend to perpetuate an already unfortunate pattern of Negro family organization" (Doddy, 1963, p. 489; see also Edwards, 1963).

If we look at Table 2.7 we will observe that, like the Negro parents, there are also more fathers than mothers of white college graduates who did not finish high school. In this regard there is a difference of ten percentage points between Negro father and mother and seven percentage points between white father and mother. If we assume that married couples have roughly the same amount of education, we must conclude that there is not quite as drastic a discrepancy in education between Negro marriage partners, or within the individual Negro family unit, as the literature leads us to believe. We are discussing here, of course, only the parents of the college graduate respondents to this survey, not the general Negro population.⁷

TABLE 2.7
SEX DIFFERENCE OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST CATEGORIES
OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Education and Sex	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Less than high-school graduation:</u>			
Fathers	63	32	31
Mothers	53	25	24
<u>College graduation or more:</u>			
Fathers	13	26	28
Mothers	14	20	21

⁷See the excellent summary of this problem by Pettigrew (1964a, pp. 15-24).

The fact is that the parents of these southern Negro college graduates are significantly better educated than the generation of southern Negroes aged forty-five to sixty-four, as reported in the U. S. Census for 1960. In this age bracket the great majority of both Negro men (84.3 per cent) and Negro women (77.9 per cent) had had eight grades or less of schooling. Only a small minority of men (3.6 per cent) and of women (5.2 per cent) had attended or finished college.⁸ Regardless of the intra-family differences in amount of schooling, and of the different categories within the Negro population, the most important difference still remains that between the parents of Negro respondents and the parents of white respondents (Table 2.8).

TABLE 2.8
OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

Parent's Occupation	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Professional	13	20	21
Proprietor, manager, executive, official.	6	33	33
Sales (other than sales manager)	1	8	6
Clerical	3	4	5
Skilled worker	18	15	16
Semiskilled worker	18	6	7
Service worker	8	3	3
Unskilled worker	22	2	3
Farmer or farm worker	11	9	6
Woman head of household	19	7	5
Retired head of household	16	13	11
N	3,438	5,195	23,499
NA	105	87	421

⁸The census report by the U. S. Bureau of the Census (1963, Table 19) provides the following distribution of educational achievement of nonwhites, aged forty-five to sixty-four, by sex.

Nonwhite Educational Achievement	Male	Female
	Per Cent	
Eighth grade or less	84.3	77.9
Some high school	8.1	11.6
High school graduate	3.9	5.3
Some college	1.8	2.2
College graduate or more	1.9	3.0
N	887,035	992,763

There is indeed a remarkable similarity in parental schooling as reported by southern white graduates and the other group of nonsouthern college graduates. Although there is much talk about the educational needs of the southern region, these are clearly much more Negro needs than white needs. There are poorly schooled whites in the South, as there are in other parts of the country, but the southern whites who go to college do not seem less advantaged than nonsouthern collegians.

The white regional similarity of parental education extends also to the occupational distribution of heads of households of the two categories of non-Negro college graduates. Except for a slightly higher proportion of farmers (9 to 6 per cent) among the southern whites, the statistical distribution of occupations is practically duplicated in both columns of the table. Exactly the same proportion (65 per cent) of both types of white graduates report a white collar job (clerical and above in Table 2.8) for the head of the parental household. On the other hand, only 23 per cent of the Negro college graduates say that the head of their family has a white collar job.⁹

As we may see in Table 2.9, southern whites who send their children to college are somewhat more likely (17 per cent) than those from other parts of the country (12 per cent) to have an annual income of less than five thousand dollars per year. Yet, this regional difference in income fades into insignificance when we note that almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of the Negro college graduates come from families in which the yearly parental income is less than five thousand dollars.¹⁰ At the higher income levels, one-fifth of the whites, and hardly any of the Negroes, report that their families of origin have an annual income of fifteen thousand dollars or more. A part--but only a small part--of the explanation of low Negro

⁹The occupational comparison is depressing between whites and Negroes in this study, but the Negroes who send their children to college are still much more likely to have professional status than are the Negroes in the general population. See McGrath (1965, p. 49),

¹⁰But the parental income of Negro college students is still better than the median income of Negro families in the South. See Henderson (1963, pp. 12-14) and the discussion of this comparison by McGrath (1965, pp. 33-39).

income can lie in the fact that one-fifth (19 per cent) report a woman as head of the household and that one-sixth (16 per cent) say the head of the family household is retired.

TABLE 2.9
ANNUAL INCOMES OF PARENTAL FAMILIES
OF GRADUATES

Parental Family's Income	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Less than \$3,000 per year . . .	31	5	3
\$3,000 - \$4,999	33	12	9
\$5,000 - \$7,499	22	24	24
\$7,500 - \$9,999	7	18	20
\$10,000 - \$14,999	5	21	23
\$15,000 and over	2	20	21
N	3,386	5,083	22,814
NA	157	199	1,106

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 has as its first title "Financial Assistance to Local Educational Agencies for Special Educational Programs in Areas Having High Concentrations of Children of Low Income Families."¹¹ The ten states with the lowest per capita income are all in the South, and they are the states in which the highest concentration of Negroes exists. The principal educational need for which allotments will be received by these states under the 1965 Act is unquestionably that of the low income Negro families. Aside from the general poverty of the southern Negro masses, and aside from the fact that dire poverty exists also among some southern whites, it seems remarkable that the majority of Negro college

¹¹ This act is reprinted and discussed under the heading "The First Work of These Times" by the editorial staff of American Education (1965, pp. 13-20).

graduates come from such a low economic stratum, while the parallel economic class among whites produces so few college graduates.¹² The Negro respondents have overcome some of the handicaps of poverty in achieving a college diploma, but the problem still pursues them. As may be expected, we shall see later that financial "obstacles" are persistently a greater problem for Negro students than for whites.¹³

The Broken Home

Another differential factor of childhood, one that is more racial than regional, is the experience of the "broken" family, that is, the family in which one parent is absent from the home. We have seen that the families of Negro college graduates are three times more likely than those of whites to have a woman at the head of the household. When we asked about relations between parents and children before the respondent reached the age of sixteen years (Table 2.10) we found that about one-third of the Negroes, and about one-eighth (13 per cent) of the whites, came from homes broken by death, desertion, separation, divorce, or some combination of these problems.¹⁴ In another and separate question about childhood experiences, one out of nine (11.4 per cent) of the Negroes said that he had been deserted by one or both parents.¹⁵ According to Table 2.10, separation is more common than divorce among Negro parents, while the opposite is the case for white parents. Whatever the reasons for these family differences between the races, they affect Negroes more than whites.

¹²Jenkins (1958, p. 421) writes: "It is a striking fact that a large majority of Negro college students are of an economic status from which relatively few white college students are recruited."

¹³Economists point out that the relative situation of Negro income is actually getting worse (cf. Batchelder, 1964). Furthermore, as is demonstrated by Daniel (1963), the "astounding fact is that not only is there a racial differential but that the income gap becomes wider as the amount of education increases."

¹⁴Froe (1964) also found differential proportions among the parents of Negro and white college freshmen: "The percent of broken homes among the white freshmen is 14 against 32 for the Negro freshmen. The same data indicate a greater tendency for separation of parents to occur during the early or formative years of the Negro child than is the case for parents of the white child."

¹⁵Higher mortality rates among Negro males is a serious cause of broken families. The proportion of widows among white women is about one-half that of Negro women. See the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (1962, pp. 1-4).

TABLE 2.10

SELECTED PARENT-RELATED EXPERIENCES BEFORE AGE SIXTEEN BY THREE CATEGORIES OF GRADUATES

Parent-related Experience	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Parents separated	11	3	2
Parents divorced	9	6	4
Mother died	4	1	3
Father died	9	6	5
Did not live with parents	7	3	2
None of the above	68	86	88
N	3,427	5,085	23,204
NA	116	197	716

The information in Table 2.11 is derived from the section of the questionnaire that was asked only of Negro students, and we are thus unable to make comparisons across regional and racial lines. It was thought, however, that there would be differences across sex lines, especially since a large proportion (64 per cent) of the Negro respondents are women. The sex difference shows up mainly on two items: the fact that men say more often than women that they were unfairly accused or arrested and the fact that coeds had more prosperity and less poverty in their early lives than did the men students. In general, more people reported having had the selected "pleasant" experiences than the "unpleasant" experiences. This is probably true of most Americans anywhere in the United States, and we can only surmise by racial comparisons whether and to what extent there is an imbalance in this regard.

TABLE 2.11

SELECTED EXPERIENCES IN CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH OF
NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY SEX

Experience	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Pleasant:</u>		
Praised by an esteemed person . . .	87	92
Had close and intimate friendship.	84	81
Received valued prize or award . .	78	79
Had period of prosperity	16	20
<u>Unpleasant:</u>		
Crushed by criticism of esteemed person	23	26
Had period of poverty and hunger . .	17	8
Deserted by one or both parents . .	13	11
Unfairly accused or arrested	13	3

Religion

A factor of some probable importance in the early lives of the Negro college graduates is that four out of five of them were reared in the Protestant religion. Almost the same proportion of the southern white graduates were also reared as Protestants, but this religious influence is hardly similar, given the denominational segregation in the South and the racial differences in religious organization and practice. Tables 2.12 - 2.14 show clearly that more southerners are Protestant than are people from other parts of the United States. Catholics and Jews are a much smaller minority among southern whites than they are elsewhere in the country. In fact, the current preferences of college graduates show that Protestants too become a minority in areas outside the South.

TABLE 2.12

RELIGION IN WHICH THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES WERE REARED

Religion	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Protestant	81	78	51
Roman Catholic	5	14	32
Jewish	- ^a	5	11
Other religion	13	2	4
No religion	1	1	2
N	3,488	5,191	23,544
NA	55	92	376

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 2.13

CURRENT RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

Religious Preference	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Protestant	72	72	44
Roman Catholic	12	14	31
Jewish	- ^a	4	9
Other religion	12	2	4
No religion	4	8	12
N	3,421	5,172	23,498
NA	122	110	422

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 2.14

ORIGINAL RELIGION AND CURRENT PREFERENCE OF
NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY SEX

Religion	Original Religion		Current Preference	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Protestant	81	82	70	73
Roman Catholic . .	5	5	12	13
Other religion . . .	13	12	12	12
No religion	1	1	6	2
N	1,265	2,223	1,237	2,184
NA	13	42	41	81

Very few Americans report that they were reared in no religion at all, and this is true also of the American college graduate. By the time students reach the senior year in college some shifts in religious preference have occurred. There is a general decrease in the proportion of Protestants, which holds across racial, regional, and sex lines. An increase in the proportion of Catholics occurs among Negroes, both male and female, while the proportion of Negroes in "other religions" remains steady for both sexes.¹⁶ While the frequency of attendance at religious worship (which we are not measuring here) differs considerably by sex, the only notable sex difference in Tables 2.12 - 2.14 is that somewhat more Negro men than women report that they now have no religious preference.

¹⁶We did not ask, as in previous surveys, to specify the "other" religion. Greeley (1963) found that among the 1961 college graduates the largest category of "other" religion was made up of fundamentalist Protestants, and this is probably the case among these Negro respondents. They are hardly likely to be Black Muslims. See J. A. Davis (1964, p. 7).

Intraracial Differences

Among the Negro respondents themselves we have up to now been looking only at the sex differentials without discussing the importance of other variables. The tables have shown that there is a range of responses on every question concerning childhood experiences, with some of the college graduates reporting a more favorable environment than others. At this point it may be useful to make some comparisons among the Negroes on the basis of their parents' education, on the hypothesis that children reared in a family of which the parents had gone to college have an early educational and cultural advantage over those whose parents did not go beyond grade school.

Table 2.15 indicates that there is practically no difference across sex lines in the students' reports on their parents' education, and the several questions we shall ask at this point do not involve differences between men and women. Our main comparison, therefore, is between the students (N = 412) both of whose parents attended or finished college and those (N = 738) both of whose parents did not go beyond the eighth grade in school. We are, therefore, looking at two kinds of households or families, representing the extremes of Negro education, that ought to have very different parental influences on the childhood of the respondents. The third category--"All Others"--contains all the possible combinations of mother's and father's schooling, and as a residual category represents the largest number (2,163) of the households on which we report here.

Table 2.16 shows that, as may be expected of people with some college education, the overwhelming majority (83 per cent) are in white collar occupations, particularly the professions, while an even larger majority (95 per cent) of those who had eight years of schooling or less are in blue collar occupations. The comparisons show that, in spite of difficulties of the Negro's life in the South, the amount of his schooling has an extremely important occupational effect. It appears that education has a very high cultural value among Negroes and tends to be a key to the two other criteria of social status: occupation and income.¹⁷

¹⁷Doddy (1963) writes: "Acquiring higher education has always had a special significance to the Negro. It not only provided him with economic and social advantages, but conferred upon him a definite leadership role in the Negro community." See also Rosen (1959).

TABLE 2.15

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTS' EDUCATION

Parents' Education	Men	Women	Total
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Both parents attended or finished college . .	12	13	13
Both parents had eighth grade or less . . .	24	21	22
All others	64	66	65
N	1,208	2,105	3,313
NA or Don't know	70	160	230

TABLE 2.16

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTS' EDUCATION

Occupation	Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Professional	65	1	8
Proprietor, manager, executive	11	2	6
Sales (other than sales manager)	2	1	1
Clerical	5	1	3
Skilled worker	10	13	22
Semiskilled worker	2	19	20
Service worker	4	8	10
Unskilled worker	1	33	21
Farmer or farm worker	^a	22	9
Woman head of household	17	15	18
Retired head of household	10	25	14
N	400	721	2,118
NA	12	17	45

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

We have seen that about two-thirds of the parental families of Negro college graduates have an annual income of less than five thousand dollars and that this sharply differentiates them from white college graduates, both southern and nonsouthern. Among the Negro students, however (Table 2.17), we also see a sharp distinction in income, with 85 per cent of those whose parents had the least education earning less than five thousand dollars a year, as compared with only 17 per cent of the families of which the parents had college experience. It may well be, as some researchers have revealed, that college education does not "pay off" as well for Negroes as for whites,¹⁸ but there can be no doubt that the amount of education does make a vast difference in income within the Negro community. The income categories of \$7,500 and above contain more than one-half (53 per cent) of those with the most education, while very few of the others are at this level of income.

TABLE 2.17

ANNUAL INCOME OF PARENTAL FAMILY OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES,
BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Annual Income	Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Less than \$3,000	4	51	28
\$3,000 - \$4,999	13	34	36
\$5,000 - \$7,499	30	11	25
\$7,500 - \$9,999	20	2	7
\$10,000 - \$14,999	25	1	3
\$15,000 and over	8	1	1
N	399	714	2,091
NA	13	24	72

¹⁸"Negro college graduates average in a lifetime the same salary as white high school graduates," writes Goodman (1964).

These tables reveal what are clearly social class distinctions among the Negro college graduates, as measured mainly by parental education and concomitantly by parental occupation and income. Our supposition is that the home influences experienced in childhood have a direct effect upon the later educational aspirations and activities of these respondents.¹⁹ We have seen that Negroes are more likely than whites to come from "broken homes" and that separation is more frequent than divorce among the Negro parents, while the opposite is the case among the white parents. Table 2.18 indicates that this is a social class phenomenon, rather than a racial phenomenon: among the best educated Negroes, divorce occurs more often than separation, while the opposite is the case among the least educated. Some differences are seen also in parental mortality--differences which appear to be a correlate of social and economic status.

TABLE 2.18
SELECTED PARENT-RELATED EXPERIENCES OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES
BEFORE SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Parent-related Experience	Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Parents separated	6	12	11
Parents divorced	12	5	9
Mother died	4	6	4
Father died	6	10	8
Did not live with parents	6	9	6
None of the above	73	67	70
N	400	712	2,095
NA	12	26	68

¹⁹This has been the theme of much of the writing on the "culturally deprived" child. Karon (1958, p. 33) says: "Education seems to some Negro children to be unrelated to any meaningful part of their environment, and especially to their experience at home. They become totally uninterested in education and the school, consequently, may be unable to reach them." See also Reissman (1963).

There is a relatively small number of Negro students who did not answer the question about their parents' education or did not know the amount of schooling of one or both parents. There is no direct explanation of their failure to provide this information, but an indirect explanation may be implied in Table 2.19. This category of respondents (N = 230) seems to have had the most difficult kind of family life, with almost six out of ten (58 per cent) coming from broken homes. They are twice as likely (34 per cent) as the other Negro students to have come from a family in which a woman is the head of the household. They are much more likely than the others to have had their parents become separated or die before reaching the age of sixteen years. From the point of view of childhood experiences, they appear to have been the most disadvantaged of all the Negro students, and the fact that they were able to finish college seems that much more remarkable.

TABLE 2.19

SELECTED PARENT-RELATED EXPERIENCES OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO DID NOT KNOW OR DID NOT ANSWER QUESTION ABOUT PARENTS' EDUCATION

<u>Parent-related Experience</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Parents separated	19
Parents divorced	12
Mother died	12
Father died	23
Did not live with parents	14
None of the above	42
Woman head of household	34
N	220
NA	10

Without further analysis we cannot be sure what effect religious affiliation had on the childhood of these Negro students, except to say (see Table 2.20) that those from the best-educated families were more "typically" southern in the sense that a larger majority of them were reared as Protestants. They are also the category in whose current religious preference the largest shift from Protestantism took place, as

well as the least likely to belong to "other" religions. This latter religious affiliation was not specified in the questionnaire, but it appears to be a lower class phenomenon and probably refers to some of the more fundamentalist Christian groups among southern Negroes.

TABLE 2.20

ORIGINAL RELIGION AND CURRENT RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Religion	Original Religion			Current Religious Preference		
	Parents' Education			Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Protestant	88	79	81	73	71	72
Roman Catholic . . .	7	3	6	14	10	12
Other religion . . .	5	17	12	7	16	12
No religion	0	1	1	6	3	4
N	406	727	2,149	406	707	2,105
NA	6	11	14	6	31	58

As Tables 2.21 and 2.22 imply, the better educated Negro parents are much more likely (64 per cent) than the least educated (45 per cent) to send their children to a private college. The Negro respondents of the survey are almost evenly distributed between public colleges (48 per cent) and private colleges (52 per cent). Half the male graduates attended public colleges and half attended private colleges, but the female graduates are less represented (47 per cent) at the public colleges than at the private colleges (53 per cent). We have seen that one out of eight (13 per cent) of the respondents came from families in which both parents had attended college, while somewhat more than one out of five (22 per cent) are the offspring of parents who had eight grades of schooling or less.

TABLE 2.21

PER CENT OF PARENTS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES AT EACH EDUCATION LEVEL, BY SEX AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Level of Education	Type of College				All Negro Graduates
	Public		Private		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Both parents attended or finished college	8	10	15	15	13
Both parents, eighth grade or less	28	24	21	19	22
Mixed and intermediate parental education	64	66	64	66	65
N	607	973	601	1,133	3,314
NA	32	82	38	77	229

TABLE 2.22

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES ATTENDING VARIOUS TYPES OF COLLEGES, BY SEX AND LEVEL OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Type of College	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Small public college	15	18	29	27	25	24
Large public college	20	18	28	26	25	22
Small private college	44	50	35	43	40	48
Large private college	21	14	8	4	10	6
N	143	269	294	444	771	1,392

The several comparisons we have made between these two types of students indicate quite clearly that the educational difference among the parents also has a differential effect upon the children. Let us now examine the distinctions between the graduates of public and private colleges insofar as they pertain to childhood influences and experiences. We are also able to include a small sample (N = 176) of Negroes who graduated from nonsouthern colleges.

Table 2.23 shows that fewer graduates of public colleges (15 per cent) had fathers who attended college than is the case with the private college graduates (23 per cent) and the graduates of nonsouthern colleges (27 per cent). Given the position of the woman in the Negro family, it may be of significance to the children's education that more than one-fourth (27 per cent) of the mothers of private college students had themselves attended or finished college (Table 2.24). One-half of these private college students had mothers who graduated from high school, as compared to 42 per cent of the public college students, and 58 per cent of the Negro graduates of nonsouthern colleges.

TABLE 2.23

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF FATHERS OF NEGRO STUDENTS
FROM SOUTHERN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLEGES AND
FROM NONSOUTHERN COLLEGES

Father's Educational Achievement	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Eighth grade or less	48	38	29
Some high school	21	21	24
High school graduate	16	18	20
Some college	6	8	10
College graduate	9	15	17
N	1,584	1,746	172
NA	34	21	2
Don't know	76	82	2

TABLE 2.24

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF MOTHERS OF NEGRO STUDENTS
FROM SOUTHERN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLEGES
AND FROM NONSOUTHERN COLLEGES

Mother's Educational Achievement	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Eighth grade or less	30	25	27
Some high school	28	25	15
High school graduate	23	23	32
Some college	10	11	6
College graduate	9	16	20
N	1,654	1,803	172
NA	19	14	3
Don't know	21	32	1

In other aspects of family background, as in the amount of parental schooling, the private college students are more similar to the Negroes educated outside the South than they are to their fellow southern Negroes who attended publicly controlled and supported schools. For example (Table 2.25), the same proportion of private college students (28 per cent) and of non-southern students (27 per cent) have fathers who are in white collar occupations and professions, as compared to 18 per cent of the public college students. The latter are more than twice as likely as the others to come from a farm family.

TABLE 2.25

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD OF NEGRO STUDENTS FROM SOUTHERN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLEGES AND FROM NONSOUTHERN COLLEGES

Parents' Occupation	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Professional	10	16	13
Proprietor, manager, executive	5	7	7
Sales (other than sales manager)	1	1	1
Clerical	2	4	6
Skilled worker	17	18	21
Semiskilled worker	19	17	18
Service worker	8	9	5
Unskilled worker	23	21	24
Farmer or farm worker	15	7	5
Woman head of household	18	19	11
Dead or retired head of household	16	16	21
N	1,641	1,796	174
NA	53	53	2

Education and occupation tend to correlate roughly even though there remain large racial discrepancies. The differences in parental income, however, appear to be regional in these comparisons. In other words (Table 2.26), the Negroes who come from colleges outside the South are much more likely (60 per cent) to be from families with an annual income of five thousand dollars or more than are either the public college graduate (32 per cent) or the private college graduate (40 per cent). We have seen previously that the educational, occupational, and economic family environment of white southern college graduates does not differ sharply from that of white college graduates from the rest of the United States. We also saw that the differences were racial rather than regional. In the present instance, however, the regional difference between Negroes is apparent, with those from outside the South having a distinct economic advantage.

TABLE 2.26

ANNUAL INCOME OF PARENTAL FAMILY OF NEGRO STUDENTS
FROM SOUTHERN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLEGES AND
FROM NONSOUTHERN COLLEGES

Annual Income of Parents	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Less than \$3,000	35	28	17
\$3,000 - \$4,999	33	32	23
\$5,000 - \$7,499	20	24	34
\$7,500 - \$9,999	7	7	8
\$10,000 - \$14,999 . . .	4	7	13
\$15,000 and over	1	2	5
N	1,616	1,769	171
NA	78	80	5

When we look at other parent-related experiences in the childhood of these Negro college graduates, we find that a smaller proportion (11 per cent) of the nonsouthern Negroes come from families in which a woman is the head of the household, but a larger proportion (21 per cent) are from homes in which the head of the household is either dead or retired. When these variables are balanced out, and when parental mortality is taken into consideration, we find that the nonsouthern Negro college graduate is slightly more likely to come from a "broken home." But this comparison must be handled with caution, since, as we see in Table 2.27, the nonsouthern college graduates are considerably older than the others--especially the men, almost half of whom were twenty-four years of age or older when they graduated from college. Their parents are also older, a fact indicated by the proportion of nonsoutherners who reported that their mother had died (Table 2.28).

TABLE 2.27

AGE OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Age	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
21 years of age or younger	24	41	26	47	24	33
22 - 23 years of age	48	42	45	36	28	44
24 years of age or older	28	17	29	17	48	23
N	622	1,021	619	1,184	84	89
NA	17	34	20	26	2	1

TABLE 2.28

SELECTED PARENT-RELATED EXPERIENCES BEFORE SIXTEEN YEARS OF AGE OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Parent-related Experience	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Parents separated	11	11	8
Parents divorced	7	10	9
Mother died	4	4	12
Father died	8	10	8
Did not live with parents	7	8	13
None of the above	67	66	62
N	1,638	1,789	173
NA	56	60	3

The only data we have concerning the region of the nation where these Negro college graduates spent their childhood grew out of a question asking their home state at the time of high school graduation. The small sample of nonsouthern Negroes in this survey was gathered from 63 out of the 184 non-Negro colleges and universities in the study. Two-thirds of these (68 per cent) graduated from thirty-two colleges in five states: Michigan (23 per cent), California (14 per cent), Ohio (12 per cent), New York (10 per cent), and Massachusetts (9 per cent). The remainder came from thirty-one colleges in fifteen states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. In order to check whether these students were natives of the places where they attended college or perhaps had come from the southern states, we asked where they had lived when they finished high school.

Table 2.29 shows that one-fourth of the Negroes who did their college studies outside the South had gone to high school in the three southern census areas: the South Atlantic states, the East South Central states, and the West South Central states. This probably means that they spent their childhood in the South, and to that extent shared similar regional experiences in their early life with the great majority of Negroes who graduated from southern Negro colleges.

TABLE 2.29

HOME STATE DURING CHILDHOOD OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES,
BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Home State During Childhood	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Middle Atlantic states .	9	5	7	4	21	22
East North Central states	4	3	4	2	36	33
South Atlantic states .	40	43	46	48	15	12
East South Central states	22	21	23	26	4	6
West South Central states	24	27	14	18	6	6
Elsewhere	1	1	6	2	18	21
N	620	1,024	620	1,172	84	89
NA	19	31	19	38	2	1

One of the characteristics of southern Negroes is that they are of the Protestant religion, or at least that they were reared in Protestantism. Table 2.30 shows that more than eight out of ten of the nonsouthern Negro college graduates were reared as Protestants, and that they are much less likely than the southern Negroes to have belonged to "other religions." But they are also much more likely than the others to have no religion at all now (Table 2.31).

TABLE 2.30

ORIGINAL RELIGION OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES,
BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Original Religion	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Protestant . .	79	83	84
Roman Catholic	4	6	10
Other religion	16	10	5
No religion . .	1	1	1
N . .	1,664	1,824	174
NA . .	30	25	2

TABLE 2.31

CURRENT RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF NEGRO
COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND
TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Current Religious Preference	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Protestant . .	71	73	70
Roman Catholic	12	12	13
Other religion	15	10	6
No religion . .	2	5	11
N . .	1,624	1,797	169
NA . .	70	52	7

We shall see later what other cultural and educational influences have been exerted on these students as a result of regional differences, the types of college they attended, and the different levels of education of their parents. That their childhood experiences were affected in these respects seem quite clear from the brief comparisons we have made so far. Although there are vast contrasts between Negroes and whites in their childhood and family life, we are able to gather significant information by comparing status levels among the Negroes themselves.

Summary

In summary, then, we must remember that we are speaking here of southern Negroes who succeeded in finishing college in spite of relatively unfavorable childhood experiences. We are not comparing them to the "non-achievers"--the large proportion of their fellow Negroes who never got to college--but to white college graduates, southern and nonsouthern. The southern Negroes and whites responding to this survey are similar on three items: they have the Bachelor's degree, they are from the same region of the country, and they are of Protestant religious orientation. Even these similarities have their variations, but at this point the similarities cease.

It may be true that "regional poverty" affects southerners more than it does people from other parts of the country and that large numbers of southern whites are also left behind in the struggle for higher education. What is most significant, however, about the childhood experiences of college graduates is the great similarity in socio-economic status between the white graduates, southern and nonsouthern, and the extreme disparity between the Negro graduates and the white graduates. In other words, the most revealing finding about the family background of college graduates is the racial, not the regional, disparity.

The graduates of Negro colleges seem remarkable when we consider that their childhood was spent in homes in which the parents were of low educational and occupational levels or of inadequate income, and often in

homes that were broken. They have overcome these obstacles, but it is still true that only one-tenth of the southern Negroes as compared to one-half of the southern whites aged twenty-five to twenty-nine have had some college. It is the majority and not the exception--as is the case with whites--whose childhood is spent in disadvantaged homes. As Froe (1964, p. 293) put it: "The subcultures from which they come have left them with many learning disadvantages which they now bring with them to the college level, and which are likely to interfere with performance in many aspects of the college culture."

Yet there is a wide range of difference, too, among these Negro students, especially between those from the best educated and those from the least educated families. The college education of parents, together with higher occupations and better income, acts as a criterion of social class, and there is no question that the cultural environment of these Negro students is more advantageous than that of the students from lower-class homes. If the cultural disadvantages could be removed, if more opportunity for education could be provided for the masses of southern Negroes, many of the racial differences found in our survey could be erased.

The approach to such erasure is seen in certain advantages that private college graduates have had over public college graduates, and especially by Negroes who spent their childhood outside the South and graduated from nonsouthern colleges and universities. The most striking contrast in this regard seems to be the better economic situation in which those nonsouthern Negroes were reared. It is probably on this factor that the major questions of inadequate college education for Negroes in America turn.

CHAPTER III

GETTING READY FOR COLLEGE

Even if southern Negroes who are prospective college students could have secondary schooling equal to that of southern whites, they would still be handicapped by their earlier, extra-school familial and cultural environment. The findings of our survey show quite clearly that these childhood disadvantages tend to be reinforced and perpetuated by inadequate high school experiences.¹ Practically all the Negro respondents to the study attended segregated high schools, and there seems no need here to repeat the scientific generalizations concerning the basic inequality of racially segregated education.²

While we are not attempting here a separate and detailed study of Negro high school education, we are able to employ several norms of comparative measurement across racial and regional lines. We find, for example, that a smaller proportion of Negro college graduates than white college graduates were in a college preparatory curriculum in high school. The Negro respondents more often came from smaller public schools, in which fewer members of the high school graduating class entered college, than did the white respondents. These facts indicate the difficulties the Negro faces when he enters college: he is not well enough prepared for

¹Palmer (1964) writes: "The average college-bound Negro comes from an inferior family background and lives in a culturally impoverished environment. He receives inferior education in poorly equipped schools with inadequately trained teachers."

²More than five hundred social scientists contributed facts, opinions, and conclusions on discriminatory segregation to the study by Deutscher and Chièn (1948). The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, said unequivocally: "Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group."

college work and tends to have continuous academic problems in trying to "catch up" to normal collegiate expectations. He is handicapped in the competitive struggle for higher education.³

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show that the nonsouthern respondents to this study had the highest proportion whose high school curriculum was actually designed to prepare them for college entrance. The southern whites were somewhat less prepared in this regard, while only about half of the southern Negroes had the college preparatory curriculum.⁴ The only sex differential among the Negroes is that fewer males than females (1 per cent and 4 per cent) took the commercial course in high school, and more males than females (5 per cent and 2 per cent) took the vocational curriculum. High schools operated under private auspices tend to concentrate on college preparation more than do the public high schools, but this is only part of the explanation why so many Negro students took the general curriculum. Considering the poverty of the Negro family, it is understandable why fewer Negroes (6 per cent) than southern whites (15 per cent) and other respondents (22 per cent) attended private high schools.⁵

³Bolden (1963) begins his article with the statement: "Mounting data resulting from increasing use of standardized achievement tests continue to affirm the generalization that Negro pupils in the South at all levels of schooling perform relatively poorer than pupils on whom the tests were standardized and that their performance becomes progressively worse as they move from one grade to the next."

⁴Only a minority of American high school students take the college preparatory course. A study by Ramsey (1965) of 35,472 seniors in 518 high schools showed this distribution: college preparatory 33 per cent; general curriculum 23 per cent; commercial 22 per cent; vocational 17 per cent.

⁵Newton and West (1963) estimate that in October, 1961, 11.3 per cent of whites and 3.2 per cent of Negroes were in private high schools.

TABLE 3.1

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM EXPERIENCED BY
THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

High School Curriculum	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
College preparatory	52	72	85
General	41	25	12
Commercial	3	1	1
Vocational	3	1	1
Other	1	1	1
N	3,458	5,254	23,705
NA	85	28	215

TABLE 3.2

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED BY THREE CATEGORIES OF
COLLEGE GRADUATES

Type of High School	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Public high school	94	85	78
Private sectarian	4	10	17
Private nonsectarian	2	5	5
N.	3,455	5,238	23,674
NA	88	44	246
Private boarding school	2.4	4.5	4.9

There appears to be no general agreement about the desirable size of a high school student body.⁶ On the one hand, the private schools tend to be "selective" and to prepare students immediately for college, but they are also smaller in general than public high schools. On the other hand, the smaller public schools, which the majority of the Negro respondents attend, are not so likely to provide a college preparatory curriculum. Table 3.3 shows that the Negroes are much more likely (51 per cent) than the southern whites (35 per cent) and the other respondents (27 per cent) to have come from high schools having less than one hundred pupils in the graduating class.

TABLE 3.3
 SIZE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASSES FOR
 THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

Size of High School Graduating Class	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Less than 50	28	19	13
50 - 99	23	18	14
100 - 199	23	24	21
200 - 499	21	28	33
500 or more	5	11	19
N	3,459	5,243	23,678
NA	84	39	242

It is well known that the Negro high school graduate is less likely than the white high school graduate to matriculate as a college freshman (Table 3.4). A much larger proportion of the Negro respondents (65 per cent)

⁶But there is much discussion on this point. For a recent broader survey (including about 90,000 seniors in 987 high schools) see Flanagan, Davis, Dailey, Shaycoft, Orr, Goldberg, and Neyman (1964).

than of the southern whites (44 per cent) and of the others (44 per cent) report that less than half of their fellow graduates from high school went on to college. This is an aspect of the "dropout" problem among young Negroes and also an index to the serious loss of potential trained manpower for the American labor force.⁷ But it also means that the Negro respondents to the survey represent a kind of "survival" category, persons who were more fortunate than their fellow Negroes who did not attend college. Whether the failure to enter college is attributed to financial disability, to earlier family conditioning, or to poor preparation in high school, the result is the same: large numbers of southern Negroes have to forgo the opportunity for college training and later professional education.

TABLE 3.4
PROPORTION OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASS
THAT ATTENDED COLLEGE

Proportion That Attended College	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Almost all	3	10	11
The great majority . . .	11	18	19
About one-half	21	28	26
About one-third	31	28	30
A small minority	34	16	14
N	3,444	5,179	23,391
NA	99	103	529

We have asked them whether the high school at which they studied had the custom of dividing the classes of students according to intelligence or achievement tests (Table 3.5) and found that this was less often

⁷See Conant (1961) and, for some sobering statistics, the U. S. Department of Labor (1965, pp. 25-30 et passim).

the case for southern Negroes and southern whites than for the other graduates. The purpose of such divisions is to allow sets of students who are unequal in competence or preparation to be instructed at different paces. The existence of divisions is probably also a function of the size of the school: the larger the school the more efficient is such an instructional procedure. We have seen that the southern whites (63 per cent) and the nonsouthern students (73 per cent) are more likely than the southern Negroes (49 per cent) to come from high schools which had a graduating class of one hundred or more students. Yet the southern whites had the smallest percentage reporting a system of class divisions of students according to intelligence. It may well be that other factors, such as shortage of teachers or of classroom space, affect such arrangements.

TABLE 3.5

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS FROM HIGH SCHOOLS THAT DIVIDE STUDENTS BY ACHIEVEMENT AND THOSE THAT DO NOT

Distribution of Students	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
School had achievement sections . . .	32	27	40
Did not have such division	68	73	60
N	3,438	5,230	23,615
NA	105	52	305

One of the peculiarities of our findings is that a significantly larger proportion of Negroes than of whites report that their high school had an honors program in which the better students could participate (Table 3.6). Such a program is also selective of competence and intelligence, at least in certain fields of study. We cannot be sure why the racial difference exists in this regard; perhaps the greater disparity in students' preparation and levels of achievement inspires the Negro schools more than the white schools to maintain such programs.⁸

⁸Many studies have been made, and much has been written, about high school programs and curricula. See the report on the large Oregon survey, as described by Gustafson (1960); also Conant (1959) and McCleary (1960).

TABLE 3.6

PER CENT OF RESPONDENTS FROM HIGH SCHOOLS THAT HAD HONORS PROGRAMS AND THOSE THAT DID NOT

Distribution of Students	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
School had honors programs	71	56	55
Did not have such programs	29	44	45
N	3,395	5,197	23,482
NA	148	85	438

Not only are the Negro high schools more likely to have honors programs, but, in the schools where they do exist, a higher percentage of Negroes than of whites report that they participated in them. We have seen that the Negro college students rank themselves higher in their high school graduating class than the white college students do, and we also know that a smaller proportion of Negro high school graduates than of whites actually enter college. It is logical, then, to expect that relatively more of the Negroes than of the whites had participated in high school honors programs. Table 3.7 shows that in all three categories of respondents, the women were much more likely than the men to have been in honors programs. It also shows that among whites there was no regional difference in this regard, the southern whites reporting the same proportions as those in other parts of the country.

Since academic interest and achievement differ across sex lines, we compared the students in all three categories according to the various types of high school honors programs in which they took part. The least participation, by sex, race, and region, was in the programs for foreign language and biological science. We shall see later that these two fields also tend to be the ones in which pupils expend the least time and energy

at the high school level.⁹ Men are more likely than women to report that they were in the honors program in social science, mathematics, and physical science, while women were more often in the general honors and the English programs.

TABLE 3.7

PER CENT PARTICIPATING IN HONORS PROGRAM DURING
SENIOR YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL, BY
REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Relationship to Honors Program	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Participated . . .	69	80	50	67	53	69
Did not participate . . .	31	20	50	33	47	31
N	749	1,349	1,667	963	6,403	5,292
NA	157	301	240	133	837	742
No honors program	372	615	1,296	983	5,712	4,934

These findings at the high school level already indicate both the sex and race differences in later fields of college study and in occupational choice. For example, the male whites, both southern and nonsouthern, are already more involved in mathematics and the physical sciences than are the Negroes of both sexes.

Aside from the question on high school honors programs, we did not ask the respondents what specific subject areas were made available to them in their high schools. We have seen the differences between college preparatory and other types of curricula, and we may suppose that the curriculum

⁹An Office of Education study in 1958 showed that only 15 per cent of American high school seniors had more than two years of foreign language study. See Greer and Harbeck (1962, p. 72).

itself fairly rigidly fixes the particular subjects to be studied. Yet the differences in Table 3.8 between men and women suggest that some choice of study subjects was available to them. For example, more female whites than male whites studied a foreign language and social science in high school for three or four years.

TABLE 3.8

TYPES OF HONORS PROGRAM PARTICIPATED IN DURING SENIOR YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Type of Honors Program	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
General	76	86	66	74	48	61
Social science . .	17	9	8	5	18	15
Mathematics . . .	15	12	27	9	31	14
English	13	18	16	20	28	35
Physical science .	11	7	16	3	19	7
Foreign language .	9	8	9	6	9	11
Biological science	7	6	3	3	4	4
N	516	1,079	829	641	3,367	3,656
NA	157	301	240	133	837	742
No honors program	372	615	1,296	983	5,712	4,934
Did not participate	233	270	838	322	3,036	1,636

There is no question that types of high schools vary in the stress they place upon different academic subjects. We may account for some of the percentage differences across racial lines by the fact that more whites than Negroes attended the larger high schools in urban areas.¹⁰

¹⁰High school seniors graduating from schools with 150 or more in the senior class are much more likely (39 per cent) to have been in a college preparatory curriculum than those who were in small senior classes of twenty or fewer (18 per cent). See Ramsey (1965, p. 303).

As we see in Table 3.9, only a minority of both races, and an even smaller minority of women, had had three or four years of study in the biological and physical sciences. One out of eight (12 per cent) of the white students had no biology at all in high school, and one out of eleven (9 per cent) of the Negro students had no high school course in physical science.

TABLE 3.9

SELECTED FIELDS OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDY WHICH RESPONDENTS HAD FOR THREE OR FOUR YEARS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Field Studied for Three or Four Years	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Biological science	10	11	5	4	5	5
Foreign language .	12	15	20	36	39	55
Physical science .	24	18	36	12	39	14
Social science . .	61	57	58	64	66	72
Mathematics	68	69	86	77	84	67
English	96	98	99	100	98	99

The subject area of greatest apparent neglect at the secondary level is that of foreign languages, with twice as many Negroes (32 per cent) as whites (16 per cent) reporting that they had no course at all in any foreign language.¹¹ Southern whites were also relatively deficient in this subject, but more than half (55 per cent) of the nonsouthern females had three or four years of foreign language in high school. We have seen that fewer Negroes than whites had the college preparatory curriculum, and

¹¹The importance of teaching foreign languages has been widely discussed by educators. See, for example, the editorials by Brickman (1960a, b, c).

the study of foreign language is traditionally part of the academic preparation for college entrance. It may well be that the smaller southern Negro high schools often lack adequately trained teachers in the foreign languages or that those who install the curriculum do not recognize a practical career value for Negroes in these studies.

Since the high schools from which the Negro respondents graduated are smaller than those of the whites, there is likely to be a higher proportion of "firsts" (valedictorians and salutatorians) among the Negro graduates. The Negroes had also been competing in senior high school classes from which fewer graduates went to college, and they would thus be expected to be more "overrepresentative" of the better students than would the whites. Even though more Negro women than Negro men graduate from high school, and the women thus have more competitors for academic rank in their senior high school year, they are still significantly higher than the men among the top-ranking graduates.

Table 3.10, which gives the self-ranking of respondents in their high school senior class, and Table 3.11, which gives their self-reported grade point average during high school, show again the relative similarity between southern and nonsouthern white college students. There is little difference between male southern whites (35 per cent) and male nonsoutherners (37 per cent) when they rank themselves at the top of their high school senior class. There is also little difference between female southern whites (56 per cent) and female nonsoutherners (54 per cent) in this high rank among the high school graduates. In reporting grade point average, the male southern whites (22 per cent) are the same as the nonsouthern (21 per cent) at the highest grade; while somewhat more southern than nonsouthern girls say that they earned this high grade.

The racial comparison of high school grade point average is complicated by something more than the sex factor. It is well known that median scores of Negro students are lower than those of white students in national samples of testing.¹² It is also true that some high schools, especially

¹²See Edmonds (1962), in which he mentions also the 1957 Atlantic survey which showed that "a few of the Negro elementary schools have a higher average achievement than a small number of white elementary schools do."

those with college preparatory curricula, are academically "tougher" than other schools. An average grade of B from a high school that maintains high scholastic standards may well indicate higher personal achievement by the student than an average grade of A gained at a school with standards that are less strict. If we assume that Negro high schools in general have lower academic standards, the comparative grade point averages of the Negroes-- especially of the men--should probably be ranked lower than they are in Table 3.11.¹³ It is interesting to note that the female southern Negro is more likely than the male southern white or the male nonsouthern to report the highest grade. But we must remember in all these comparisons that even the accrediting agency in the South has not always applied the same standards to both Negro and white schools.¹⁴

TABLE 3.10
 SELF-REPORTED RANK IN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASS,
 BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

High School Rank	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Valedictorian, salutatorian . .	14	22	6	13	6	9
Top ten per cent	39	43	29	43	31	45
Top twenty-five per cent . . .	20	19	31	25	31	29
Top half	21	14	26	16	24	15
Bottom half	6	2	8	3	8	2
N	1,242	2,208	3,177	2,050	12,815	10,822
NA	36	57	26	29	137	146

¹³The question about Negro "intelligence" is almost invariably raised in this connection. See McCord (1958), Klineberg (1963), and Pettigrew (1964a, c).

¹⁴In a publication by the Office of Education (1959, p. 67) we read that the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools maintained a list of accredited Negro schools "but did not apply to them

TABLE 3.11

SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Grade Point Average	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
A, A-	16	24	22	39	21	34
B, B+, B-	60	67	55	52	58	60
C, C+, C-	24	9	23	9	21	6
N	1,245	2,214	3,189	2,062	12,847	10,840
NA	33	51	14	17	105	128

As a further exploration of their preparation for college, we provided a list (Table 3.12) of fifteen different experiences that students might have had in high school and asked each respondent to check off the items that applied to himself. About the same proportion of Negroes and of whites said that none of these items applied to them. Only a small minority admitted certain "negative" academic experiences, such as being placed with a below average class in some subjects or having to repeat one or more courses during high school. Also, very few respondents enjoyed some of the more "positive" experiences, such as participating in the National Science Foundation's summer training program or being a finalist in a science talent search. The smallest minorities of both races and both sexes checked off these two items, and these minorities show little regional difference.

the same rigorous standards as it applied to whites, nor did it admit them to membership." The question of accreditation and membership is dealt with by C. H. Thompson (1962), and a later article by Newton and West (1963), p. 479) provides a table showing the percentage of students in each southern state, by race, attending accredited high schools.

TABLE 3.12

PRINCIPAL EXPERIENCES IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

School-related Experience	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Was officer in senior class	44	44	19	21	18	19
Won "letter" in athletics	42	11	48	22	50	21
Placed in advanced class.	33	36	32	40	39	45
Member of a science club.	33	28	29	16	25	14
Above normal number of courses	31	35	27	39	25	33
Worked on high school paper	24	33	24	39	23	39
In National Honor Society	22	35	24	47	24	38
Won award in science fair	13	10	12	9	10	9
Published paper, story, poem	9	11	13	22	13	24
Repeated one or more courses	8	3	11	3	11	3
Finalist in mathematics contest	7	5	5	3	6	4
Won award for farm production	7	2	5	1	2	1
Placed in below average class	5	1	3	1	4	2
National Science Foundation summer training .	2	3	1	1	2	1
Finalist science talent search	2	1	1	^a	2	1
None of these applies to me	9	12	12	13	12	11
N	1,243	2,183	3,154	2,041	12,720	10,660
NA	35	82	49	38	232	308

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

There is an obvious similarity between the races in participation in some of these high school experiences, but there are also some significant dissimilarities. The fact that many more Negroes than whites were officers of their senior high school class can be traced again to the relatively small size of the Negro high school and to the small proportion of the Negro senior class that went to college. The same proportions of both races (30 per cent) worked on the school paper or were members of the National Honor Society (31 per cent), but the sex difference within the Negro category is significant in these two experiences. The men are much more likely than the women to have won a "letter" for athletic participation. Membership in a science club was also greater among the Negro respondents, even though, as we have seen, less science is taught in the Negro high schools than in the white high schools.

When we look at the second and third pairs of columns of Table 3.12, we are again struck with the way in which southern whites resemble whites in the rest of the nation. This is particularly true of the men, who present practically a duplicate distribution of these high school experiences. The widest difference (seven percentage points) is in the fact that fewer male southern whites than male nonsoutherners had been placed in an advanced class in one or more high school subjects. The female whites show somewhat more differences across regional lines, and the widest disparity is in the fact that more female southerners than female nonsoutherners say that they were in the National Honor Society while in high school.

For many adolescents the years in high school are a time of reflection about their future occupation and life career.¹⁵ We asked these college graduates whether they had chosen their life work and, if they had, when they had first thought of it and when they had definitely made up their minds. The Negroes seem to consider, and to decide upon, their career at an earlier age than do the whites (Table 3.13). More of them (68 per cent)

¹⁵ Several studies have been made on the "age of decision" for life careers. See, for example, Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herman (1951) and Roe (1956).

than of the whites (59 per cent) had thought about their eventual career choice before entering college. The sex discrepancy within the Negro category is even greater in this regard; more of the women (73 per cent) than of the men (61 per cent) had thought about their career before going to college. This is partly due to the fact that the women enter college younger than the men, since more of them (86 per cent) than of the men (78 per cent) go directly from high school graduation to the freshman year of college.

TABLE 3.13

TIME WHEN CHOICE OF SPECIFIC CAREER WAS FIRST CONSIDERED, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Time Choice First Considered	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Before high school	11	19	13	17	13	25
During high school	36	40	32	35	33	37
After high school but before college	14	14	7	10	8	6
Freshman year of college	14	12	13	12	11	10
Sophomore year	10	8	15	14	14	10
Junior year	8	4	10	6	12	7
Senior year	4	2	5	4	5	4
While out of college	1	1	2	2	2	1
During military service	2	0	3	0	2	0
N	1,212	2,120	3,137	1,917	12,712	10,401
NA	63	99	63	57	227	187
Still undecided	3	46	3	105	13	380

It is true that career choices for women are more limited than for men, as they are more limited for Negroes than for whites, and in this sense it should be "easier" for women and for Negroes in general to make

the career choice. There is, however, another aspect of these responses in which sex plays a part. Practically no men are still undecided about their career by the time they graduate from college, but we do find small percentages of women of both races who are undecided and further percentages who did not answer the question about the time of definite career decision. When we combine the "undecided" and the "no answers" we find that slightly more southern Negro women (7.9 per cent) and southern white women (7.8 per cent) than nonsouthern women (5.8 per cent) seem to have difficulty in making up their minds about a career.¹⁶

When it came time to make a definite decision about their future career, as we see in Table 3.14, the Negroes were likely to choose earlier than the whites, and more of the Negro women (38 per cent) than of the Negro men (28 per cent) had made up their minds before entering college. More of the southern white women (26 per cent) than men (17 per cent), and more of the nonsouthern women (33 per cent) than men (20 per cent) knew what they wanted before entering college. We shall see later that more of the Negroes (65 per cent) than of the whites (55 per cent) said that it was "very" or "fairly" easy for them to make their career choice, and more of the Negro women (70 per cent) than of the Negro men (56 per cent) gave this same reply.

What influences are at work on high school students in helping them to determine their occupational career? We asked the respondents this general question, then provided a list of possible answers, asking that they check all that applied to them. Table 3.15 shows that the attractiveness of the occupation ("I like this kind of work") was a greater influence on women than on men but that there is great similarity in racial and regional comparisons in this regard. The second most important influence was that they felt they had a "talent in this field" but here a significantly smaller proportion of southern Negro men than of anyone else mentioned their own talent.

¹⁶In the survey by Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959, p. 29 and Table 115), there were more men (27 per cent) than women (18 per cent) who had decided on graduate work by their sophomore college year. But among the college seniors there were more women (31 per cent) than men (22 per cent) who were undecided about doing graduate studies.

TABLE 3.14

TIME WHEN CHOICE OF SPECIFIC CAREER WAS DEFINITELY DECIDED,
BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Time Choice Decided	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Before high school . .	2	3	2	1	2	4
During high school . .	12	16	9	15	11	19
After high school but before college	14	19	6	10	7	10
Freshman year of college	17	20	10	14	9	11
Sophomore year	19	19	21	22	17	19
Junior year	14	10	21	17	21	15
Senior year	16	11	24	18	28	20
While out of college .	3	2	3	3	2	2
During military service	3	0	4	0	3	0
N	1,196	2,085	3,112	1,914	12,542	10,335
NA	79	134	88	60	397	253
Still undecided	3	46	3	105	13	380

TABLE 3.15

IMPORTANT PRECOLLEGE INFLUENCES ON CAREER CHOICE, BY
REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Precollege Influence on Career Choice	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Like this kind of work	54	64	52	65	50	66
Have talent in this field	33	57	59	59	62	64
Had work experience in it	13	15	15	13	12	16
Admire someone in it .	29	34	27	32	25	34
Prestige of the occu- pation	19	10	26	9	29	12
High school teachers .	34	36	25	36	28	37
Wishes of parents . . .	18	24	22	21	25	27
High school counselor .	8	8	10	8	13	12
Advice of friends . . .	7	5	10	4	9	6
Family member in this work	7	15	15	12	16	16
Money to be made in it.	24	14	34	9	33	9
Financial support for study	7	7	6	8	5	8
N	1,192	2,081	3,029	1,900	12,520	10,315
NA	83	138	171	74	419	273
Still undecided	3	46	3	105	13	380

In some ways, as these and other findings of our study indicate, the southern Negro male seems to be a "special" educational case.¹⁷ He is less likely than the white male to be influenced by the prestige of a potential occupation, more likely to depend for help on his high school teacher, and less likely to depend on his parents. What seems somewhat puzzling is that fewer male Negroes than male whites were attracted to a career choice because of the money that might be made in the occupation.

High school teaching is one of the professional areas in which there is an increasing demand for manpower and to which there is a need to attract more and more young people. All these respondents have had four years of experience and contact with classroom teachers at the secondary level and seem to have a fairly adequate concept of what the job requirements are. Since large numbers of women are preparing for the teaching profession, we may expect--as Table 3.16 shows--that they would be much more likely than men to think of this as "very interesting work" and that fewer of them would say they have an "unsuitable personality" for it or would not like the life they would have to lead outside the job.

TABLE 3.16

ATTITUDES AND FEELINGS OF COLLEGE GRADUATES REGARDING THE OCCUPATION OF HIGH SCHOOL TEACHER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Attitude toward Teaching High School	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very interesting work . . .	53	68	36	66	43	70
Do not have ability for this	3	3	6	5	6	7
Not enough money in it .	54	33	72	37	63	23
Requires time and energy.	10	8	4	7	4	6
Time and money preparing for it	1	1	2	1	1	1
Have unsuitable personality	13	10	22	17	24	18
Don't like life outside job	16	10	16	9	14	7
My people would object .	4	2	9	3	7	2
N	1,064	1,802	2,853	1,794	11,196	9,065
NA	214	463	350	285	1,756	1,903

¹⁷The matter of self-esteem and self-confidence among Negro college graduates will be discussed later in this report, but we may well speculate whether the southern Negro male is a case of Merton's (1948) "self-fulfilling prophecy" and the "principle of circularity" discussed by Hines (1964). But see also Uzell (1961).

Hardly any students of either race think they would not have the ability to be a high school teacher, but there are some other important differences in attitudes between the Negro men and the white men. More white men than Negro men feel they lack the kind of personality suited to high school teaching, but many more male Negroes than male whites think they would find it very interesting work. On the other hand, the salary seems to be insufficient for the income expectations of the white men. More white men than Negro men say they probably could not make as much money at this type of work as they would like to make.

In 1960 there were 143,936 male elementary school teachers in the United States, of whom 10.2 per cent were Negroes, which is fairly close to the racial distribution of the population. At the same time there were 275,592 male secondary school teachers, of whom only 5.8 per cent were Negroes. These comparisons suggest that there ought to be more job openings for Negro men as high school teachers, since more of them than of the white college men would look forward to this occupation. This suggestion depends, of course, on several factors, such as the proportion of Negro youth going to high school in the segregated educational system, the availability of other kinds of employment for Negro men, and the extent to which there are differences in salary between the races. We will pursue this problem further to see whether these attitudes are not basically a function of social class.

In order to probe further into the influence of people on the decisions of high school students, we asked a separate and specific question of the Negro respondents concerning their choice of a college. Since a young person has to choose a college while he is still in high school, he may be expected to look then for some help in making the decision. In Table 3.17 we see that the Negro students more often got help from their regular high school teachers (63 per cent) than they did from the guidance counselor (38 per cent) at the school, a situation which may be accounted for by their more frequent contact with the teacher and by the probable shortage of full-time guidance counselors at the segregated Negro high schools (see Trueblood, 1960; Bolden, 1963). Not so many of them are apt

to be in contact with a college instructor (21 per cent) for assistance in this regard as were helped by some prominent adult of their acquaintance (57 per cent). The men, by and large, seem to have sought advice less than did the women.

TABLE 3.17
SOURCES OF HELP TO WHICH NEGRO RESPONDENTS TURNED
IN CHOOSING A COLLEGE, BY SEX

Source of Help in Choosing College	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
Regular high school teacher	60	64
Prominent adult whom I knew well .	53	60
Aptitude tests	41	46
High school guidance counselor . .	35	39
College instructor	24	19

As we have previously seen, the majority of these respondents first gave thought to their specific career choice before they entered college, while the definite choice of an occupational career was made somewhat later. We had thought that roughly the same sources of help were used both for the choice of a college and for the choice of a career. Yet, we find in Table 3.18 that there is a shift in the apparent importance of these sources of help. The high school teacher gave the most help in choosing a college, but the college instructor gave the most help in choosing a life occupation or career. Again, the women students are somewhat more likely than the men students to seek help in choosing a career. It is obvious from the overlapping of percentages in these tables that the students seek and obtain help from several sources in making these important decisions.

Since practically all these Negro respondents (96 per cent) are personally acquainted with Negro high school teachers and have received much help from them, we asked the respondents what they thought about job prospects, and the impact of racial discrimination, in the career field of high

school teaching (Table 3.19).¹⁸ The majority (72 per cent) felt that opportunities for Negroes in this occupation are changing for the better, and the men tend to be more optimistic than the women in this regard. This improvement probably refers--at least in some places--to improvement in salary, number of hours, class load, and other conditions of work.

TABLE 3.18
SOURCES OF HELP TO WHICH NEGRO RESPONDENTS TURNED
IN CHOOSING A CAREER, BY SEX

Source of Help in Choosing Career	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
College instructor	50	49
Prominent adult whom I knew well .	44	50
Regular high school teacher	44	49
Aptitude tests	41	41
High school guidance counselor . . .	22	24

TABLE 3.19
ESTIMATE BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS ON CHANGING
OPPORTUNITIES IN HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHING, BY SEX

Estimate of Teaching Opportunities	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
Change for the better	81	71
Change for the worse	2	2
No change	17	27
N	1,056	2,013
NA	222	252

¹⁸ Several educators have taken up this question. See Amos (1955); Gandy (1962); Arnez (1963).

The opinions of these Negro respondents are split on the extent to which the field of high school teaching is open to Negroes (Table 3.20), and there is some difference of opinion between men and women. Except in some privately controlled high schools, there are probably no Negroes teaching in white schools in the South and probably no whites teaching in Negro high schools there. Certainly there is a demand for high school teachers, and in this sense the occupation is "open" to Negroes.¹⁹ On the other hand, there is evidently much de facto school segregation outside the southern region.

TABLE 3.20
ESTIMATE BY NEGRO RESPONDENTS ON OPENNESS OF
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHING FIELD TO NEGROES, BY
SEX

Estimate of Teaching Opportunities for Negroes	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
On same basis as whites	44	52
Only to exceptional Negroes	14	7
Only on a segregated basis	42	41
N	1,192	2,086
NA	86	179

In reviewing the childhood experiences of Negro college graduates, we saw that there were significant differences between those whose parents had a college background and those whose parents had a minimum of schooling. Because parental occupation and income also differ, these are differences of social class within the Negro group, and the hypothesis suggests itself that, in the long run, the drastic discrepancies between Negroes and whites arise mainly because of the generally lower class position of

¹⁹ Carter (1965), who cites statistics from Samuel Ethridge, a field director of the National Education Association, has expressed concern that when Negro schools are closed down, the Negro teachers do not get jobs in the newly integrated schools.

Negroes and the higher class position of whites. Table 3.21 shows us, for example, how college preparation at the secondary level differs between the two classes of Negro students.

TABLE 3.21

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM EXPERIENCED BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

High School Curriculum	Amount of Parental Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
College preparatory . .	75	41	52
General	24	51	40
Commercial	1	2	4
Vocational	0	5	3
Other	0	1	1
N	401	725	2,115
NA	11	13	48

The upper-class Negroes tend much more than the rest to have had a high school curriculum that prepared them directly for college. They compare favorably with all the white graduates (82 per cent) who had the college preparatory curriculum, and they are a few percentage points higher than white southern graduates (72 per cent) in this regard (see Pierce, Kincheloe, Moore, Drewry, and Carmichael, 1955; Morsell, 1960). Obviously, with this kind of preparation, the Negroes from more educated family environments may be expected to achieve better academic records in college. As a matter of fact, they also have better grade point averages in their high school studies.

Although the objective value of academic grades differs considerably among different types of high schools, and the self-reporting device used in this survey may be open to subjective variances, there should

probably be no less reliance on the reports from one race than from the other. What Table 3.22 reveals is that is significant is the internal comparison of the three classes of Negro students, and especially the fact that the top category (A and A-) of the Negroes with college-educated parents is quite similar proportionately to that of nonsouthern white students. In other words, the advantages enjoyed by these upper-class Negroes bring them close to the norms established by white American high school students.

TABLE 3.22

SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE IN HIGH SCHOOL, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Grade Point Average	Amount of Parental Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
A, A-	21	31	13	23	16	22
B, B+, B-	56	60	66	69	58	68
C, C+, C-	23	9	21	8	26	10
N	142	260	288	436	748	1,367
NA	1	9	6	8	23	26

In making these intraracial comparisons we had assumed that the better-educated parents would take a much closer interest in their children's career than would the poorly educated parents and that, for this reason, the children of the former would think about their life career at a fairly early period in their lives. We have seen that women consider and decide about their career earlier than men, and that Negroes are likely to do so at an earlier age than whites. Since the children of the most educated Negro parents approach the white patterns of behavior, we might expect them to delay their consideration of a career somewhat.

We are dealing here with the high school experiences of these students and are interested in their career considerations at that time in their lives. From the point of view discussed above, the pattern that emerges from Table 3.23 is unexpected. The children of the better educated Negro parents are considerably less likely than the rest to think about their chosen life career before entering college. What seems of most significance here, however, is the similarity to the white responses. A little over one-half (53 per cent) of all white students had first considered their life career before entering college, and exactly the same proportion (53 per cent) of the male Negroes from better educated families gave the same response. We have seen that a little less than two-thirds (62 per cent) of the female southern whites had first thought of their life career before entering college. Table 3.23 shows that the same proportion (63 per cent) of the female Negroes with the best educated parents gave the same response. What we seem to find here is again a class phenomenon rather than a racial phenomenon.

TABLE 3.23

TIME WHEN CHOICE OF SPECIFIC CAREER WAS FIRST CONSIDERED
BY NEGRO STUDENTS, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Time Choice First Considered	Amount of Parental Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Before high school	19	21	9	17	11	18
During high school	25	34	40	40	37	41
After high school but before college	9	8	15	15	14	14
Freshman year of college	11	11	15	14	14	12
Sophomore year	11	14	7	8	11	7
Junior year	14	7	6	4	6	4
Senior year	9	3	5	1	3	2
While out of college . . .	2	2	3	1	4	2
N	143	256	272	413	734	1,314
NA	0	10	21	16	35	54
Still undecided.	0	3	1	15	2	25

These findings need not suggest that the better educated parents have little influence on or interest in their children's careers at the precollegiate stage of their lives. As a matter of fact, Table 3.24 shows that such children report parental and other family influences on the choice of their career more often than do the children of the poorly educated. Specifically, they are more likely to report that the wishes of their parents, and the fact that a parent or some other family member was in the chosen career, influenced their own choice of career.

TABLE 3.24

SELECTED PRECOLLEGE INFLUENCES ON CHOICE OF
LIFE CAREER BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES,
BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Influence on Career Choice	Amount of Parental Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Wishes of my parents	33	19	23
Encouraged by high school teacher	34	38	38
Member of family does this	21	8	13
Admire someone in this field	29	34	36
Parent in same occupation	19	1	5

The children of better educated parents obviously have a familial advantage during their high school years, compared to those whose parents had only meager schooling. Negroes from outside the South, however, seem to have a regional advantage over those from the South. For example, Table 3.25 indicates that a larger proportion of nonsouthern Negroes had had a college preparatory curriculum in high school than had those who graduated from segregated private or public colleges. This was also an advantage over whites who graduated from southern colleges. (72 per cent).

If other academic conditions were equal, his college preparatory curriculum would get the nonsouthern Negro as ready as any of the other groups of high school students for the demands of college (cf. Newton and West, 1963).

TABLE 3.25

TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM EXPERIENCED BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

High School Curriculum	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
College preparatory .	49	55	77
General	42	40	10
Commercial . . .	3	2	9
Vocational . . .	5	2	3
Other	1	1	1
N	1,244	1,246	176

The nonsouthern Negroes also had an advantage in the fact that they attended larger high schools than the southern Negroes. One-half of the latter went to high schools that graduated more than one hundred seniors, as compared to seven-tenths (72 per cent) of the nonsouthern Negroes, seven-tenths (71 per cent) of all white college graduates, and a smaller proportion (63 per cent) of southern white college graduates. The larger high schools seem to allow a choice of curricula, but it is well known that proportionately fewer Negro high school graduates than whites actually go on to college.²⁰ We saw earlier that three out of ten of the white college graduates come from high schools in which the majority of the senior graduating class went to college. Two out of ten (19 per cent) of the

²⁰On the question of accreditation see C. H. Thompson (1962).

nonsouthern Negroes, and a still smaller percentage (14 per cent) of the southern Negroes, reported this of their own high school. The implication of this finding is that even when Negroes have an opportunity to take the college preparatory curriculum at a larger high school outside the South, they do not enter college in the same proportions as nonsouthern whites.

We have seen that women of both races report higher academic grades in high school than do men, but we learn from Table 3.26 that there is also a racial difference in that Negroes of both sexes report lower high school grades than do whites. Academic grades are the result of factors that are difficult to standardize, especially since the quality of high schools and the demands of teachers vary so widely from region to region and within regions. What does appear significant in the comparisons we are making here is the fact that Negroes from nonsouthern colleges report lower average high school grades than do whites outside the South, and even lower grades than all students who went to segregated southern schools.²¹ It may well be that the college preparation that southern Negroes had, even though it appears to have been better than that of nonsouthern Negroes, was still not sufficient for them to meet the scholastic competition in the nonsouthern high schools.

TABLE 3.26

SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE IN HIGH SCHOOL
OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND TYPE
OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Grade Point Average	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
A, A-	18	21	18
B, B+, B-	62	65	57
C, C+, C-	20	14	25
N	1,252	1,240	174

²¹ Nevertheless, a study by Clark and Plotkin (1963) of seniors from Negro high schools who went to integrated colleges shows that their dropout rate was much lower than the national rate. The work is a follow-up study of 1,519 Negro high school seniors who were helped by NSSFNS to enter inter-racial colleges during the years 1952-56.

We have seen that the Negroes consider a life's career earlier than do whites, and females earlier than males. While the statistical differences are not great, there also seems to be a tendency on the part of children from the least educated homes to give earlier thought to their life's work. When we make the comparison by the type of college attended (Table 3.27), we find that by the freshman year in college more public college students (83 per cent) than private college students (76 per cent) or those who went to non-southern colleges (68 per cent) had given consideration to their chosen career. If Negroes have better job opportunities outside the South--an opinion held by the majority of all Negro respondents to this survey--then these findings seem to fit the hypothesis that career considerations and decisions tend to be delayed where career alternatives are greatest.

TABLE 3.27

TIME WHEN CHOICE OF SPECIFIC CAREER WAS FIRST CONSIDERED
BY NEGRO STUDENTS, BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE
ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Time Choice First Considered	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Before high school	14	16	21
During high school	39	36	20
After high, before college . .	15	12	16
Freshman college	15	12	11
Sophomore college	7	11	10
Junior	5	7	6
Senior	3	4	8
While out of college	2	2	8
N	1,204	1,950	173

The direct influence of parents and family on these respondents during their precollege years differs in several ways (Table 3.28). The "wishes of parents" item concerning the choice of a career was selected by a larger proportion of students who came from the best educated families, but it was also chosen by more of the nonsouthern than of the southern Negroes. The

children of the best educated families were also more influenced by the fact that a parent or some other family member was in the same occupation that they themselves had chosen. When we look at the regional comparison, we find that those who had been educated outside the South were more likely than the southerners to have family members working in their chosen occupation. This again suggests a greater spread of job opportunities for Negroes educated outside the South.

TABLE 3.28

SELECTED PRECOLLEGE INFLUENCES ON CHOICE OF LIFE
CAREER BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION
AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL
FOR SEX

Influences on Career Choice	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Wishes of my parents	21	22	28
Encouraged by high school teacher .	35	34	27
Member of family does this	12	11	28
Admire someone in this field	32	31	34
Parent in same occupation	5	6	2

It seems clear, then, that in general only the exceptional young Negro can rise above the inadequacies of the small, segregated southern public high school. Added to the personal handicaps of low economic status and low parental education is the fact that the Negro high schools to which he has access are in many ways substandard, at least as preparatory springboards for college entrance. He is exceptional because as a college student he is a survivor who has left behind him large numbers of less fortunate Negroes. Most Negroes do not finish high school, and most of those who do graduate from high school do not go to college. The graduates of southern white colleges also tend to come from relatively small public high schools, but they report about the same proportion of graduating seniors who go to college as do the typical nonsouthern respondents to this study.

Our purpose here is not to demonstrate the failings of a high school system as such but to indicate the comparative preparation for college across racial, regional, and sex lines. Negroes, especially Negro women, who go to college tend to be leaders in their high school years, in the sense that they were officers in the senior class, participated in the honors program, engaged in a variety of stimulating school activities, and ranked high among the graduating seniors. The grade point averages of Negro men were low in comparison with those of the Negro women, but the Negro women's grade point averages were higher than those of the other respondents. The most marked racial difference is the smaller percentage of Negroes who had had three or four years of foreign language study in high school.

Negro college students of both sexes are more interested than are whites in the occupation of high school teacher. Almost two-thirds of them were helped by their high school teacher in choosing a college, and well over two-fifths got such assistance in thinking about a life career. The great majority of them feel that job opportunities for Negroes in high school teaching are changing for the better, but two-fifths think that this teaching field is open to Negroes only on a segregated basis.

In summary, however, we find again that the better educated Negro parents have provided certain advantages for their children. They undoubtedly anticipated their children's higher education and saw to it that they took the college preparatory curriculum in high school. In this regard the upper-class Negro students have a high school curriculum proportionately similar to that of the white students. The important influence of parents and family is quite apparent during this adolescent period of the student's life. The economic, occupational, and educational status of Negro parents obviously has a great influence on the academic aspirations and experiences of their children. In contrast, it is remarkable that any of the children of lower class Negro parents ever manage to attend and finish college.

The type of college these Negro graduates attend--the public or private college in the South or the nonsegregated college outside the South--is a variable rather than a constant factor. In other words, the decision to attend a certain type of college emerges from family influences and

adolescent experiences. As we might expect, the Negro who went to high school outside the South is better prepared for college than the Negro whose high school was in the South, and he who attended a private college better than the one who went to a public college. The fact that the non-southerners report a lower academic grade point average for their high school studies involves more problems than this study can answer: the competence of the students themselves, their earlier educational and home environment, the regional differences in high school academic standards, and the differences between college preparatory and other curricula. All these in turn involve the general contrast in educational opportunities between the races.

CHAPTER IV

POVERTY AND LIFE CHANCES

The inadequacy of financial resources is a dominant theme in the general theorizing about opportunities for southern Negroes in both education and employment. It is said that southern Negroes are poor because the South is poor and that their college preparation is inadequate because the southern elementary and secondary school systems are below standard. Even though every state in the Union provides a system of public educational institutions, the people in the poorer states and regions are handicapped in this regard.¹ And young people of both races, no matter where they live, have difficulty in entering and finishing college if they come from a lower income family.²

But one of the important findings of our study is that among college graduates the problem of inadequate finances is racial rather than regional. In other words, the family background--economic, occupational, and educational--of southern white graduates compares favorably with that of nonsouthern white graduates. Several studies of Negro higher education, especially of southern public colleges, stress the inequality of state financial support for Negro schools when compared to the public institutions for white students (especially see Journal of Negro Education, 1963). Because of personal poverty, people in the lower income brackets--among whom the majority of southern

¹The unequal distribution of income by states, and especially the unequal distribution of public educational funds for Negro and white schools within southern states, have been fully documented. Examples are the work of Ashmore (1954) and the Southern Education Reporting Service (1959).

²A discussion of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (American Education Editorial Staff, 1965, p. 14) states: "It has long been apparent that there is a close relationship between poverty and the lack of educational development and poor academic performance. The ten states with lowest per capita income have Selective Service rejection rates for mental tests well above the average for the fifty states. Dropout rates are high where income rates are low. Economic deprivation often precludes children from taking full advantage of such educational facilities as are provided."

Negroes find themselves--are at a constant disadvantage in the struggle for education. This disadvantage is further accentuated for southern Negroes because the state appropriations of funds for educational purposes at every level--elementary, secondary, and collegiate--consistently favors white education.

When we find then that southern Negro high school graduates are less likely to enter college than southern white high school graduates, that Negroes tend to delay their entrance into college, and that they take longer to finish college, we are looking at the consequences of racial poverty rather than regional poverty.³ We have already seen that Negro college graduates are more than twice as likely (77 per cent) as both southern and nonsouthern white college graduates (35 per cent) to come from families in which the father is a blue collar worker. On the other hand, white college graduates, both southern (59 per cent) and nonsouthern (64 per cent), are more than four times as likely as Negro college graduates (14 per cent) to come from families in which the yearly income is \$7,500 or above. In spite of the fact that lower income Negroes demonstrate an amazing tenacity in striving for schooling, and even in aspiring to postgraduate training, the central obstacle in their way is still financial disability. If this handicap could be removed, or in some degree alleviated, the contribution of talented Negroes to American society could be greatly multiplied.⁴

Tables 4.1 and 4.2, which demonstrate that a higher percentage of Negroes than of whites were delayed either in getting into college or in getting out of college, may seem to be a tenuous indication of Negro poverty. The proof of the lower income of Negroes has already been clearly

³Ginzberg (1956, p. 57), concludes that "the overwhelming majority of graduates from southern Negro high schools cannot compete with the average graduate of the average high school."

⁴The importance of public assistance in the development of human talent runs as a recurring theme through President Johnson's Manpower Report to Congress (U. S. Department of Labor, 1965). See also Ginzberg (1961); Roberts (1962); and D. C. Thompson (1963).

established; the question here deals with the extent to which certain handicaps to higher education are a consequence of that poverty. The difference between male and female Negro students seems significant here, since the economic status of one's family background is approximately the same across sex lines. It appears that women of both races tend to get financial assistance from their families, while men of both races tend to seek employment to defray part of their college expenses. Since their financial resources reflect their family's income, there is no inherent or sociological reason why women are better off financially as college students (cf. Sharp, 1963, p. 15).

TABLE 4.1
TIME ELAPSED AFTER HIGH SCHOOL BEFORE STARTING COLLEGE,
BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Time between High School and College	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Went directly to college	78	86	87	95	87	93
Delayed less than three years	11	9	6	3	6	3
Three to five years	7	2	4	^a	4	1
More than five years	4	3	3	2	3	3
N	1,252	2,232	3,185	2,069	12,882	10,882
NA	26	33	18	10	70	86

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 4.2
YEAR WHEN COLLEGE GRADUATES OF 1964 FIRST STARTED COLLEGE,
BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Year First Started College	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
1960 or later	61	70	61	86	65	84
1958-59	28	22	29	8	25	10
1956-57	6	3	5	2	6	2
1955 or earlier	5	5	5	4	4	4
N	1,247	2,228	3,185	2,069	12,885	10,875
NA	31	37	18	10	67	93

The female southern white resembles the female nonsouthern white on the two measurements employed in the above tables. More than nine-tenths of both categories of female whites go directly from high school to college, and more than eight-tenths entered college as freshmen in 1960 or 1961.⁵ The female southern Negro, while still holding an advantage over the male Negro, is still much more likely than the female white to have delayed entrance to college, to have matriculated longer ago, and to have had some interruptions from study during her college years.

We have seen that male Negroes are more likely (22 per cent) than any other comparative category of student to delay their entrance to college after finishing high school. When we asked the respondents whether they had any interruptions in their college career (Table 4.3), we found that Negroes of both sexes, together with male southern whites, had the largest proportions who had to leave college for a while. It is an interesting fact that somewhat more Negroes who attended private colleges than those at publicly supported colleges were able to go straight through college without interruption.

TABLE 4.3

EXTENT OF INTERRUPTION OF COLLEGE STUDIES, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Extent of Interruption	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Went straight through college	77	77	76	89	80	88
Out for less than two years .	12	15	15	5	12	7
Out for two years or more . .	11	8	9	6	8	5
N	1,250	2,221	3,184	2,061	12,877	10,864
NA	28	44	19	18	75	104

⁵On this sex differential in interrupted studies, see Cowhig and Nam (1961).

The percentage differences within the Negro group (Table 4.4) are not large, but they are probably best interpreted when they are compared with the fact that a greater proportion of Negro men (39 per cent) than of Negro women (30 per cent) or of other graduates (27 per cent) entered their freshman year five or more years before the date of their college graduation (Table 4.2). In this regard, the female whites, both southern and nonsouthern, seemed to have had the advantage of uninterrupted higher education. Since we are dealing here exclusively with four-year colleges, we may assume that those who required more than four uninterrupted years of study were handicapped by inadequate preparation for college.

TABLE 4.4

EXTENT OF INTERRUPTION OF COLLEGE STUDIES OF NEGRO GRADUATES,
BY REGION, TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Extent of Interruption	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Went straight through college . . .	75	75	79	77	83
Out for less than two years	13	16	12	14	10
Out for two years or more	12	9	9	9	7
N	627	1,031	623	1,190	29,160
NA	12	24	16	20	218

It is probably true that most youngsters during their senior year in high school consider several colleges before selecting a definite one. Three-fourths (76 per cent) of the Negro students who went through four years at their college of graduation had indeed contemplated attending another college (Table 4.5). Three-fifths said that they would actually have preferred a college other than their alma mater, and one-fourth had applied for admission to the college of their first choice. Some of these did not qualify (15 per cent of the men and 10 per cent of the women) and their applications were rejected, but the main reason again was financial disability (we did not ask these questions of white respondents).

A majority of these graduates of Negro colleges, but a larger proportion of college men than of women, would have preferred to attend a college other than their own. We can think of this as a relative measure of their dissatisfaction with the college from which they actually graduated.

There is no more and no less dissatisfaction between those who attended state colleges and those who attended private colleges. When we look at the minority whose applications were accepted at other schools, however, we do find some significant differences in the reasons that state and private students gave for not attending the preferred college (Table 4.6).

TABLE 4.5

PREFERENCES AND ACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES IN
RELATION TO COLLEGES OTHER THAN THEIR OWN,
BY SEX AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Preference or Action	Public College		Private College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Considered other colleges	76	68	81	75
Prefer another college	63	56	64	55
Applied to another college	27	24	28	23
Was accepted at another college . . .	22	22	25	20
N	557	887	515	1,006
NA	12	44	19	36
Not applicable	70	124	105	168

TABLE 4.6

REASONS WHY NEGRO STUDENTS ACCEPTED BY ANOTHER COLLEGE
DID NOT ATTEND COLLEGE OF PREFERENCE, BY SEX AND
TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Reasons for Nonattendance	Public College		Private College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
High tuition and expenses	64	69	56	46
Needed to be closer to home	14	19	10	19
Couldn't get a scholarship	17	10	23	15
Uncomfortable socially there	6	7	6	10
Advice of family or friends	18	23	18	35
Other reasons	10	10	18	17
N	126	195	132	208
NA	18	55	20	44
Not applicable	495	805	487	958

More of the women than men felt that they should be closer to home, and more of them were persuaded by their family and friends not to go to the college of their own preference. But by far the largest proportions of everyone felt that the tuition and expenses at the preferred college were too high.⁶ This is especially true of those who attended tuition-free state colleges. We did not ask them to describe the type of college they would have preferred, but we may assume that they considered it a "better" college than their own and that it was a privately controlled college at which tuition is charged. What these respondents are saying is in effect that, although they qualified for admission to colleges better than their own, they could not afford to attend them. We shall see in Chapter VI what advantages and disadvantages these graduates of Negro colleges would envision if they had attended other types of schools at the college level.

We see from Table 4.7 that Negro students do not shift from one college to another when they are undergraduates as much as do white students, and Table 4.8 shows us that those who are in state Negro colleges are more likely to "stay put" than are those at private Negro colleges. One of the obvious reasons for the racial difference in this regard is that southern Negroes do not have access to as many colleges as white students do, nor do they have as much access to the two-year junior or community colleges, which more southern white women than men seem to have attended.⁷ This restriction is the result of the segregated college system, which will change in the coming years, but there is also an economic reason for this phenomenon.

⁶ Yet Trent and Patterson (1958, p. 401), for example, have asked of these private colleges "whether the student is paying as much as he can toward the cost of his education. There is the possibility that we have stressed the poverty of our students so much that the colleges have not put their charges up to a reasonable level." But see also McGrath (1965, Chap. 3).

⁷ In 1961, according to C. I. Miller (1962), there were only nineteen public junior colleges for Negroes in the South, thirteen of which were in Florida. Of the 123 institutions of higher learning listed by McGrath (1965, p. 21 and Appendix A) as "predominantly Negro," thirty-five are junior colleges. He points out that in the last decade and a half the Negro junior college enrollments increased only 7 per cent, while the national increase of junior college students was over 175 per cent.

TABLE 4.7

TRANSFERS FROM OTHER COLLEGES, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Distribution of Attendance	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
All work at this school . . .	84	84	70	67	74	74
Transfer after freshman year	6	4	11	9	8	8
Transfer after sophomore year	6	7	12	17	12	12
Transfer after junior year .	1	2	2	1	2	2
Started here, returned . . .	3	3	5	6	4	4
N	1,251	2,223	3,182	2,062	12,850	10,850
NA	27	42	21	17	102	118

TABLE 4.8

TRANSFERS OF NEGRO STUDENTS FROM OTHER COLLEGES, BY REGION, TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Distribution of Attendance	Southern Public		Southern Private		Non-Southern College
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
All work at this school	87	87	80	82	73
Transfer after freshman year . . .	5	4	8	4	9
Transfer after sophomore year .	4	7	7	8	12
Transfer after junior year . . .	2	1	1	2	2
Started here, returned	2	1	4	4	4
N	627	1,031	624	1,192	29,119
NA	12	24	15	18	259

We have seen that the majority of Negro graduates--men more than women-- would have preferred to attend a college other than their alma mater, and the major reason why they did not go to the college they preferred was the high tuition costs and other expenses. This was particularly true for the students at Negro state colleges.

Negro students, on the average, are older than white students when they finish college. More than three-fourths of the "typical" nonsouthern college graduates obtain their bachelor's degrees before they reach the age of twenty-three. The main difference here is again one of both race and sex: only a little more than one-half (53 per cent) of the Negro men get their college diploma before the age of twenty-three. In fact, the male southern Negro suffers more disabilities in his quest for college education than any other category of respondents in this study, and the reasons for this seem to be multiple.

TABLE 4.9

AGE OF NEGRO STUDENTS AT COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION, TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Age of Commencement	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
21 years or younger	24	41	26	47	49
22 years	28	29	28	26	28
23 years	19	13	17	11	8
24 years	6	6	7	5	3
25-29 years	16	6	14	6	7
30 years or older	7	5	8	5	5
N	622	1,021	619	1,184	29,117
NA	17	34	20	26	261

The problem of inadequate finances pursues the Negro student throughout his whole school career and even after college commencement. At the point of finishing college, a much larger proportion of Negro graduates (62 per cent) than of whites (36 per cent) owe money for the expenses they have incurred while at college.⁸ Here again it must be stressed that this is a racial, not a regional, disadvantage. Table 4.10 shows that the indebtedness of the southern white graduate parallels that of the nonsouthern graduates. When we look at their total indebtedness, that is, money owed for other things as well as for education (Table 4.11), we find that there are still significantly more white graduates than Negroes who are completely debt-free, while many more Negroes (47 per cent) than whites (35 per cent) have a debt of five hundred dollars or more. In this regard also the southern white graduate has the same percentage and amount of debts as the nonsoutherner.

TABLE 4.10

PERSONAL INDEBTEDNESS FOR COLLEGE EDUCATION,
BY THREE CATEGORIES OF GRADUATES

Personal Indebtedness	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
No indebtedness	38	64	64
Less than \$500 .	18	10	8
\$500 - \$1,999 .	31	17	17
\$2,000 or more .	13	9	11
N	3,253	5,092	23,271
NA	291	190	649

⁸Yet Trent and Patterson (1958, p. 401) say that "it is not unreasonable to ask a student to hypothecate some of his future earnings to pay for the training that made these higher earnings possible."

TABLE 4.11

TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS, INCLUDING SCHOOLING, OF THREE CATEGORIES OF COLLEGE GRADUATES

Total Indebtedness	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
No indebtedness . . .	36	52	53
Less than \$500	17	12	12
\$500 - \$1,999	28	18	18
\$2,000 or more	19	18	17
N	3,051	4,933	22,744
NA	492	349	1,176

It was essential to our study to determine the relationship of further study and training to these college graduates. We were interested, of course, in how many of them intended to pursue their studies further. We were even more interested in those who had no plans for graduate and professional study, especially in exploring the obstacles that prevented them from such study. There are racial, sexual, and regional variables involved in the decision to go to graduate school in the fall following undergraduate commencement. Male graduates are typically more likely than women to go on to further study, whites more than Negroes (44 per cent and 30 per cent), and nonsoutherners more than southerners (46 per cent and 37 per cent).

When we asked them the extent to which financial obstacles prevented their going to graduate school immediately after commencement (Table 4.12), we found that about one-half of the whites, both southern and nonsouthern, seemed to have no financial problems in this regard. Only one-fifth of the Negroes could make this statement. What is of greatest comparative significance, however, is that one-half of the Negro male graduates said that lack of money was the major reason in their decision not to go for further

professional and graduate training.⁹ There are of course other reasons, and sometimes multiple reasons, why a person decides that he will not go to graduate school, and the respondents spelled these out for us.¹⁰

TABLE 4.12
EXTENT TO WHICH FINANCIAL OBSTACLES INFLUENCED
DECISION ABOUT GRADUATE SCHOOL

Influence of Finances	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Had nothing to do with it . . .	19	48	53
Played some part in decision . .	36	33	31
Major reason for not going . .	45	19	16
N	2,392	3,321	12,959
NA	74	12	67
Will go	1,077	1,949	10,894

Then we asked them to check the single most important reason (Table 4.13), and we find again that financial obstacles loom largest for Negroes.

⁹Lack of finances was also seen as the main obstacle to graduate school by the Negro college graduates of 1961, according to J. A. Davis (1964, p. 104). In the survey of Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959, pp. 16, 19), 23 per cent of those not going said they did not have the money needed for graduate school, and 44 per cent of all undergraduates asked themselves: "How will I be able to finance graduate education?"

¹⁰The multiple and "complicated" reasons for not going to graduate school among the 1961 college graduates are discussed by N. Miller (1963, pp. 27, 30).

TABLE 4.13

SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR NOT GOING TO GRADUATE
OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL THE YEAR FOLLOWING
COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Most Important Reason	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Financial obstacles	55	46	24	16	19	13
Want practical experience first .	9	22	9	21	15	24
Have family responsibilities . . .	6	10	2	4	3	5
Have attractive job offer	4	3	4	2	3	2
Lack courses or grades	4	2	9	3	8	3
No desire to do so	3	3	7	10	5	8
Not essential or worthwhile . . .	1	2	9	9	9	10
Tired of being a student	1	2	11	13	12	12
Would rather get married	1	2	2	12	2	9
Military service	11	0	15	0	13	0
Other reasons	5	8	8	10	11	14
N	695	1,580	1,632	1,524	5,595	6,731
NA	58	133	86	91	334	366
Will go	525	552	1,485	464	7,023	3,871

Because of the disproportion by sex in these three categories of respondents, and because women often have reasons that are different from those men have for their decision not to pursue further studies, it seemed best to present the above table distributed by sex as well as by region and race. Aside from the direct problem of insufficient finances, which is much greater for Negroes than for whites, an indirect financial problem for Negroes is the obstacle of family responsibilities. This seems of even greater significance when we recall that there is a lower proportion of married people in the southern Negro graduates than in the southern white graduates. The

fact that hardly any southern Negro women, compared to the white women, think that marriage is a prime hindrance to graduate study seems to reflect their expectation to combine marriage with employment (see Chapter V for further discussion). While the statement contains no economic undertones, it is interesting that hardly any Negro of either sex, compared to the white graduates, admits that he is "tired of being a student." If he had the money, he would go.

In order to pinpoint more exactly the extent that financial disability is a hindrance to graduate and professional study, we refined the categories of respondents further by excluding from the comparisons, first, those who said they would go to graduate school in the fall and, second, those who said that financial considerations played no part in their decision not to attend graduate school. The people we are looking at in Table 4.14, then, are only those who need economic help. They are not going to graduate school because they lack the financial resources to do so. We asked them how much money they lacked, that is, how much financial help would they need to enable them to attend graduate or professional school immediately after their college commencement.

TABLE 4.14

AMOUNT OF MONEY THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN NEEDED TO GO TO GRADUATE SCHOOL BY THOSE NOT GOING, BY RACE AND REGION

Amount Needed for Graduate School	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Less than \$1,000	27	19	18
\$1,000 - \$2,000	35	38	38
\$2,000 - \$3,000	25	26	26
More than \$3,000	13	17	18
N	1,883	1,707	6,021
NA	121	19	158
Will go	1,077	1,949	10,894
Not a financial problem	462	1,607	6,847

The majority of both Negroes (62 per cent) and whites (56 per cent) would have needed less than two thousand dollars to go immediately into postgraduate work. It appears that the Negro women needed less money than the Negro men, and this is probably a sex difference that ignores racial lines. The whites' higher estimates of their financial needs for graduate work probably stem from the fact that they already enjoy a higher standard of living than the Negroes and would actually spend more money in going through graduate school. To reinforce this assertion, Table 4.14 again demonstrates the fact that the financial needs of whites, both southern and nonsouthern, are similar.

Let us turn now to those respondents who said that they were going to take graduate or professional training right after finishing college. We asked them whether the graduate school they would be attending was their first choice (Table 4.15), and we found that a minority of both Negroes (36 per cent) and whites (23 per cent) would not be able to go to the graduate or professional school they actually preferred. Among the white students, the extent to which both southerners and nonsoutherners were accepted at the school of their choice is the same.

TABLE 4.15

CHOICE RANK OF GRADUATE SCHOOL AT WHICH ACCEPTED, BY
THREE CATEGORIES OF RESPONDENTS

Rank of Choice	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
School at which accepted was first choice	64	77	77
School at which accepted was second choice	25	15	15
School at which accepted was third choice	7	4	5
School at which accepted was fourth choice	4	4	3
N	978	1,898	10,317
NA	100	51	578
Not applicable	2,465	3,333	13,025

We do not know the type or location of the graduate schools which were the first choice of these respondents. We would assume that their first choice would be a "better" school in the subjective preference of the student. More whites than Negroes were refused admission to the school of their first choice, but we do not know whether whites tried to enter objectively "better" schools than the Negroes did. Since more nonsouthern than southern whites were refused admission, we may suppose that the competition for entrance to the select schools is greater in the rest of the country than it is in the south. In this instance we do not know whether racial discrimination is a factor. In a later question 62 per cent of the Negro respondents said they thought that Negroes have opportunities equal to those of whites in obtaining the kind of graduate training they need.¹¹

Why, then, did they not attend the graduate school of their first choice? As seen in Table 4.16, Negroes felt more often than whites that the school was too far away, and more Negro women (31 per cent) than men (18 per cent) gave this as the reason for going to a less preferable school. This means either that they prefer graduate schools outside the South or that southern graduate schools are not freely accessible to them. It is well known that graduate school facilities in the predominantly Negro colleges of the South are far from adequate.¹² Both of these reasons are probably valid, since southern whites are no more likely than nonsouthern whites to say that their preferred graduate school is too far away from home.

It costs money to go to graduate or professional school, and the most frequently mentioned reason why they did not go to the school they

¹¹But this opinion differed according to the profession in which they desired graduate training, with the least opportunity in medicine and the most in social work. For elaboration, see Chapter 9.

¹²See Brown (1958). McGrath (1965, Appendix A) lists the following schools as grantors of doctoral degrees: Atlanta University, Howard University, Meharry Medical School, and North Carolina College at Durham. See also Bryant (1960, 1961).

preferred bespeaks the obvious fact of the Negroes' relative poverty. About one-fifth of all of the students in Table 4.16 said they were not going to the graduate school of their first choice because they were not offered any financial support in the form of scholarships, fellowships, or assistantships. There is no racial or regional difference in this regard. But the table also helps us see that Negro students were twice as likely (34 per cent) as whites (17 per cent), and southern white students were more likely than nonsouthern whites, to say that other financial obstacles prevented them from entering the graduate school of preference.

TABLE 4.16

REASONS FOR NOT GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL OF FIRST CHOICE, BY REGION AND RACE

Reason	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Graduates
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Was refused admission	17	37	46
Expected refusal, did not apply.	9	8	8
Not offered scholarship	20	22	20
Other financial obstacles	34	25	16
School too far away	24	13	14
Other	21	25	18
N	344	451	2,386
NA	96	43	564
Not applicable	3,103	4,788	20,970

One of the ways in which needy students can be helped in graduate school is the granting of stipends in the form of fellowships, scholarships, and assistantships.¹³ Of the total respondents to this survey, we find that

¹³The manner in which the federal government is providing financial help is seen in President Johnson's Manpower Report (U. S. Department of Labor, 1965, pp. 113-24).

more whites (20 per cent) than Negroes (15 per cent) applied for such financial assistance. Of those who said that they intended to go to graduate school the autumn following college commencement, fewer Negroes (33 per cent) than southern whites (60 per cent) or nonsouthern whites (48 per cent) applied for such graduate stipends. Probably one of the reasons for these differences is that more whites than Negroes are planning careers in the natural sciences and engineering, fields for which stipends are much more available. But if this is an important reason, we would not expect what we discover in Table 4.17--that more male whites than male Negroes say "I did not think I could get any stipend."

TABLE 4.17

REASONS FOR NOT APPLYING FOR A SCHOLARSHIP OR STIPEND
FOR GRADUATE STUDY, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Reason	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Did not think I could get it	44	37	52	37	58	40
Did not occur to me to apply	31	44	25	42	21	42
No graduate plans when due .	27	34	14	33	15	19
Amount offered was too little	11	8	9	6	8	5
Will not need such support .	7	9	27	37	31	35
Duties were unsatisfactory .	2	3	5	7	3	4
Other	10	11	13	19	15	18
N	614	979	1,251	564	5,525	3,969
NA	83	171	87	97	419	441
Will not go	317	861	1,065	1,138	3,926	5,082
Did apply	267	260	800	280	3,082	1,476

Since stipends for graduate work are fairly widely obtainable, we were interested in knowing why some did not apply for them, and since reasons for women may differ from those for men, we supply the distribution of responses by sex in Table 4.17. The reasons given are not exclusive.

The whites were less confident (50 per cent) than the Negroes (40 per cent), and the males less confident than the females, that they could get such stipends (see Daniel, 1962b; Horry, 1962). The Negroes, however, were less certain (31 per cent) than the whites (18 per cent), and the women less certain than the men, that they were going to attend graduate school at the time applications were due. More women than men in each category said that it did not occur to them to apply for a stipend. Of most significance from the point of view of Negro poverty was the fact that whites were four times as likely (32 per cent) as Negroes (8 per cent) to say that they would not need any financial support of this kind.

Stipends obtainable for graduate studies, unless they are most generous or lucrative, must usually be supplemented by other sources of income. We asked those who were going to graduate school what resources they had from which they could expect to receive two hundred dollars or more during the coming academic year. The majority of both races expected to be full-time students, yet about three-fifths (58 per cent) intended to have either a full-time or a part-time job while going to graduate school. The male Negroes are more likely (64 per cent) than either the male southern whites (50 per cent) or the male nonsouthern whites (55 per cent) to seek employment as a source of income while in graduate school, but the female nonsouthern whites will be employed in larger proportions (67 per cent) than any of the others. Table 4.18 shows these and other comparisons.

More Negro graduate students (13 per cent) than whites (6 per cent), and especially Negro men (16 per cent) will have a National Defense Education Act loan. But the significant difference lies in the extent to which personal financial resources are more available to whites than to Negroes. The whites can fall back upon their own savings, but even more so on the help of their parents and relatives.

TABLE 4.18

SOURCES OF INCOME AMOUNTING TO TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS OR MORE DURING THE COMING YEAR WHILE IN GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Source of Income	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
<u>Employment:</u>						
Full-time job	34	35	22	29	26	51
Part-time job	30	16	28	16	29	16
<u>Personal resources:</u>						
Withdrawal from savings . .	20	20	30	24	37	24
Spouse's employment	7	32	21	18	14	13
Parents or relatives	31	32	44	38	42	31
<u>Nonpersonal sources:</u>						
NDEA loan	16	8	7	4	8	4
HPAA loan	1	1	1	-	1	-
AMA loan	1	- ^a	1	-	1	0
Other loans	4	2	5	4	6	3
Other sources	3	4	8	4	8	4
None of the above	7	7	8	15	7	7
N	505	512	1,454	459	6,933	3,805
NA	21	40	32	5	91	66
Not applicable	752	1,713	1,717	1,615	5,928	7,097

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

NDEA: National Defense Education Act; HPAA: Health Profession Assistance Act; AMA: American Medical Association.

From the point of view of financial resources they can tap while in graduate school, there is a contrast between Negroes who attended state colleges and those who attended private colleges (Table 4.19). Two-fifths of the latter are able to go to their parents or relatives for financial assistance, a proportion which holds for all other "typical" American college graduates. The Negro graduates of southern public colleges are much more likely than any of the other respondents to have a full-time job while in graduate school; and of the Negroes, the greatest proportion (70 per cent) depending upon gainful employment of some kind are the men. In all these comparisons it is obvious that the various agencies, public and private, that could help graduate students are actually providing a very small proportion of financial assistance, outside the regular student stipends.

We have seen that financial disability decreased the number of Negroes who go to graduate school and also deprived some of them of attending the graduate school of their preference. When we probe further into the consequences of Negro poverty, we find that a certain proportion of Negroes must accept a life career alternative to their preference, the main reason for which, in certain crucial career areas, is economic. For example, seven-tenths of the male Negroes and more than one-half of the female Negroes who would like to study medicine could not do so because of financial considerations (Tables 4.20 and 4.21). More of the women than of the men felt that they lacked sufficient talent for medicine, and more women than men felt it takes too long to succeed in that field.

A significant number of male graduates were also turned away from law and from engineering, and a substantial minority of female graduates did not begin study for social work and for the several health fields like nursing, physical therapy, and medical technology, because they lacked the financial resources to pursue these fields. It is also important to note that there are great shortages of trained manpower, and an exceptional minority of Negroes, in these very fields in which the lack of financial resources keeps the Negroes from pursuing studies.

TABLE 4.19

SOURCES OF INCOME AMOUNTING TO TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS OR MORE
AVAILABLE TO NEGROES DURING THE COMING YEAR WHILE
IN GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL, BY REGION,
TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Source of Income	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
<u>Employment:</u>					
Full-time job	44	40	25	31	33
Part-time job	26	14	34	18	24
<u>Personal resources:</u>					
Withdrawal from savings . .	15	29	24	15	32
Spouse's employment . . .	5	12	9	12	15
Parents or relatives . . .	21	23	38	39	39
<u>Nonpersonal sources:</u>					
NDEA loan	19	8	14	11	6
HPAA loan	- ^a	1	2	-	1
AMA loan	1	-	1	1	1
Other loans	3	2	4	2	5
Other sources	4	1	3	6	6
None of the above	6	6	8	8	7
N	217	219	288	293	12,707
NA	12	21	9	19	194
Not applicable	410	815	342	898	16,477

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

NDEA: National Defense Education Act; HPAA: Health Profession Assistance Act; AMA: American Medical Association.

TABLE 4.20

REASONS WHY MALE NEGRO GRADUATES DID NOT ENTER
SELECTED CAREERS WHICH THEY PREFERRED

Reason Field Not Entered	Medical Fields	Engi- neering	Business Fields	Biologi- cal Fields	Law
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Did not have the talent. .	17	25	9	16	15
Little chance for Negroes.	6	20	36	6	19
No financial resources . .	71	46	23	33	56
Lost interest	23	27	27	44	23
Takes too long	26	14	19	16	32
Other	8	8	14	8	11
N	173	161	74	64	62

TABLE 4.21

REASONS WHY FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES DID NOT ENTER SELECTED
CAREERS WHICH THEY PREFERRED

Reason Field Not Entered	Nursing, Therapy, Tech- nician	Medical Fields	Business Fields	Biologi- cal Fields	Social Work
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Did not have the talent .	25	33	8	32	6
Little chance for Negroes.	6	6	26	10	30
No financial resources . .	35	55	6	26	36
Lost interest	35	21	55	37	24
Takes too long	9	37	11	14	22
Other	13	14	11	13	14
N	237	159	109	87	78

As Tables 4.20 and 4.21 indicate, the reasons for not entering a given career are multiple and they tend to overlap. For example, in the field of business, the women are more likely than the men to report that they "lost interest" in the subject matter. But this is also a career in which racial discrimination is widespread. Male Negroes look upon the

world of business, more than any other career, as one in which Negroes cannot get anywhere. One-fourth of the Negro women give this same opinion when talking about careers in office work and secretarial jobs, and even more of them feel that there is little future for Negroes in social work. It is probably true in the southern states that most of the higher paying jobs and administrative positions in social work are reserved for whites.

The final item in this series of data on the relative lack of money for southern Negro college graduates deals with one of the so-called occupational values. We asked them (Table 4.22, 4.23) how important they felt making a lot of money was when they were thinking about a job or career field, and we found that a larger proportion of Negroes (71 per cent) than of whites (57 per cent) considered this norm very or fairly important. The sex difference is also quite large, with two-thirds (66 per cent) of the men and one-half of the women (50 per cent) giving this much importance to making money.

TABLE 4.22

DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO MAKING A LOT OF MONEY AS
A NORM FOR PICKING A JOB OR CAREER, BY
REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Degree of Importance	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very important	21	15	13	5	12	4
Fairly important	55	53	54	45	52	43
Not too important	20	25	28	39	29	40
Not at all important	4	7	5	11	7	13
N	1,153	2,005	3,020	1,936	12,359	10,390
NA	125	260	183	143	593	578

TABLE 4.23

DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE NEGRO GRADUATES ATTACH TO MAKING A LOT OF MONEY AS A NORM FOR PICKING A JOB OR CAREER, BY REGION, TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Degree of Importance	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Very important	23	18	19	12	8
Fairly important	54	53	56	54	48
Not too important	20	23	20	27	34
Not at all important	3	6	5	7	9
N	574	932	579	1,073	27,871
NA	65	123	60	137	1,507

The hypothesis upon which these comparisons are made is that the more money a person has, the less interested he will be in considering money making an important reason for choosing a job or career. There are, of course, other variables involved in this hypothesis, especially the sex variable, and we do not assume that women college graduates are financially better off than men. What seems to make this variable an important factor is that Negroes of both sexes are more likely than whites of both sexes to think that making a lot of money is very important. We see this also in the difference in response between Negro students of both sexes who attended public colleges (and actually come from poorer families) and those who attended private colleges. When we compare southern white graduates with nonsouthern white graduates, and include the sex comparison, we find again a great similarity in attitude. To the extent that attitudes about money making jobs are an index to relative poverty or wealth, we find little regional difference among white college graduates.

Table 4.24 deals with the same question of making money but holds sex constant and includes Negroes who graduated from interracial nonsouthern colleges. These Negroes from out of the South do come from families that

are financially better off than those of the southern Negro colleges, just as those in the Negro private colleges are of higher economic status than those from the Negro public colleges. We see the differences in attitude toward money among these three types of college graduates in the table, with the nonsouthern Negroes most closely approaching the attitudes of the white college graduates.

TABLE 4.24

DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES
ATTACH TO MAKING A LOT OF MONEY AS A NORM FOR
PICKING A JOB OR CAREER, BY REGION AND TYPE
OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Degree of Importance	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Very important . .	21	16	11
Fairly important .	54	54	51
Not too important .	21	24	29
Not at all important	4	6	9
N	1,148	1,158	166

Looked at from another point of view, however--that of the amount of debt incurred for schooling--the nonsouthern Negro graduate is still distant from the white college graduate, both southern and nonsouthern (Table 4.25). Comparing the Negroes alone, the smallest proportion with an educational indebtedness of five hundred dollars or more are the southern public college graduates (40 per cent), and the highest, the southern private college graduates (47 per cent), with the nonsouthern Negro college graduates (44 per cent) between these two categories. Women report less indebtedness than men, but Tables 4.25 and 4.26 are controlled for sex.

When we compare the total indebtedness, including that for schooling, of the college graduates we find that Negroes are more deeply in debt than whites. Among the Negroes themselves (Table 4.26), we see that the

graduates of southern private colleges are more likely (50 per cent) than the public college graduates (45 per cent) or the graduates outside the South (42 per cent) to have debts of five hundred dollars or more. What seems of some economic significance, however, is that one out of five of the private college graduates carries a debt of two thousand dollars or more.

TABLE 4.25

PERSONAL INDEBTEDNESS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES FOR COLLEGE EDUCATION, BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Personal Indebtedness	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
No indebtedness . . .	39	37	42
Less than \$500 . . .	21	16	14
\$500 - \$1,999	29	33	34
\$2,000 or more . . .	11	14	10
N	1,180	1,182	168

TABLE 4.26

TOTAL INDEBTEDNESS, INCLUDING SCHOOLING, OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Total Indebtedness	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
No indebtedness . . .	35	35	41
Less than \$500 . . .	20	15	17
\$500 - \$1,999	28	29	28
\$2,000 or more . . .	17	21	14
N	1,158	1,122	166

The probability of further graduate study for the Negro students rests heavily on the availability of the necessary funds for such study. As may be expected, many more Negroes than whites report that the major

reason for not going to graduate school was lack of finances. In Table 4.27, however, the nonsouthern Negroes show themselves much more likely than the others to say that financial obstacles had nothing to do with their decision not to go to graduate school. They are better off than the southern Negroes but not nearly as well off as the whites in this regard.

TABLE 4.27

EXTENT TO WHICH FINANCIAL OBSTACLES INFLUENCED
DECISION OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES NOT TO GO
TO GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION AND TYPE OF COL-
LEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Extent of Influence	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Had nothing to do with it .	19	16	43
Played some part in decision	33	38	31
Major reason for not going.	48	46	26
N	794	664	82

Lack of money is a large problem for Negroes in anticipating the further training required for a professional career, but the potential income from an anticipated occupation is also a factor in career decisions. The college graduates have opinions about both the money that can be earned in the various occupations (Table 4.28) and the money and time needed to prepare for them (Table 4.29). The ranking of these occupations in the two following tables is comparable but reversed. In other words, the job that they think pays the least--that of high school teacher--is also the job which involves the least costly training. The jobs that pay the most--like medicine and law--are also the jobs that require the most time and money in preparation. More than one-half of all categories of Negro graduates feel that they could not study medicine because of the large investment of money and time involved.

TABLE 4.28

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO FELT THEY
 COULD NOT MAKE AS MUCH MONEY AS THEY WOULD LIKE
 IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION AND TYPE
 OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Occupation	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
High school teacher	45	42	34
College professor	15	19	15
Musician	21	21	23
Research scientist	4	4	4
Business executive	5	4	3
Physician	3	3	0
Engineer	2	3	1
Lawyer	4	4	1

TABLE 4.29

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO FELT THAT
 PREPARATION FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS WOULD TAKE
 MORE TIME AND MONEY THAN THEY COULD AFFORD, BY
 REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED,
 WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Occupation	Southern Public	Southern Private	Nonsouthern College
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Physician	58	54	52
Lawyer	36	32	41
Research scientist	22	21	14
Engineer	24	20	26
Musician	10	9	4
Business executive	10	7	1
College professor	5	4	9
High school teacher	1	1	2

Certain variations in response occur according to the three types of colleges these students attended. The products of the southern public colleges have the highest percentage (45 per cent), and those from the nonsouthern colleges the lowest percentage (34 per cent), who feel that high school teaching would not allow them to make as much money as they would like in their life's occupation. Teacher salaries are generally higher outside the South than they are in the South, and this fact seems to be reflected in the different opinions expressed. Tables 4.28 and 4.29 are controlled for sex, but the men are more likely than the women to find fault with the low salaries in the teaching profession. Although more women than men become schoolteachers, they seem to have a realistic appraisal of alternative opportunities in women's occupations.

Not nearly as many children of college educated parents anticipate teaching as a life career as do those of poorly educated parents, and for explanation we might look to the fact that the former come from families of higher economic status than the latter. But the difference in opinion on low paying jobs is clearly a difference between male and female opinion rather than one of family status. We might hypothesize that the students from the better educated families would tend to deprecate the low paying jobs in significantly greater proportions, but this is not the case except in the opinion about the college professor's income (Table 4.30).

The impact of economic family background on career choice shows up more clearly in the question about the cost of preparation for the various professions. Here one finds a significant difference in attitude between those from the well educated families and those from the poorly educated families. The male students whose parents went only to grade school are much more likely than those whose parents attended college to say that they cannot afford the time and money needed to prepare for medicine (61 per cent and 40 per cent), the legal profession (38 per cent and 20 per cent), and scientific research (25 per cent and 14 per cent). (Table 4.31).

Since the amount of parental education is associated with one's type of occupation and amount of income, we are witnessing here a kind of class difference in availability of candidates for the various professions.

TABLE 4.30

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO FELT THEY COULD NOT MAKE AS MUCH MONEY AS THEY WOULD LIKE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Occupation	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
High school teacher	56	37	55	36	54	32
College professor	29	16	18	13	21	12
Musician	22	24	20	19	21	21
Research scientist	5	3	7	3	6	2
Business executive	4	4	5	3	4	5
Physician	2	3	4	1	3	3
Engineer	2	1	4	1	3	2
Lawyer	1	4	3	4	5	4

TABLE 4.31

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO FELT THAT PREPARATION FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS WOULD TAKE MORE TIME AND MONEY THAN THEY COULD AFFORD, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Occupation	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Physician	40	50	61	58	55	58
Lawyer	20	31	38	37	33	36
Research scientist	14	26	25	33	27	32
Engineer	7	24	22	25	22	24
Musician	9	8	11	8	11	10
Business executive	5	4	6	13	8	10
College professor	5	4	5	7	4	5
High school teacher	3	2	^a	1	1	1

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

Large numbers of Negro male graduates do not enter the occupations in which personnel is most needed because they cannot afford the requisite training; the men from families of higher economic status are not so readily prevented from these occupations. What we had previously seen of the economic facts of racial differences we are seeing here within the Negro group itself. The ability to train for the occupations in which manpower shortages exist is largely a financial ability; white college graduates in general are more able to finance this professional preparation. Unless other, nonfamily resources are provided for the purpose, or unless the general income of Negro families can be raised, there will be a continuing absence of Negro candidates for these professions.

In summary, then, we have seen the negative educational consequences of poverty that the southern Negro college graduate suffers to a degree which the white college graduate, including the southern white, does not know. Southern Negroes, especially the men, are delayed in starting college and in getting through college. Economic disability is the main reason why they cannot go to a "better" college, even when they have been accepted there. It is the main obstacle to their continuing higher studies in professional and graduate schools. Their debts, both for education and other things, pile up in a way not experienced by white students, southern or nonsouthern. Finally, when they are ready to enter their life career, they are thwarted from some of the most important job areas by the lack of financial resources. As far as the comparative categories of college graduates are concerned, this poverty is racial and personal, rather than regional, and its effects are experienced more by male Negro graduates of southern state-supported schools than by any of the other college graduates under our consideration.

These conclusions are further confirmed by the comparisons between the children of better educated and more poorly educated parents and the comparisons of types of college these respondents attended. The poorer the student, the more likely he is to be concerned about the importance of making money in his chosen career and the more likely he is to say that he cannot afford further graduate training, especially the costly preparation for the more demanding professions. Even though the graduates of private colleges are most heavily in debt, they are still more likely to find the resources needed to train for these kinds of occupations.

CHAPTER V

TALENTED NEGRO WOMEN

Sociological generalizations about Negro women have become commonplace and seem to derive mainly from historical reconstructions and from data on the masses of relatively poorly educated Negroes.¹ There are generalizations about the cultural subsystem in which the female family role is dominant and in which the woman's occupational status is emphasized. Even among the Negro college graduates, we have seen in this and previous NORC surveys that a Negro woman is more likely to be the head of a household than is a white.² More Negro women than men get the Bachelor's degree, while the opposite is true for whites.³ Like whites, however, a higher proportion of Negro men than women take postgraduate and professional training.

Throughout this report we are making racial comparisons between southern Negro and southern white college graduates, and also regional comparisons between southern and nonsouthern graduates. In many instances, the sexual comparison also seems significant, since women have different expectations of a life career, they enter different fields of graduate study, they get better grades in high school and college, and their social attitudes are often different from those of men. In contrast to

¹D. C. Thompson (1964, p. 335) writes: "The matriarchy, homes in which the woman plays a dominant role, and where 'feminine culture' is prevalent, is the oldest and most deeply rooted family structure among lower class Negroes."

²Edwards (1963) points out that, according to the 1960 U.S. Census, the husbands of more white married women (95.5 per cent) than Negro married women (79.9 per cent) were present in the home.

³Doddy (1963) calls this one of the "deviations" in Negro higher education and finds that the sex disproportion is increasing. Between 1950 and 1960, the relative increase in college enrollment was larger for Negro women (6.3 per cent) than for Negro men (1.8 per cent).

southern whites and other graduates responding to this survey, in the Negro college graduates there is a much higher proportion of women than of men (Table 5.1). This is almost exactly the same as the distribution of Negro women (62 per cent) and men (38 per cent) aged twenty-five to thirty-four who are college graduates, as reported in the U.S. Census of 1960 for the southern region.⁴ The median years of schooling among Negroes in this age bracket are 9.8 years for women and 8.7 years for men.

TABLE 5.1

SEX DISTRIBUTION OF COLLEGE GRADUATE RESPONDENTS TO THIS SURVEY, BY RACE AND REGION

Race and Region of Respondents	Men	Women	Total
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Southern Negro	36.1 (1,278)	63.9 (2,268)	100 (3,543)
Southern white	60.6 (3,203)	39.4 (2,079)	100 (5,282)
Nonsouthern	54.1 (12,952)	45.9 (10,968)	100 (23,920)

Although the differences between the men and women among the Negro college graduates tend to reflect also the status of the male American Negro, we are in this chapter mainly focusing on the female Negro graduate, as compared with the female southern white graduate and the "other," or more "typical," female nonsouthern graduate. Negro women who have finished college constitute only 5.2 per cent of southern Negro women aged twenty-five to thirty-four and can hardly be called a representative reflection of American Negro womanhood.

⁴Derived from Table 19 of a report of the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1963). In 1962, the number of Negro women earning Bachelor's degrees was 6,988, of first professional degrees 129, and of Master's degrees 685. The corresponding numbers for Negro men were 4,679, 340, and 536. See U.S. Department of Labor (1965), p. 266.

What kind of person, then, is the typical American Negro woman? If she is defined by the modal category, that is, by the largest number having similar characteristics, she would be a southern woman who did not go to college. Consequently, our study gives no information about her. We might consider the southern Negro woman who is a college graduate an "ideal type," in the sense that her educational achievement is remarkable in a region of the country that is traditional to her family and her race.⁵

Since marriage and child rearing are significant aspects of the female role and must be considered in relation to both occupational careers and postgraduate study, it seems important to look at the racial and regional contrasts in this regard.⁶ At the point of college commencement, as we see in Table 5.2, the southern female graduate of a Negro college is somewhat more likely than the southern white woman or other American female graduates to be single and have no definite marriage plans. Yet those who are married are significantly less likely than the two other categories to be childless (Table 5.3). The average number of children for married women graduates is 1.20 for southern Negroes, 0.71 for southern whites, and 0.86 for other female graduates.⁷

We asked our respondents to tell us in what ways they thought marriage would affect their plans both for postgraduate study and for their future occupational career. Table 5.4 provides the contrast of

⁵For some comparisons see the work of Nobles (1956), which surveyed 412 Negro women, all of whom had been members of college sororities and 120 of whom had graduated from "white" colleges.

⁶It is an interesting fact that a larger proportion of white women (66.7 per cent) than of Negro women (60.5 per cent) are married. Perhaps it is even more interesting that a larger proportion of Negro women (21.3 per cent) than of white women (16 per cent) had not given birth to a child, according to the 1960 U.S. Census. The census also reports that the proportion of Negro births is greater than that of white births. We can interpret this to mean that the individual fertile Negro woman has more children than the individual fertile white woman (see the comments of Edwards, 1963).

⁷In 1961, the white birth rate was 22.2 per thousand, while that of Negroes was 31.6. See U.S. Population Reference Bureau (1962).

TABLE 5.2

MARITAL STATUS OF FEMALE GRADUATES AT COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT,
BY REGION AND RACE

Marital Status	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Single, no definite marriage plans	59	49	55
Single, definite plans for fall	5	12	12
Single, definite plans after fall	13	12	14
Widowed; divorced; separated	2	1	1
Married	21	27	17
N	2,238	2,049	10,866
NA	27	30	102

TABLE 5.3

NUMBER OF CHILDREN BORN TO MARRIED WOMEN GRADUATES,
BY REGION AND RACE

Number of Children	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
None	34	61	53
One	33	21	22
Two	18	7	14
Three	7	8	9
Four or more	7	3	2
N	515	565	1,985
NA	32	44	120
Not applicable	1,718	1,470	8,863

answers between men and women in each category, but it also provides what we are more interested in--the differences among the female graduates. The most important finding here is that the southern Negro woman is about one-half as likely as the southern white woman and the other female graduates to say that marriage would make it difficult for her ever to go to graduate or professional school.

This is a clear indication of a fact for which we have further overwhelming evidence: that the educated Negro woman either does not want, cannot afford, or is culturally conditioned against the notion of marriage and family to the exclusion of other roles. Only 4 per cent of the Negro women estimate further that marriage would make it difficult for them to have any kind of a career at all. Furthermore, only one-tenth, as compared to about one-fourth of the other female graduates, say that marriage "would enable me to be the homemaker I really want to be instead of working."

What these female graduates prefer and what they really expect in the relationship between family and occupation is seen in Tables 5.5 and 5.6. Practically no one of either race wants a career to the exclusion of marriage, and hardly any of these women would prefer to have a marriage which excludes children completely. The significant differences in preference occur in the two responses on combining marriage and child rearing with either a professional career or steady employment. Here we find that almost one-half (47 per cent) of the Negro women, compared with one-fourth (24 per cent) of the southern white women and even fewer (21 per cent) of the others, would really prefer to combine the familial role with the occupational role. The response that is most popular with the white women of both categories is to be employed before children are born and only after children are grown.

When we compare Table 5.6 with Table 5.5, we see an increase in the minority who expect to have a career without marriage and a decrease in the minority who expect to be housewives only, without outside employment. The large difference is again in the work orientation of the Negro college woman, who is more than twice as likely (40 per cent) as the

TABLE 5.4

WAYS IN WHICH MARRIAGE AFFECTS PLANS FOR GRADUATE STUDY
AND LIFE CAREER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Effect of Marriage	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
<u>On postgraduate study:</u>						
Would make it difficult ever to go to graduate or professional school.	26	13	27	28	20	24
Would take me longer to complete graduate training	62	59	43	54	46	55
Would make it easier to do graduate work in the field I really prefer .	14	9	22	8	20	7
Would have no effect either way on my chances to do graduate work	19	25	28	16	32	19
<u>On life career:</u>						
I would have to shift to field that takes less training	18	14	11	12	10	10
Would make it difficult to have career I really prefer	20	18	17	17	15	17
Would make it difficult to have any kind of career at all	2	4	2	14	2	15
Would make it easier to have the career I really want	5	10	16	8	14	7
Would have no effect on the career of my choice	35	40	43	33	47	33
Would enable me to be the homemaker I really want to be instead of working	0	9	0	26	0	22
N	1,225	2,186	3,113	2,035	12,575	10,683
NA	53	79	90	44	377	285

TABLE 5.5

FIRST PREFERENCE OF FEMALE GRADUATES FOR LIFE CAREER, BY REGION AND RACE

First Preference for Career	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Housewife only	8	14	8
Work only before children are born	16	19	20
Work after children are grown . .	13	31	35
Occasional work throughout	11	10	12
Combine family and career	40	23	20
Combine family and steady job . .	7	1	1
Marriage and career; no children .	3	1	2
No marriage; career only	2	1	2
N	1,928	1,877	10,031
NA	337	202	937

TABLE 5.6

REALISTIC EXPECTATION OF FEMALE GRADUATES FOR LIFE CAREER, BY REGION AND RACE

Realistic Expectation of Career	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Housewife only	5	8	5
Work only before children are born	11	27	24
Work after children are grown . .	8	22	34
Occasional work throughout	19	18	17
Combine family and career	37	16	12
Combine family and steady job . .	3	3	2
Marriage and career; no children .	3	1	1
No marriage; career only	3	5	5
N	1,762	1,864	9,835
NA	503	215	1,133

southern white woman (19 per cent) and the others (14 per cent) to say that she realistically expects to combine marriage, child rearing, and gainful employment.⁸ In contrast to their preference to work only till children are born, the percentage of Negro women decreases and that of white women increases in their expectation of realizing this end. But there is both a large racial and regional difference in the women expecting to work only before having children and then only after the children are grown.

It is clearly demonstrated in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 that the great majority of American women college graduates of both races expect, and would prefer, to have some gainful employment after marriage, at least at certain times and under certain conditions.⁹ While the two tables differ in some respects, the general impression is that these female respondents tend to state a preference for that which they realistically expect to experience, and this seems to be the case more with the Negro women than with the white women. Statistics of the Department of Labor reveal that a larger proportion of Negro married women than of white married women are actually in the labor force (see Nye and Hoffman, 1963; U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1963; U.S. President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963). Our data reveal that three-fifths (59 per cent) of the Negro female graduates expect to work occasionally or regularly throughout their married life, and the same proportion (58 per cent) say that this is what they want. Only about one-third of the white female graduates have this expectation and preference.

⁸This seems to be the pattern also for the parental generation. In a comparative study of Negro and white college freshmen, Froe (1964) found that a larger percentage of Negro mothers work outside the home and also that they began work during the early or formative years of the child.

⁹This finding seems to be at odds with the remark by A. Rossi (1964, p. 615) that "for the first time in the history of any known society motherhood has become a full-time occupation for adult women," and makes questionable her statement (p. 608) that "young women seem increasingly uncommitted to anything beyond early marriage, motherhood and a suburban house."

Tables 5.7 and 5.8 provide the opportunity for an interesting three-way comparison, showing what these women think their husband or fiancé prefers for them, compared with what we have seen they prefer for themselves, then showing what the male respondents to this survey would prefer for their wives. In the first place, all three categories of female graduates believe that their men prefer less employment for them than they prefer for themselves. But there is still a significant racial difference, in that many more of the Negro women (42 per cent) than of the southern whites (23 per cent) or of the other female graduates (18 per cent) say that their men prefer them to work regularly or occasionally throughout their married life.

The fact is that the male graduates have an even greater preference that their wives have a minimum of outside employment than the female graduates realize. In this matter, the racial contrast also persists, with a much larger proportion of male Negroes (39 per cent) than of male southern whites (14 per cent) or other male graduates (15 per cent) saying they prefer that their wives work regularly or occasionally throughout their married lives. Furthermore, there is a remarkable similarity between the distribution of responses of Negro men and women in this regard. These data show that the attitudes on marriage, child rearing, and wife's occupational role are most dissimilar between male and female southern whites and most similar between male and female southern Negroes. Here again, the male Negro's preferences may well be much closer to the realities of the female Negro's role than are those of the male white to those of the female white.

These cross-sex comparisons of opinions provide one of the clearest indications of the familial and occupational status of female southern Negroes. We have seen in other items of the survey that the fundamental differences among college graduates are racial and not regional, that is, between the southern region and the rest of the United States. Southern white college graduates are much more similar to other American whites than they are to southern Negroes. This fact is further highlighted when we look at Tables 5.9 and 5.10, which present cross-sex opinions about

TABLE 5.7

FEMALE GRADUATES' BELIEF OF ROLE THEIR OWN HUSBAND OR
FIANCE PREFERS FOR THEM, BY REGION AND RACE

Role Believed Preferred by Fiancé or Husband	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Housewife only	22	31	18
Work only before children are born	25	26	34
Work after children are grown . .	10	19	29
Occasional work throughout	14	9	8
Combine family and career	22	12	9
Combine family and steady job . .	6	2	1
Marriage and career; no children .	1	1	1
N	1,365	1,206	5,646
NA	900	873	5,322

TABLE 5.8

MALE GRADUATES' PREFERENCE OF LIFE CAREER FOR
THEIR OWN WIFE, BY REGION AND RACE ^a

Men's Preference for Wife's Role	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Men
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Housewife only	24	34	25
Work only before children are born	26	35	34
Work after children are grown . .	10	16	25
Occasional work throughout	12	6	6
Combine family and career	22	7	8
Combine family and steady job . .	5	1	1
Marriage and career; no children .	1	1	1
N	1,032	2,840	11,607
NA	246	363	1,345

^a Questionnaire item was answered regardless of marital status.

preferred life careers for women, but each of which shows internally the most significant racial differences. Women are more likely to think that men want their wives to be housewives only, while men are less likely to think women themselves want to be housewives only.

Prodding further into the racial differences in opinion and attitude, we asked a series of questions about women in relation to dating, marriage, and children. The educational discrepancy between the races seems to be reflected in the fact that more Negroes than whites agree with the statement that a single woman who gets an advanced degree will have a hard time finding a husband. Negro women have more years of schooling than Negro men, and more of them go to college and obtain the Bachelor's degree. At this point fewer of them (21 per cent) are married than are the female southern white graduates (27 per cent), but more of them are married than are the other female graduates (17 per cent), so that the fact of having had a college education does not seem a significant deterrent to marriage.

But the statement in question concerns advanced or postgraduate degrees. More Negroes of both sexes than whites of both sexes feel that the advanced degree does lessen a woman's chances of finding a husband. Since marriage is a principal goal of practically all these women, of both races, we would suspect that they would want to avoid experiences--like going to graduate school--that might make it difficult to get married (cf. Rauschenbusch, 1961). The reverse of this question, whether marriage hinders graduate study, we have already discussed. On that matter we found a significant racial difference in opinion: the Negro woman was much more confident than the white woman that she could go on, even though married, to postgraduate study and professional training. We also saw that the female Negro college graduate was much less interested than the white college graduate in being "merely" a homemaker.

We can draw from these various data the generalization that men want their women to stay home and out of the labor market more than the women want to do so. This seems to be reflected in the fact that more men than women, of both races and both regions, want the woman to avoid

TABLE 5.9
 FEMALE GRADUATES' OPINION OF ROLE MOST MEN PREFER
 FOR THEIR WIVES, BY REGION AND RACE

Role Believed Preferred by Husband	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Housewife only	32	47	35
Work only before children are born	22	31	37
Work after children are grown . .	10	13	21
Occasional work throughout	14	5	4
Combine family and career	13	2	2
Combine family and steady job . .	9	2	1
Marriage and career; no children .	- ^a	-	-
N	1,792	1,821	9,676
NA	473	258	1,292

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 5.10
 MALE GRADUATES' OPINION OF ROLE MOST WOMEN PREFER
 AS LIFE CAREER, BY REGION AND RACE

Role Believed Preferred by Women	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Men
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Housewife only	24	31	24
Work only before children are born	26	39	39
Work after children are grown . .	7	16	21
Occasional work throughout	13	6	8
Combine family and career	20	6	5
Combine family and steady job . .	7	2	1
Marriage and career; no children .	2	- ^a	-
No marriage; career only	-	-	-
N	1,046	2,849	11,588
NA	232	354	1,364

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

an occupation that would be difficult to combine with child rearing (Table 5.11). The racial difference, however, seems more significant than the sex difference in this regard. A larger proportion of Negro men (66 per cent) and women (60 per cent) than of whites of either sex want to be sure that they have children. They say this in spite of the fact that the Negro woman is more likely than the white woman to combine child rearing and gainful employment.

TABLE 5.11

PER CENT AGREEING WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT DATING, MARRIAGE,
AND CHILDREN, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Statement	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
To be popular, a girl will not sound too intelligent on a date	24	22	20	16	21	14
Women with advanced degrees have trouble finding husbands	16	18	10	10	9	11
A woman should plan a career only after marriage	14	7	12	8	11	6
Women should not choose occupations that hinder child rearing	66	60	56	41	53	35

These responses revolve around an important sociological hypothesis that is pertinent to our investigation. When women of ability, talent, and interest get into gainful employment, do they have smaller families? If so, do they want this? Compared with white women, a larger percentage of Negro women of all levels of educational background, both single and married, have been gainfully employed. In spite of Negro women's greater participation in the labor force, the Negro birth rate has been higher than the white. We have seen here that the married female Negro graduate is

more likely than the female white graduate to have children and to have a larger family (see Table 5.6).

It appears, then, that neither the amount of schooling nor the extent of employment has the negative effect on childbearing for Negro women that it has for white women. Putting this in another way, we may suggest that trained and talented Negro women, even though married, are more likely than their white counterparts to make a contribution to the society through the professions and occupations. Considering that the neglect of male Negro talent and the lower status and role of the Negro husband are a continuing problem, we have no way of estimating if the pattern of female Negro employment will change so that it resembles that of female white employment.¹⁰

Certain other questions we asked about women and careers elicited responses with an expected difference in opinion by sex, the largest of which concerns the statement that a woman should not seek advanced degrees unless she expects to work in her field almost all her adult life (Table 5.12). Men favor this statement more than do women, but the difference in opinion between white men and women is much greater than that between Negro men and women. The statement that a man can make long range plans for his life but a woman has to take things as they come gets agreement from one-fifth of the men of both races. In the light of other findings it seems appropriate that a smaller percentage of Negro women than of white women agree with this statement, the implication being that Negro women have been less likely than white women simply to "take things as they come."

Whether or not the majority of our respondents see certain career fields and occupations as "masculine" and others as "feminine," the fact is that there is a sharp sex differential both in the major areas of

¹⁰The sociologist cannot avoid the implication of this phenomenon for the male Negro. D. C. Thompson (1964, p. 336) writes: "The limited economic opportunities open to the Negro male function to lower his family status and to elevate the status of the mother, who may be the only stably employed member of the household."

college study these graduates choose and in the occupational fields they enter.¹¹ For example, women are more likely to go into social work and into grade school and high school teaching, while men are more likely to go into business fields, the physical sciences, medicine, and law. What is of immediate interest at this point, however, is the racial and regional comparison of female graduates in these areas. In Table 5.13 we see a remarkable similarity in the general fields of major academic preparation among these female respondents. The Negro women are somewhat more likely to go in for teacher preparation than are the white women, but the difference is not as great as we might have expected. On the other hand, white women seem to have majored more in the humanities in college than did the Negro women.

TABLE 5.12
PER CENT AGREEING WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT WOMEN AND CAREERS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Statement	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
A man plans his life; a woman has to take what comes . . .	18	21	19	31	19	31
Volunteer work is better than a paid job for women	16	13	18	8	16	8
Women should get degrees only if they plan lifetime careers	31	16	39	13	37	11
"Masculine" fields of work discriminate against women . . .	35	31	39	31	38	34
Women are seen as masculine if they enter "men's occupations"	18	14	22	14	22	14

¹¹ More than in any other postgraduate field, Master's degrees in education form the largest category for both races and both sexes. In 1962, of all institutions granting Master's degrees, 34 per cent were given to men in education and 62 per cent were given to women in that field. Of the Negro institutions granting Master's degrees, 72 per cent were given to men in education and 85 per cent to women in education. See U.S. Department of Labor (1965, p. 266).

TABLE 5.13

FEMALE GRADUATES' MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY AS
COLLEGE SENIORS, BY REGION AND RACE

Major Field of Study	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Physical sciences	3	5	4
Health and medical fields	3	5	8
Biological sciences	7	4	4
Business fields	4	2	2
Elementary and secondary education	30	24	26
Other education fields	34	29	24
Social sciences	13	11	13
Humanities	6	20	19
N	2,131	1,984	10,626
NA	134	95	342

When we look at Table 5.14, which reports the career and occupational fields these college graduates are actually entering, we find an even greater similarity across racial lines. For example, the same proportion (55 per cent) of southern Negro and white female graduates, and only a slightly higher proportion (59 per cent) of the other female graduates, will be in the teaching field.¹² Since job opportunities in the business world are notoriously poor for southern Negroes, we would expect a smaller proportion of Negro women than of white women to take up a career in business. This is not the case, however; we find that most of

¹²Doddy's (1963) complaint that the large proportion of Negroes going into the "traditionally safe" field of teaching is a "deviation" of Negro higher education seems to overlook the fact that this is a female phenomenon and that white women also go in disproportionately for teaching. If there is a disproportionate entrance into some field compared with that of white women, the field seems to be social work rather than teaching.

these Negro women have prepared themselves for secretarial services or for other clerical and office work. They do not expect to be in jobs like advertising, accounting, sales, marketing, and finance. There is a racial difference in the proportions of women entering the field of social work; Negro women find more job opportunities there than exist in certain other occupational areas. They are twice as likely as the white women to become social workers.

There are certain activities that cut across a number of specific jobs, and we asked our respondents which of these they thought would be the most important activity in their own occupation (Table 5.15). Again we find a remarkable similarity across racial and regional lines: two-thirds of all the female graduates say they would be more preoccupied with teaching than anything else. The next most frequently mentioned activity is professional service to patients or clients, and the statistical difference in response between the races is insignificant. In the most general terms, what we are finding here is that, regardless of the occupational field they enter, women around the country and across racial lines tend to have the same distribution of work activities on the job itself.

In an attempt to learn more about the interests and abilities of these graduating women, we presented a series of eight occupations or professions and asked them to check off their agreement with a list of statements about each occupation. One of these statements was: "This sort of work would be very interesting." Regardless of sex differences, which are of course very significant in occupational preferences, we found some similarities among the women across racial and regional lines. For example, teaching at the college and high school level was "very interesting" to more than two-thirds of the respondents in all categories.

As Table 5.16 shows, the smallest proportion of both Negro and white female graduates consider engineering an interesting occupation. This is also an occupation for which women college graduates did not prepare and which they do not intend to enter. On the other hand, although these women did not emphasize the sciences in their college majors, and although relatively few of them are going to make a career in scientific

TABLE 5.14

CAREER FIELDS ENTERED BY FEMALE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND RACE

Career Field	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Social work	10	5	4
Physical sciences	3	4	3
Health and medical fields	8	7	9
Biological sciences	4	2	2
Business fields	6	6	5
Elementary and secondary education . .	23	24	28
Other educational fields	32	31	31
Social sciences	6	5	6
Humanities	8	15	11
N	2,051	1,873	10,127
NA	214	206	841

TABLE 5.15

MOST IMPORTANT TYPE OF ACTIVITY IN LONG RANGE CAREER OF FEMALE GRADUATES, BY REGION AND RACE

Most Important Activity	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Teaching	64	65	65
Research and development	10	9	7
Administration or management	4	5	5
Service to patients or clients	16	13	16
Selling and clerical work	3	2	2
Writing and designing	2	5	4
Production and operation	1	1	1
None of these	- ^a	-	-
N	1,976	1,818	10,005
NA	46	106	380
Not applicable	243	155	583

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 5.16

PER CENT OF FEMALE GRADUATES WHO WOULD FIND THE WORK IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS VERY INTERESTING, BY REGION AND RACE

Occupation	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
College professor	72	72	72
High school teacher	68	66	70
Research scientist	50	47	50
Business executive	37	27	30
Lawyer	34	42	47
Musician	33	36	39
Physician	27	43	47
Engineer	17	16	15

fields, one-half of them think they would find the work of a research scientist very interesting (cf. A. S. Rossi, 1965). Here again, there is close agreement across racial and regional lines.

If we look at these comparative responses as a kind of "job rating," we find that the female graduates agree on the rank order of the most interesting jobs: college professor, high school teacher, and research scientist. We find they also agree that the least interesting job is that of engineer. A considerable racial difference shows up in the rating of three jobs: more Negro women than white women find the business executive's job interesting, but more white women than Negro women find a lawyer or physician's work interesting. There are fewer female Negro lawyers and physicians in the United States than female white, even allowing for the racial and educational composition of the female population. But even fewer Negro women than white women become business executives, so that if we correlated job potential with the interest one has in a job, we would expect even fewer Negro women than whites to find the job of business executive interesting.¹³

One of the more significant findings of our study, however, is seen in Tables 5.17 and 5.18, which demonstrate that the female Negro with a college education has a great deal more confidence in her own

¹³The following racial comparison of females in selected occupations is derived from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1964, sec. PC[1]D, "Detailed Characteristics").

Occupation	White Women	Nonwhite Women	Nonwhite as Percentage of White
Social welfare workers . .	68,367	9,650	14.1
Elementary school teachers.	784,801	81,945	10.4
Physicians and surgeons . .	15,672	1,581	10.1
Secondary school teachers .	225,408	19,567	8.7
College teachers	36,918	2,250	6.0
Managers, executives . . .	763,191	31,095	4.1
Musicians, music teachers .	107,033	4,202	3.9
Lawyers and judges	7,346	197	2.7

TABLE 5.17

PER CENT OF FEMALE GRADUATES WHO FEEL THEY DO NOT HAVE THE ABILITY FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION AND RACE

Occupation	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
High school teacher	3	5	7
College professor	8	15	22
Business executive	34	46	44
Research scientist	47	65	66
Lawyer	49	58	57
Musician	51	66	68
Physician	57	70	70
Engineer	76	83	86

TABLE 5.18

PER CENT OF FEMALE GRADUATES WHO FEEL THEY HAVE AN UNSUITABLE PERSONALITY FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION AND RACE

Occupation	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
College professor	9	14	16
High school teacher	10	17	18
Physician	15	30	28
Musician	16	29	27
Research scientist	17	40	42
Engineer	19	41	43
Lawyer	32	39	41
Business Executive	26	51	49

abilities than does the female white graduate.¹⁴ Using the same list of eight selected occupations, we asked them to weigh the statement: "I don't have the ability to do this kind of work." On every one of these occupations the proportions of Negro women who say that they do not have the necessary ability are lower than those of white women. Practically all these graduates of both races consider high school teaching within their competence, but only 8 per cent of the Negro women, compared with 22 per cent of the female nonsouthern graduates, feel that they lack the ability to be a college professor.

The smallest proportions of female Negro graduates had said they would find the work of physicians and engineers interesting. The largest proportions of women of both races admit they lack the ability to do the work required by these two professions. The ranking of these eight occupations, from that requiring the least ability to that requiring the most, is the same for both races, except that the white women think the research scientist's job takes more ability than the lawyer's while the Negro women do not.

We asked further whether the respondent felt she had an unsuitable personality for work in each of the eight occupations. In most instances, the female white graduates are about twice as likely as the Negroes to think they do not have a suitable personality for the occupation. Three-tenths of the white women say this about the jobs of physician and musician, two-fifths about the research scientist, engineer, and lawyer, and one-half about the business executive. The ranking of the eight occupations, from those for which most have a suitable personality to those for which least have it, is roughly the same across racial lines. The large difference is still in the percentage of Negro women compared to the whites who feel they have a suitable personality for these jobs.

¹⁴Personal and social expectations appear to be a function, at least in part, of the recent changes in American race relations (cf. Laue, 1965). The postwar gains had a "profound psychological effect" on Negroes. Pettigrew (1963) writes: "Despair and hopelessness have declined, new and proud aspirations have taken hold, and a determined optimism about the future has developed."

Having seen the various self-estimates made by these female college graduates, and especially focusing on the racial differences in opinion, we turn to a factual question. We asked what their main activities would be during the year after commencement. The possibilities for the female graduate fall mainly into three categories--homemaker, employee, or graduate student--or some combination of these (which is indicated by the overlapping percentages in Table 5.19). Except for expecting to become a housewife or mother, in which category the percentage of Negro women is lower than that of whites, the anticipated activities are fairly similar across racial lines. The nonsouthern white women, more often than the southern Negro and white women, will be doing graduate study or getting professional training.

TABLE 5.19

MAIN ACTIVITIES OF WOMEN GRADUATES FOR YEAR FOLLOWING
COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION AND RACE

Main Activity	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Full time work in long range career	55	53	53
Full time work not in long range career	25	24	22
Working part time	9	5	8
Teaching or being research assistant	5	4	4
Working for graduate degree	15	17	24
Taking courses not for degree	6	9	12
Being housewife, mother	17	29	23
Peace Corps	1	1	2
Other activity	4	6	7
N	2,234	2,078	10,946
NA	31	1	22

We have seen that more men of both races go to graduate school than do women but that more whites than Negroes do so. The female Negro graduates tend less often than the female white graduates to concentrate either on the role of housewife or that of graduate student. We should obviously find, then, that a larger percentage of the Negro women than of the whites intend to be gainfully employed. Table 5.19 shows a close similarity in this regard across racial lines: four-fifths (80 per cent) of the Negro women, and only slightly smaller percentages of southern white women (77 per cent) and of other female graduates (75 per cent), report that they would be working full time during the academic year following their college commencement.

The intention to be gainfully employed is something other than the assurance that one will actually have a job. We asked the women whether they had a definite job lined up after graduation (Table 5.20) and found that, although a slightly higher percentage of the Negroes than of the whites intended to be gainfully employed, a significantly smaller percentage of them had the assurance of a job.¹⁵ The discrepancy in this regard is even greater between male Negro (45 per cent) and male white (71 per cent) graduates, and it seems reasonable to assume that this racial difference points to a certain amount of discriminatory hiring practices by employers. There are, of course, other factors involved in this disproportionate recruitment of Negro college seniors. The one most often alleged is their unpreparedness due to inadequate education and training.

¹⁵One of the explanations given for this is that Negroes are not preparing for the jobs that are open, and so the jobs go begging. This was the theme of Ramaker (1959) and of Perry (1964). Yet part of the government's "crash program" in search of trained manpower is precisely in the teaching field. One of the projections in the Manpower Report (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965, p. 269) is that the demand for new classroom teachers will be 943,915 between 1964 and 1968 and 963,449 between 1969 and 1973, so that Negro college graduates, especially women teachers, should have jobs waiting for them as soon as they graduate.

TABLE 5.20

PER CENT OF FEMALE GRADUATES WHO DO OR DO NOT HAVE A DEFINITE
JOB LINED UP AFTER COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION AND RACE

Employment Status after Commencement	Southern Negroes	Southern Whites	All Other Women
Yes, have job	39	53	59
No, but intend to be working . .	59	42	36
No; don't intend to be working.	2	5	5
N	1,665	1,603	7,037
NA	47	12	60
Not applicable	553	464	3,871

We have assumed in previous interracial comparisons of these data that the differences in response between the races result largely from class differences. In looking at the distribution of answers in Table 5.21, we find the expected sex differences concerning the preferences for the women's life career: the men are more anxious for their wives to stay at home and the women are more willing to combine marriage, family, and child rearing with a profession or steady job. But the class differences do not show up here in any significant way. About the same proportions of upper class women (57 per cent) as lower class (62 per cent) and other women (58 per cent) actually prefer to be gainfully employed throughout their married life. Also, but in lower proportions than the women, the upper class men (38 per cent), the lower class (41 per cent) and the others (37 per cent) are nearly equally willing to have their wives work at a profession or job during their married life.

A previous table showed us that one-third (33 per cent) of the southern white women and less than three-tenths (28 per cent) of the other white women would prefer not to work at all after marriage or to work only until their first child is born. Since the social background of the female Negroes from the better educated families approaches that of the white average, one might expect that their preference in this respect

TABLE 5.21

FEMALE NEGROES' FIRST PREFERENCE OF LIFE CAREER AND MALE NEGROES' PREFERENCE OF CAREER FOR THEIR WIVES, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

First Preference for Life Career	Amount of Parents' Education									
	College		Grade School			All Other		All Other		
	Women's Own Preference	Men's Preference for Wife	Women's Own Preference	Men's Preference for Wife	Women's Own Preference	Men's Preference for Wife	Women's Own Preference	Men's Preference for Wife	Women's Own Preference	Men's Preference for Wife
	Per Cent		Per Cent			Per Cent		Per Cent		
Housewife only	9	28	7	22	7	24	7	24	7	24
Employed only before children born, then housewife	12	24	15	25	17	28	17	28	17	28
Employed before children born, and only after grown	17	10	11	12	12	10	12	10	12	10
Occasionally employed throughout marriage and children	8	11	15	12	11	11	11	11	11	11
Combine marriage, children, and professional career	43	25	38	23	40	21	40	21	40	21
Combine marriage, children, and steady employment	6	2	9	6	7	5	7	5	7	5
Marriage and career without children	3	0	3	a	4	1	4	1	4	1
Not married; career only	2	b	2	b	2	b	2	b	2	b
N	233	124	374	233	1,191	622	1,191	622	1,191	622
NA	36	19	70	61	201	771	201	771	201	771

^a Indicates number was too low to percentage.

^b Not applicable to men.

would also be similar to that of the whites. The fact is, however, that the women from the best educated Negro families (21 per cent) and those from the least educated (22 per cent) have this preference in the same proportions. The most probable explanation of this similarity between different social classes of Negroes is that the work orientation of Negro women has been enough of a tradition to overcome changes in social status. Married women in the labor force have become increasingly common among all Americans, and the pattern among Negro women has been the predecessor of this phenomenon.

The influence of well educated parents is apparent in the kinds of study fields these Negro women chose in college. We have seen that white women are more likely than Negroes to major in the humanities but that Negro women are somewhat more likely to major in education. When we look at the class differences among the Negro women, we find a distinct shifting in this pattern of major fields of study (Table 5.22). The women from the better educated families are proportionately fewer in the field of education and more numerous in the humanities and the social sciences than are the women from the least educated families. The major field of study is, of course, a preparation for one's anticipated occupational career, and we may see the significance of this class distinction in Table 5.23.

The proportion of upper class women who enter social work, the social sciences, and the humanities is larger than that of the lower class women. This may imply that they recognize better employment opportunities in these fields and that they are better prepared for them. Less than one-half (44 per cent) of these upper class women, compared with almost two-thirds (64 per cent) of the lower class women, intend to follow a teaching career. In other words, the so-called vicious circle in Negro education is perpetuated here. The women from the poorest cultural background (and with the poorest academic grades) go into the school system in the largest numbers to become the teachers of tomorrow's children.

TABLE 5.22

MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY OF FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES AS COLLEGE SENIORS,
BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Major Field as Senior	Amount of Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Physical sciences	5	2	3
Health and medical fields . . .	4	3	4
Biological sciences	9	6	7
Business fields	3	4	4
Elementary and secondary education	23	35	29
Other education fields	25	36	35
Social sciences	18	10	12
Humanities	13	4	6
N	259	417	1,315
NA	10	27	77

TABLE 5.23

CAREER FIELDS ENTERED BY FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES,
BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Career Field Entered	Amount of Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Social work	10	7	10
Physical sciences	6	1	3
Health and medical fields . . .	8	7	8
Biological sciences	5	3	4
Business fields	4	6	6
Elementary and secondary education	17	27	22
Other education fields	27	37	32
Social sciences	10	3	6
Humanities	12	8	9
Law	1	1	- ^a
N	250	394	1,269
NA	19	50	123

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

The pursuit of higher education continues to be an important cultural value among Negroes, but the status of the schoolteaching profession, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels, does not seem to be as high as it once was. While seven-tenths of all these Negro women are attracted to college teaching in the sense that they would find this profession very interesting (Table 5.24), the women from better educated families are much less likely (54 per cent) than the lower class women (71 per cent) to say this about high school teaching. In all the other selected occupations about which we questioned them, the relative positions are reversed: the largest percentage differences are in the fields of law and music, which more of the upper class women find very interesting.

In making comparisons with southern and nonsouthern female whites, we found that there were always smaller proportions of female Negroes who were ready to admit that they did not have the ability to do the work. This seems to imply great self-confidence in their own abilities in spite of the demonstrably poorer schooling of Negroes and in spite of a lack of broad experience in many of these occupations. We had thought this phenomenon would carry over into the class distinctions within the Negro group, but it does not. In other words, the women from the least educated families are not significantly less willing than the others to admit they do not have ability for these various occupations. Table 5.25 shows that in the occupations of law, music, and medicine more of the lower class women than of the others admit a lack of ability to do the job.

An even more telling difference in occupational self-appraisal between Negro and white female college graduates had shown up in the question whether they felt they had an unsuitable personality for the selected occupations. In every instance, a significantly higher proportion of female whites than of Negroes admitted they had an unsuitable personality for the work. In every instance of Table 5.26 except law, a higher proportion of Negro women from the better educated families admit they do not have a suitable personality for the particular

TABLE 5.24

PER CENT OF FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES WHO WOULD FIND THE WORK IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS VERY INTERESTING, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Occupation	Amount of Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
College professor	72	72	71
High school teacher	54	71	69
Research scientist	54	52	50
Musician	42	25	33
Lawyer	41	25	33
Business executive	39	34	37
Physician	32	21	27
Engineer	22	12	17

TABLE 5.25

PER CENT OF FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES WHO FEEL THEY DO NOT HAVE THE ABILITY FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Occupation	Amount of Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
High school teacher	9	3	2
College professor	11	7	8
Business executive	34	33	33
Lawyer	44	50	46
Research scientist	46	46	48
Musician	47	55	51
Physician	53	59	57
Engineer	76	77	77

occupation. The percentage differences are not large (except for the job of high school teacher), but they tend to support the hypothesis that lower class Negroes--even those with a college education--express an unusual amount of confidence in themselves.

TABLE 5.26

PER CENT OF FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES WHO FEEL THEY HAVE AN UNSUITABLE PERSONALITY FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Occupation	Amount of Parents' Education		
	College	Grade School	All Other
College professor	10	9	10
Engineer	17	15	21
High school teacher	18	7	9
Musician	18	14	17
Physician	20	14	15
Research scientist	21	15	17
Business executive	28	25	26
Lawyer	28	31	32

In recapitulating these findings, we note that the sex differences in Negro respondents coincide with differences between white and Negro college graduates in general. One of the most significant differences between the Negro and white female college graduates lies in their life expectations concerning the combination of marriage, family, and occupation. Negro women have a stronger work orientation than white women. Even though they want marriage and a family, they are not as ready as white women to say it would interfere either with postgraduate study or with their occupational career.

These findings provide a broad insight into the peculiar position of the educated Negro woman in the American society. Probably because of various occupational pressures, particularly in the South, Negro

women are more educated than Negro men and are more likely than white women to be gainfully employed. From the point of view of both family and career, they come to prefer that which they have learned to expect, that is, to combine marriage, child rearing, and gainful employment. Having children seems to be a more important value for Negroes of both sexes than it is for whites.

Like the female white graduates, the Negro women expect that their main occupational function will be teaching, but a higher proportion of female Negroes than of whites will go into social work. They are as interested as the whites in teaching at both the college and the high school level, but they are much less likely than the whites to say they do not have the talent, or that they have an unsuitable personality, for any of the occupations about which we asked them. Although their ultimate aspirations for graduate degrees are much higher than those of whites, the year after commencement will find fewer female Negroes than whites either working for a postgraduate degree or taking nondegree courses. A smaller proportion of female Negroes than of whites had a definite job commitment after graduation.

The class comparisons among women within the Negro group do not show much difference in orientation toward marriage and career. It appears that the employment preferences and expectations of Negro women emerge from traditional patterns which are not greatly altered by class position. The significant class difference lies in the type of occupational field these Negro women enter. Teaching at the elementary and secondary levels is more attractive to the lower class women, and it will absorb proportionately more of them than of the upper class women. The latter tend to have somewhat less confidence in the suitability of their personality for the various job requirements.

CHAPTER VI

SEGREGATED COLLEGES

The hypothesis that segregated Negro schooling is generally not equal to white schooling has been so frequently demonstrated that it hardly need be retested with the data of the present survey. Such a generalization, however, is quite different from the suggestion that the Negro colleges are so inadequate that they ought to be closed down. President Johnson's insistence that educational institutions must be strengthened included extensive assistance to the smaller and weaker colleges--terms that can certainly be applied to the Negro colleges in the South. As McGrath (1963, p. 38; 1965, p. 23) has noted, the greatest need for higher education is precisely in the South, where these Negro colleges are located: "The integration of the institutions which are now either predominantly Negro or white will not diminish the need for more places in the colleges and universities. Hence the opportunity to make fuller and more efficient use of the small Negro colleges is at hand."¹

The data of our study allow us to provide current, substantial, and additional information so that we may further clarify the comparison between the segregated and the integrated campus. The strongest proof of an educational institution's success is its product--the graduates who go on for further academic and professional training and those who succeed in the world of work. We discuss these indices elsewhere in our report, and we note that the inadequacies of schooling show up in the racial comparisons, rather than in the regional comparisons. In other words, the separate Negro educational system has been inadequate because it has been--and continues to be--unequal in all its major aspects. If equality cannot

¹He also insists (McGrath, 1965, p. 160) that "none of the predominantly Negro colleges should be allowed to die until their present and prospective students can be fully assured of better educational opportunities elsewhere."

be achieved in separate systems, it appears that the rational alternative is abandoning school segregation.²

In a series of questions directed only to the Negro respondents, we were able to ascertain the manner and degree to which they recognize the importance of higher education and the advantages of attending the more prestigious colleges and universities. For example, when we asked them what they thought accounted for the fact that some American Negroes have risen to high positions despite racial discrimination, the majority of them (79 per cent) felt that "having been educated at the right schools" was of some help. In a more detailed comparison, we asked them to check the advantages, and the possible disadvantages, they would have expected if they had attended an Ivy League school, a large nonsouthern state university, or a large southern state university, instead of the Negro college from which they actually graduated.

The most revealing information in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, which distribute these responses by sex, is the relatively low repute in which Negro college students hold the large (white) state universities in the South (cf. Ragland, 1956). Hardly any of them think they would have received a better education there or would have been better prepared for graduate study. Few of them believe that they would have been able to get better jobs later on or to realize their potentialities more fully. In all these items, the female Negroes seem to have a consistently lower opinion than do the male Negroes.

The biggest problem or disadvantage they see in attending a large southern state university centers around the social discrimination they would expect to find there. They would have been "left out of things"; they would have been lonely--and it seems pertinent to note that more men

²Morsell (1960) writes: "The best in education is not obtainable by Negroes in a racially segregated system, no matter how much of a community's wealth is poured into it. The abandonment of school segregation thus becomes a cardinal element in any projection that calls for maximum development and employment of the country's human resources." But J. W. Davis (1962) points out that all these facilities and institutions are needed and should not be closed.

than women feel this way. Furthermore, they would not have had much social prestige, nor would they have gained more "social polish," probably because they do not feel that the people with whom they would have associated at these colleges are "people of higher status." One of the main reasons given for maintaining a separate school system in the South is the notion that Negroes are themselves people of lower status, whose presence in the white colleges would somehow damage the white people there. It is obvious that Negro college graduates do not share this opinion, nor do they feel that their own status would be raised by associating with this white college community.

TABLE 6.1

PROBABLE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ATTENDING OTHER TYPES OF COLLEGES, AS SEEN BY MALE NEGRO GRADUATES

Probable Advantage or Disadvantage	Ivy League School	Nonsouthern State University	Southern State University
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Probable advantages:</u>			
Would have associated with people of higher status	74	34	6
Better jobs would have been open to me later	68	52	13
Would have been better prepared for graduate study	65	54	13
Would have received a better education	61	45	11
Would have gained more social polish	60	34	6
Could have better realized my potentialities	49	53	12
People would respect me more	44	25	8
Would have been much happier	26	46	5
<u>Probable disadvantages:</u>			
Would not have been on inside of things	24	28	59
Would have been lonely	15	13	59
Would have failed to graduate	13	4	19
Would have received a worse education	2	7	39
N	1,099	1,059	791
NA	179	219	487

TABLE 6.2

PROBABLE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ATTENDING OTHER TYPES
OF COLLEGES, AS SEEN BY FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES

Probable Advantage or Disadvantage	Ivy League School	Nonsouthern State University	Southern State University
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Probable advantages:</u>			
Would have associated with people of higher status	65	32	4
Better jobs would have been open to me later	51	54	6
Would have been better prepared for graduate study	46	55	11
Would have received a better edu- cation	47	45	8
Would have gained more social polish	49	33	5
Could have better realized my po- tentialities	34	45	8
People would respect me more	30	19	4
Would have been much happier	10	38	5
<u>Probable disadvantages:</u>			
Would not have been on inside of things	33	29	51
Would have been lonely	27	19	50
Would have failed to graduate	19	5	15
Would have received a worse education	3	5	37
N	1,695	1,870	1,232
NA	570	395	1,033

We cannot determine from the data at hand the extent to which these Negro opinions are a form of reverse prejudice, but we suspect that these graduates of southern Negro colleges find it very difficult to make a favorable judgment about a public educational system that has fought so determinedly to exclude them. Living for the most part in the same region of the country as the white students who attend the southern state universities, they may be expected to carry cultural stereotypes about these white

institutions.³ They are not ready to admit that their own Negro colleges are inferior to the southern state campus, which they feel is itself inferior to other American colleges. Only about one-tenth feel they would have received a better education there, while about four times as many feel that they would have received a worse education than at the Negro college.

Like most other observers of the American educational scene, these Negro respondents--the men consistently more often than the women--express admiration for the so-called Ivy League colleges. They feel that if they had attended one of these schools they would have had better educational experiences and ultimately better employment opportunities. The highest proportion checking any of these items is constituted by the male Negroes, who say that attending an Ivy League college would have given them the opportunity to associate with "people of higher status." In spite of this high regard for the eastern prestige colleges, the male Negroes express two curious preferences in favor of the large nonsouthern state universities, where they say they would have been happier and would have had better opportunities to realize their potentialities.

The sex differences among Negro college graduates in the series of responses given in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 tend to confirm previous findings that female students in general have a greater attachment and deeper loyalty to their campus than do male students. While clearly showing their dislike, even disdain, of the segregated southern white universities, and while recognizing the advantages of the Ivy League campus, they do not seem quite as enthusiastic as the men for these prestige schools. As a matter of fact, on several items they see greater advantages in attending the nonsouthern state universities: they think they would have been better prepared for graduate study, would have had better job opportunities later on, would

³For another point of view, see the earlier research of Grossack (1954; 1957).

have better realized their potentialities and would have been much happier. Perhaps the women are assuming that the milieu of the nonsouthern state university would be more congenial and less competitive than that of an Ivy League campus, where they would not have been so much on the "inside of things" and would have been more lonely.

Quite aside from their campus loyalty and from the higher esteem for their own college, the Negro women seem to be less enthusiastic about racial integration than the Negro men.⁴ We asked them if they would prefer an organization that was mainly white or one that was mainly Negro if they had a choice of the same job in either one of them. More men than women said that they would choose the job in the white organization. More pertinent to their educational experiences, we asked them if they would like their own college campus better if it had more white students or if it had fewer white students. Table 6.3 distributes their answers.

TABLE 6.3

REACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES TO MORE OR FEWER WHITE STUDENTS ON THEIR OWN UNDERGRADUATE CAMPUS, BY SEX

Reaction	If More White Students		If Fewer White Students	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Would like it a lot more	29	17	5	3
Would like it a little more	20	18	3	3
Would like it a little less	1	2	12	8
Would like it a lot less	2	2	25	16
It would make no difference	48	61	55	70
N	1,232	2,092	1,184	1,950
NA	46	173	94	315

⁴There is, however, an indication in our data that in the nonsouthern colleges the female Negroes are more involved than the male Negroes in the civil rights movement.

The majority of the Negro students, but more women than men, display indifference to both of these proposed changes for their campus. They appear to feel that the presence of white students would neither help nor harm their college. Table 6.3 shows that about one-half (49 per cent) of the men and one-third (35 per cent) of the women express a preference for the admission of white students, which of course implies that they are in favor of desegregating their campus.⁵ What is probably most significant in these responses is the lack of antagonism toward whites: only 4 per cent would like their campus less if there were white students there, and only 8 per cent would like it more if there were no white students around.

The majority of these Negro students had said that if given a choice they would prefer to belong to an organization (a business, a school, a hospital) that was mainly white, while the minority would prefer an organization that was mainly Negro. We probed these responses further to discover the reasons why the students held one preference or the other. Table 6.4 gives some of the reasons why Negro college graduates would like to belong to Negro organizations.

TABLE 6.4

DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS WHY SOME NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES PREFER TO BELONG TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE MAINLY NEGRO, BY SEX

Reason	Men	Women
	Per Cent	
I don't want to be a showpiece	66	62
Better opportunity to make close friends	50	52
I would be treated more fairly	40	40
I could rise further faster	40	32
I feel less tension being among Negroes	34	33
Better if Negroes have their own organizations	33	30
The competition wouldn't be so tough	32	27

⁵ See the work of Jenkins (1958), who says it is "indefensible" for any private Negro college not to effect actual desegregation.

Contrary to the charge that Negroes are "pushing themselves in where they are not wanted," the majority of these college graduates exhibit a natural reluctance to be a "showpiece" in the midst of a white organization. About one-half of them think that an advantage of a Negro organization is the opportunity to make close friends. All the other suggestions are answered in the minority and with relatively little difference in opinions between the sexes. Only three-tenths (31 per cent) agree that it would be better generally for Negroes to have their own successful organizations. This opinion is corroborated in Table 6.5, which shows that seven-tenths hold that a segregated organization is a second class one. In general, then, only a minority of these Negro college graduates see much personal value in working for, attending, or belonging to separate Negro groups.

TABLE 6.5
 DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS WHY SOME NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES
 PREFER TO BELONG TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT
 ARE MAINLY WHITE, BY SEX

Reason	Men	Women
	Per Cent	
Important that Negroes succeed on same basis as whites	92	93
I would be in contact with a larger world	83	77
A segregated organization is a second class one . . .	76	67
I would learn more about how to succeed	56	45
I could go much farther in a white organization . . .	38	27
There is less backbiting among whites	19	14
I enjoy the company of whites more	9	5

While the majority see certain advantages in belonging to an organization that is mainly white--and thus imply that they oppose racial segregation--there seems to be also a kind of racial loyalty in these responses. Only one-third were ready to admit that they would feel less tension being among Negroes than being among whites, and even fewer (16 per cent)--but more males than females--were willing to say that there is less backbiting among whites than among Negroes. Only 7 per cent, but again more men than

women, went so far as to say that they enjoy the company of whites more than that of Negroes.

We could hardly expect the Negro college graduates to say that the mere presence of whites in a group would be a pleasure or an advantage for them. Integrated organizations obviously present certain benefits to the Negro who belongs to a society in which the better things of life are mainly in the possession of the white community. The educated Negro is currently almost obliged to favor the entrance of Negroes into what are still mainly white organizations.⁶ This does not mean that he is expected to like whites because they are white or to like whites better than Negroes.⁷ The most important reasons for entering this white world are, first, to get the chance to compete successfully on an equal basis with whites and, second, to be in greater contact with the larger world beyond the Negro community.

When we refine these categories of Negro college graduates in order to compare those from the best family educational background with those from the poorest background, we find a confirmation of the hypothesis that, the higher the social status of the Negro respondent, the more likely he is to recognize the advantages of belonging to organizations in the American society that are mainly white. The children of the best educated parents are much more likely than those of the least educated parents to have attended private Negro colleges in the South. This is true of both male and female students. We have seen that more men than women prefer to belong to groups that are mainly white.

⁶The question was put differently in the Newsweek poll (Brink and Harris, 1964, pp. 168, 236): "Would you rather work for a company run by a white man or by a Negro, or doesn't it make any difference to you?" More than three-fourths responded that it makes no difference, but the majority are in favor of working with whites in existing political parties, and of having their children go to school with white children.

⁷When faced with the two alternatives, according to Brink and Harris (1964, p. 162), the Negroes are much more desirous of "just being treated as human beings," than they are of "a lot of mixing of races." But it seems significant that more of the leaders (25 per cent) than of the other Negro respondents (10 per cent) favor the latter alternative.

When we look at these two factors--the amount of parental education and the type of college attended--together, as we do in Tables 6.6 - 6.8, we obviously find a difference in preference between the sexes. The educational background of one's parents, however, appears to be a more important factor in this attitude than is the type of college attended. The private college students report a preference for belonging to organizations that are mainly white in higher proportions than do the public college students, but the percentage difference is even larger between the children of the best educated parents and those of the least educated parents.⁸ Let us examine these two factors from the standpoint of reasons for wanting to attend nonsegregated universities outside the South.

The most important implication in the response to the question about college preference is that it reflects the comparative appraisal the student is making of his own college. In other words, when we ask the respondents what advantages or disadvantages they would envision had they attended a large nonsouthern state university, we are asking them what the differences would have been between that type of school and the kind of experience they themselves had at a segregated southern college. On every item concerning putative advantages, the students from private Negro colleges reflect a greater appreciation of their own campus than do the students from public Negro colleges.⁹

⁸This finding supports Pettigrew's (1964b, p. 32) generalization that "those benefits from desegregation which are most attractive to middle-class Negroes generally involve an increase in social status and general acceptance in the wider culture; whereas direct economic benefits are the most attractive to poorer Negroes." See this distinction also in the work of Wilson (1960b).

⁹We must remember, as the president of Fisk University says, that the private colleges have long carried the major burden of the higher education of Negroes, but in recent years they "face aggressive competition from the rapidly developing state-supported institutions" (Wright, 1958). A century ago, with few exceptions, this was also the case with the prestigious "white" private colleges and universities of America.

TABLE 6.6

TYPE OF COLLEGE NEGRO GRADUATES ATTENDED, BY
SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Type of College Attended	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Public	35	36	57	53	50	46
Private	65	64	43	47	50	54
N	143	269	294	444	771	1,392

NA on education of parents: public college--men 32, women 38;
private college--men 83, women 77.

TABLE 6.7

TYPE OF RACIAL ORGANIZATION NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES
PREFERRED, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Type of Racial Organization Preferred	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Mainly white	73	65	64	56	69	54
Mainly Negro	27	35	36	44	31	46
N	128	244	271	407	717	1,278
NA	15	25	23	37	54	114

TABLE 6.8

TYPE OF RACIAL ORGANIZATION NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES PREFERRED,
BY REGION, TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Type of Racial Organization Preferred	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Mainly white	65	53	71	58	60
Mainly Negro	35	47	29	42	40
N	588	972	590	1,101	3,251
NA	51	83	49	109	292

To put this in a negative way, there is consistently greater implicit dissatisfaction with their own campus by public college students than by private college students (Table 6.9). This seems especially significant in the matter of future employment opportunities, in which 60 per cent of the public college students (compared with 47 per cent of the private college students) say "better jobs would be open to me later on" as a result of attending a large state university outside the South. We must assume that, because of family connections, the Negro students at private colleges already have a better prospect for employment than do the public college students. They are also more satisfied (or less dissatisfied) with the education they received at their private college, as indicated by the comparative responses on questions about "better" or "worse" education and especially about the quality of their preparation for graduate study.

TABLE 6.9

PROBABLE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ATTENDING LARGE STATE UNIVERSITY OUTSIDE SOUTH AS SEEN BY NEGRO GRADUATES, BY REGION, TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, AND SEX

Probable Advantage or Disadvantage	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
<u>Probable advantages:</u>					
Better jobs would have been open to me	60	60	45	49	53
Would have had better preparation for graduate study	59	58	50	53	55
Could have better realized potentialities	56	49	50	42	48
Would have been much happier there.	51	40	42	36	41
Would have received better education	50	48	39	42	45
People of higher status there	39	40	29	26	33
Would have gained more social polish	37	38	30	28	33
People would have respected me more	29	23	21	15	21
<u>Probable disadvantages:</u>					
Would not have been on inside of things	22	25	33	33	29
Would have been lonely	10	14	16	23	17
Would have failed to graduate	4	4	3	5	4
Would have received worse education	4	3	9	7	6
N	543	884	516	986	2,929
NA	96	171	123	224	614

Aside from opportunities for employment and graduate study as a result of attending large state universities outside the South, the comparative responses about social relations on campus show that the private college students are more satisfied than the public college students. Only a minority of either category indicates dissatisfaction in this regard, but smaller proportions of private college students than of public college students are ready to admit that they would have gained more social polish or that they would have associated with people of higher status or that people would respect them more if they had attended a nonsouthern state university.¹⁰ Their appreciation of social relations on their own campus is also indicated by the high proportions of private college students who admit that they would have been lonely and say that they would have had less opportunity to be on the inside of things at one of these large state universities.

The social status of the Negro students from better educated families is indicated by comparing their responses to the items about social polish and people of higher status (Table 6.10). They are less willing (22 per cent) than the children of poorly educated parents (36 per cent) to say they would have gained more social polish, and they are also less willing (22 per cent) than the others (38 per cent) to say that they would have associated with people of higher status if they had gone to a large nonsouthern state university. There may be overtones of racial pride and loyalty in these responses, which show the students of higher status to have more positive attitudes toward their own campus. There may also be a reflection of the actual social position that the students who come from better educated families enjoyed on the college.

¹⁰ The greatest advantage they saw in attending an Ivy League college was the association with people of higher status, which was mentioned more often by men (74 per cent) than by women (65 per cent), slightly more often by public college students (71 per cent) than by private college students (67 per cent), and more often by children of the least educated parents (73 per cent) than by those of the best educated parents (69 per cent).

TABLE 6.10

PROBABLE ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ATTENDING LARGE STATE UNIVERSITY OUTSIDE SOUTH, AS SEEN BY NEGRO GRADUATES, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Probable Advantage or Disadvantage	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
<u>Probable advantages:</u>						
Would have had better preparation for graduate study	56	57	57	60	53	55
Could have better realized potentialities	54	43	55	50	53	45
Would have received better education	47	47	45	44	44	45
Better jobs would have been open to me	45	48	57	55	52	56
Would have been much happier there	41	35	48	42	48	37
People would have respected me more	23	15	29	20	24	19
Would have gained more social polish	22	22	40	34	33	35
People of higher status there	21	22	40	36	34	33
<u>Probable disadvantages:</u>						
Would not have been on inside of things	31	37	27	22	28	31
Would have been lonely	19	24	11	12	13	19
Would have received worse education	11	4	5	2	6	5
Would have failed to graduate	3	5	5	4	4	4
N	120	221	236	361	652	1,164
NA	23	48	58	83	119	228

campus--a position on the inside of things, a position they probably feel they could not have attained at the larger state campus.¹¹

Two other items may be mentioned in comparing students from the best educated and from the least educated families. In approximately the same proportions, both categories feel that they would have had better preparation for graduate school, and also that they would have received a better education, if they had attended a large nonsouthern state university. But they responded differently when asked about job opportunities. The children of the least educated parents are more likely (56 per cent) than those of the best educated parents (47 per cent) to feel that better jobs would have been open to them as a consequence of attending a state university outside the South. This difference in response probably also reflects difference in family social status.

Let us turn now to some of the available data allowing comparisons between segregated and integrated colleges, as well as between the public and private southern colleges attended by Negroes. A question of some importance, and also of much discussion, is the manner in which Negro students compete academically in the nonsegregated nonsouthern colleges.¹² Table 6.11 confirms the generalization that women get better academic grades than men, but it also shows that the distribution of grades is practically identical in both public and private southern Negro colleges. But a comparison of the lowest grade point averages shows that the men in nonsouthern colleges do worse, and the women in these colleges do better, than their counterparts in the southern colleges.

¹¹This does not negate the thesis that middle class Negroes tend to identify with similarly situated whites, as Pettigrew (1964b, p. 33), contends. It probably means that these Negroes of higher status do not think that the whites at large state universities are "similarly situated."

¹²It may be well to recall at this point that, according to Plaut (1960), among the seniors tested in the eighty leading Negro high schools of the South, "about half failed even to approach qualification for admission to northern colleges."

TABLE 6.11

SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES,
BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Grade	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
A, A-	2	2	2	3	3	0
B, B+, B-	43	51	45	51	34	66
C, C+, C-	55	47	53	46	63	34
N	620	1,022	615	1,182	84	89
NA	19	33	24	28	2	1

Note.--The "nonsouthern Negro" is defined as a Negro graduate of an American college outside the southern region. For detailed explanation, see the concluding paragraphs of Appendix I, "The Sample: Design and Execution."

This sex discrepancy in academic achievement may result from some factors of which we are not aware. There is a smaller proportion of female (38 per cent) than of male Negroes (32 per cent) at nonsouthern colleges who did not take the reputedly "harder" courses, such as physics or chemistry (Table 6.12), but the sex disproportion in this regard is even greater in the southern Negro colleges.¹³ While there are more female than male Negroes who had been on the Dean's List in nonsouthern colleges, a higher proportion of southern Negro students of both sexes had achieved this mark of academic status (Table 6.13). Oddly enough, the nonsouthern Negro students were twice as likely as the southern Negroes to have omitted mathematics from their college curriculum.

¹³The predominance of women in the southern Negro colleges and the type of occupation for which they prepare undoubtedly have an influence on the kind of curriculum available to both sexes. See McGrath (1965, p. 85).

TABLE 6.12

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO DID NOT TAKE SELECTED COLLEGE COURSES, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Course	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Physics or chemistry . . .	30	43	28	45	32	38
Mathematics	4	7	5	8	15	15
Biological sciences	12	6	7	3	17	9
Social sciences	3	2	1	1	1	0

TABLE 6.13

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO WON SELECTED AWARDS AND HONORS, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Award or Honor	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Was on the Dean's List . .	50	45	52	52	29	34
Was in academic honor society	11	14	11	13	7	15
Graduated with honors . . .	11	12	13	17	5	0
Won National Merit Scholarship	^a	1	1	1	1	0
Won other scholarship award	19	18	28	25	15	24
Was in college honors program	26	25	25	25	8	1
Entered college after three years of high school	1	1	3	2	1	8
Won scholarship or research prize	4	2	7	3	6	2
Won literary or artistic prize	10	7	8	6	2	1
Had article published . . .	1	1	1	-	2	0
Took graduate level courses	16	11	16	10	24	23
Won other award or honor .	27	19	30	21	12	15
Had no special honor or award	25	33	26	27	44	38
N	599	989	592	1,128	84	87
NA	40	66	47	82	2	3

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

Several other contrasts appear in the reports of these students on the awards and honors they received in college (Table 6.13). One of the largest differences here is in the fact that one-fourth of the southern Negro students, compared with only one-twentieth of the non-southern Negro students, participated in the honors program at their college, and very few of the nonsoutherners graduated with honors. In the southern colleges, men are more likely than women to have taken graduate level courses while they were still undergraduates. This is probably not so much a function of personal talent as a function of the fact that a higher percentage of men eventually go to graduate school. On the other hand, a higher proportion of nonsouthern students of both sexes took graduate courses, which is probably the consequence of the greater availability of such courses at the nonsouthern schools.

In general, then, it appears that the integrated nonsouthern colleges offer more academic competition for honors to Negro students than do the segregated southern colleges, both public and private. A larger proportion of the nonsouthern Negroes report that they did not receive any special honors or awards while in college. Somewhat larger percentages of them also report that they did not participate actively in the selected types of campus groups listed in Table 6.14. They were less likely to be active in student government and also less likely to be connected with the campus publication, either on its editorial staff or its business staff. We might mention here that these nonsouthern colleges have larger student bodies than the southern Negro colleges and there are proportionately fewer positions available in the student groups. Male students are obviously more active in intercollegiate athletics than female students on all three types of campus, but it seems notable that a larger proportion of women at the nonsouthern schools were in sororities, while more of the men at the private southern Negro colleges were in fraternities.

Returning briefly to the comparison between Negro and white college graduates, we may distinguish areas in which they are competitive and areas in which they are not. For example, the white students

show up better in the national academic honor societies, in the National Merit Scholarships (as holders, finalists, or semifinalists), in publishing articles in professional journals, and in being permitted to take graduate level courses while they were still undergraduates. Whether or not these comparisons confirm the lower academic status of the Negro colleges, they do indicate that awards of an intercollegiate nature are disproportionately distributed between the races.

TABLE 6.14

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN CAMPUS GROUPS, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Campus Group	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Campus paper editorial staff	8	14	12	14	6	9
Musical, dramatic group . .	27	26	29	33	35	30
Campus paper business staff.	9	10	14	11	4	2
Group concerned with national or world issues	21	14	23	19	21	15
Intercollegiate athletics . .	30	7	31	6	23	0
Fraternity, sorority	44	41	47	37	26	50
Special interest group	55	63	45	60	56	43
Student government	26	21	31	23	13	12
Civil rights movement	38	27	42	30	28	34
Other groups	11	16	11	14	10	7
None of the above	7	10	7	8	17	13
N	624	1,032	625	1,187	86	89
NA	15	23	14	23	0	1

The other types of honors and awards we have discussed here are not strictly comparable across racial lines, because they indicate only how the representatives of each race achieved separately within their own separate college worlds. This is the same problem that arises comparing academic grade point averages, which may ultimately be compiled from different sets of standards. At any rate, a larger proportion of whites (34 per cent) than of Negroes (28 per cent) admit that they received no special honors at all during their undergraduate days. The larger statistical differences between the races are found in two related areas: more Negroes (50 per cent) than whites (43 per cent) report that

they were on the Dean's List at one time or another, and more Negroes (25 per cent) than whites (11 per cent) say that they participated in the honors program at their college. It is probably safe to say that the competition in this area is greater, and the number of competing students larger, in the white colleges.¹⁴

It appears from other information in the survey that Negro collegians are somewhat more active in their various campus organizations than are white college students. Except for the campus civil rights movement, in which one-third of the Negro students and only one-twentieth of the whites participate, the statistical differences are not large. Yet they do consistently show that the Negroes take a more active part than do the whites in the campus groups open to them. For example, the whites are almost twice as likely (15 per cent) as the Negroes (8 per cent) to say that they are not active participants in any of the student groups or organizations on the list. There is a difference between the sexes in this regard as well as in the academic courses they take.

The types of courses that college students take or omit are usually regulated by the particular academic curriculum they are pursuing.¹⁵ Yet we might suppose that the American college requires some basic knowledge in all the several academic fields about which we questioned our respondents. Everybody takes some course in English and almost everybody in one or another of the social sciences. We found in previous NORC surveys that about one-third of the American college graduates of both sexes did not take courses in physics or chemistry and that even more than one-third of the female graduates did not do so. In the present study, we found further

¹⁴In some instances, however, we might qualify this generalization. Among those who have experienced college desegregation, in the words of Reddick (1962): "Some Negroes have discovered that the whites encountered do not seem to be uniformly bright, often their society is dull, their lives empty. And the institutions that they have been operating are frequently much less than ideal. One Negro coed put it this way: 'It looks like we've been integrated into nothing.'"

¹⁵See especially the discussion by McGrath (1965, Chap. 5, pp. 65-90).

that a larger proportion of whites than of Negroes did not take biology (26 per cent and 6 per cent) or mathematics (21 per cent and 6 per cent).

When we asked, for each of these several college courses, whether they found it very interesting in content, quite similar proportions of the two racial categories of respondents said that they did. The only significant exception is social science, which more whites (67 per cent) than Negroes (55 per cent) consider a very interesting field of study. The racial difference in the negative response to this field is not so great, but we should take note that there are more Negroes (17 per cent) than whites (13 per cent) who found the content of the social science courses very dull. Only a minority of both racial groups, however, thinks any of these study fields are dull.

The two fields of most interest to all categories of students are social science and biology, but Tables 6.15-6.19, reporting the Negro responses, show significant differences across sex lines. In every one of these five fields except English, a larger proportion of the men than of the women report that the subjects are interesting. The Negroes in the nonsouthern colleges are an exception to this statement that more women than men find social science and biology interesting.

TABLE 6.15

REACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO TOOK COURSE IN PHYSICS OR CHEMISTRY, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Reaction to Course in Physics or Chemistry	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very interesting field	64	38	60	41	58	41
Very dull field	10	22	12	22	19	26
Have a flair for it	22	9	24	10	23	4
Rough going academically . . .	46	47	42	52	47	63
Teachers in the field encouraged me	16	9	17	8	7	0
Admire teachers in the field as persons	38	29	39	32	47	15
Don't like teachers in the field	19	22	17	23	16	19
Friends majoring in it	63	45	70	55	79	41
N	429	575	436	629	57	54
NA	30	55	31	59	2	3
No course in this field	180	425	172	522	27	33

TABLE 6.16

REACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO TOOK COURSES IN MATHEMATICS, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Reaction to Course in Mathematics	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very interesting field . . .	50	39	50	38	50	39
Very dull field	14	15	12	17	18	24
Have a flare for it	22	16	24	17	21	15
Rough going academically . .	37	35	34	37	49	41
Teachers in the field en- couraged me	16	10	18	10	13	7
Admire teachers in the field as persons	33	24	31	22	37	12
Don't like teachers in the field	13	14	10	13	24	7
Friends majoring in it	50	37	55	36	53	32
N	594	954	575	1,077	72	75
NA	20	33	33	36	1	2
No course in this field	25	68	31	97	13	13

TABLE 6.17

REACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO TOOK COURSES IN BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Reaction to Course in Biological Sciences	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very interesting field . . .	62	56	64	54	67	75
Very dull field	8	8	8	10	13	8
Have a flair for it	23	17	28	18	23	13
Rough going academically . .	14	11	10	12	12	6
Teachers in the field en- couraged me	23	12	21	12	12	5
Admire teachers in the field as persons	33	30	37	27	52	33
Don't like teachers in the field	9	7	5	8	11	4
Friends majoring in it	54	34	53	40	45	40
N	535	934	563	1,106	69	80
NA	31	63	34	66	3	2
No course in this field	73	58	42	38	14	8

TABLE 6.18

REACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO TOOK COURSES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Reaction to Course in Social Sciences	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very interesting field	60	51	61	54	68	76
Very dull field	16	17	15	17	13	6
Have a flair for it	28	22	31	24	24	39
Rough going academically . . .	5	6	3	6	8	0
Teachers in the field encouraged me	24	16	24	18	25	25
Admire teachers in the field as persons	38	30	39	37	51	54
Don't like teachers in the field	12	9	9	8	6	2
Friends majoring in it	46	37	48	42	50	41
N	599	996	608	1,148	84	87
NA	22	44	25	48	1	3
No course in this field	18	15	6	14	1	0

TABLE 6.19

REACTIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO TOOK COURSES IN ENGLISH, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Reaction to Course in English	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very interesting field	40	55	41	52	32	60
Very dull field	17	9	17	11	33	4
Have a flair for it	18	28	20	27	10	31
Rough going academically . . .	19	12	19	10	27	7
Teachers in the field encouraged me	11	22	9	21	12	15
Admire teachers in the field as persons	37	43	34	36	46	55
Don't like teachers in the field	17	9	17	10	8	12
Friends majoring in it	35	45	38	43	45	40
N	618	1,015	618	1,170	84	86
NA	18	32	20	34	1	2
No course in this field	3	8	1	6	1	2

The interest any student finds in an academic subject probably correlates with his competence in that field. A slightly higher proportion of whites than of Negroes say they have a flair for these various subjects, and again the largest difference between whites (35 per cent) and Negroes (25 per cent) is in social science. The difficulty of the subject matter ("Rough going academically") is also related to one's interest and flair for the subject, with social science probably the easiest, and physics and chemistry the hardest, subjects.

The reactions of the southern Negro students to these various courses are apparently not affected by the type of college they attended--public or private. But the reactions do differ considerably according to the respondent's sex. Again with the exception of English, more men than women say they have a flair for biology, social science, mathematics, physics, and chemistry. More men than women had rough going academically in the English courses, and more women than men in the physics and chemistry classes. Whatever the cultural determinants across sex lines are, there can be little doubt that differences in prospective career employment influence academic preferences and competences at the undergraduate level.

One of the major preoccupations of our survey is to investigate the extent to which college students will become trained professionals in various occupational fields. Aside from their own interests and abilities, one of the key factors in their professional development is probably the college teacher. There appears to be little difference between the white and the Negro college campus in the amount of encouragement teachers gave to students. Teachers in the social sciences gave the most encouragement, and those in mathematics, physics, and chemistry gave the least. Several factors are simultaneously at work here: the attitudes of professors probably reflect both the relative competence of their students and the relative difficulty of the subject matter.¹⁶

¹⁶Wright and Huyck (1965) provide comparative data about Negro and white college teachers. See also D. C. Thompson (1955, 1961).

The encouragement a college professor in any academic field gives a student is probably also related to the likes and dislikes the student expresses about him. The lowest percentage of both races (26 per cent) said they admired the teachers of mathematics as persons, not just as professors. The teachers of social science seem to be much admired, more by the white students (47 per cent) than by the Negroes (35 per cent). Otherwise there is little statistical difference between the races in their response to this item. Only a small minority of students in both racial categories take a negative view of their professors, but the largest minority--about one-fifth of both races--say that the teachers in physics and chemistry are not the kind of persons they would like to be.

Regardless of the type of college they attended, more female Negroes than male Negroes report that their professors encouraged them to go farther in the field of English. More men in the southern colleges than those in the nonsouthern schools were encouraged to go on in the fields of physics and chemistry. As we might expect, more female than male students admire the professors of English. English is also the only field in which more women than men say that one or more of their close friends are majoring.

We were able to assemble Tables 6.20 and 6.21 from the data to present a few samples of attitudes toward a series of changes we suggested for the undergraduate Negro colleges. Obviously, loyal graduates want improvements on their campus, but the several types of changes we proposed evoked different responses. Hardly anyone is indifferent to academic improvements, but a substantial minority do not care about athletics and social life. A majority are understandably indifferent to "better" social acceptance since there are few non-Negroes on the campus. Women in general are more likely (31 per cent) than men (23 per cent) to be indifferent to a better athletic program; and the women from private colleges are more likely (34 per cent) than their male classmates (27 per cent) to say they would like their school a lot better if there were more social life on the campus. Tables 6.20 and 6.21 are controlled and matched for sex.

TABLE 6.20

ATTITUDES OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES TOWARD SUGGESTED ACADEMIC IMPROVEMENTS IN THEIR OWN COLLEGE, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Attitude If Suggested Improvement Were Made	Better Library and Laboratory		Wider Variety of Courses		Better Prepared Faculty	
	Southern Public	Southern Private	Southern Public	Southern Private	Southern Public	Southern Private
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Would like school a lot more	81	85	73	76	69	68
Would like school a little more	12	11	19	18	22	24
Would like school less	1	1	1	1	1	2
Makes no difference.	6	3	7	5	8	6
N	1,240	1,242	1,222	1,236	1,212	1,232

TABLE 6.21

ATTITUDES OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES TOWARD SUGGESTED NONACADEMIC IMPROVEMENTS IN THEIR OWN COLLEGE, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED, WITH CONTROL FOR SEX

Attitude If Suggested Improvement Were Made	Better Athletic Program		More Social Life on Campus		Better Social Acceptance of Negroes	
	Southern Public	Southern Private	Southern Public	Southern Private	Southern Public	Southern Private
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Would like school a lot more	36	50	30	30	34	28
Would like school a little more	29	25	33	32	12	11
Would like school less	4	2	15	16	2	2
Makes no difference.	31	23	22	22	52	59
N	1,224	1,236	1,216	1,234	1,054	1,082

Only by inference can we say that the changes the students would like most are also the greatest needs of the southern Negro colleges. The financial condition of these schools, especially of the smaller private colleges, makes it quite safe to suppose that their most pressing need is the improvement of library and laboratory facilities, the preference which the largest majority of students (83 per cent) indicate. The largest percentage spread on any of these questions is in the matter of athletic programs, in which more students at the private colleges than at the public colleges express a desire for improvement. It is probably true that the tax supported colleges have a more elaborate athletic program than do the private Negro colleges.

Recapitulating these findings, then, we see that the Negro college graduates, despite loyalty to their own institution, recognize certain disadvantages in segregated colleges. They feel that they would have had certain benefits if they had been able to attend an Ivy League college or a large nonsouthern state university but they do not think much of southern state universities, which are attended mainly by whites. From an educational point of view, Negro women seem to hold the southern white universities in lower esteem than do Negro men, but more men than women seem to be concerned about meeting social discrimination on the southern white campus.

The women also seem to be less enthusiastic about desegregation than are the men. Indeed, Negroes of both sexes are relatively indifferent to desegregation as an end in itself and do not care whether there are more or fewer white students on the same campus with them. They do not want to "push themselves" or to become a "showpiece" for the desegregation process, but the majority of them would prefer to work in organizations that are mainly white, not because of defects in Negroes or virtues in whites, but because in this kind of society the whites are in charge of the most advantageous organizations.

Negro graduates of higher socio-economic status, as do those whose parents had a college education or those who attended private

colleges, seem to have the clearest appreciation of the advantages of belonging to groups and organizations that are mainly white. In comparing their own education with the advantages they would have had in attending a large nonsouthern state university, the students from public Negro colleges seem to be more dissatisfied with their own campus than are the students from private Negro colleges. The students from lower class families are more likely than the others to feel that both occupational and social potential would accrue from their attending a nonsouthern state university.

CHAPTER VII

PLANS FOR EMPLOYMENT

The need to get a job and the uncertainties that surround the employment opportunities of Negroes seem to make Negro college graduates more conscious than whites of the whole problem of career planning.¹ As we have seen, the Negro college students tended to choose their life careers at a slightly earlier age than the white students, and more of them (65 per cent) than of the whites (53 per cent) claim that making the choice was very or fairly easy. But when we analyze these responses from the point of view of sex, as we do in Table 7.1, we find that the women of both races make choices earlier and with greater certainty than do the men.

TABLE 7.1

EXTENT OF DIFFICULTY IN CHOOSING A LIFE CAREER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Extent of Difficulty	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very easy	18	28	13	23	12	25
Fairly easy	37	42	33	36	33	39
Somewhat difficult	34	24	34	30	34	24
Very difficult	8	4	15	7	15	8
Still have not decided	3	2	5	4	6	4
N	1,242	2,183	3,159	1,946	12,832	10,491
NA	36	82	44	133	120	477

¹The problems of employment of Negroes, because of the large part played by race, are discussed in Chapter 8, but many of the references there may be applied to this chapter.

The differences in sex and race in this regard probably result from the fact that career alternatives have been traditionally more limited for Negroes than for whites and for women than for men. If there are fewer opportunities open to people, there is less cause for them to explore other possibilities. For example, teaching is open to Negroes and social work is open to women, while business offers little opportunity to Negroes and engineering holds few opportunities for women. Differences in career choice fall into line with these generalizations.

More Negroes of both sexes than whites of both sexes had first considered their chosen career during or before their freshman year of college, and more had also made the definite choice by then.² As Table 7.2 shows, the women of both races are more likely than the men to have done this. We asked them also how strongly they felt committed to their chosen career at the time of college commencement. Table 7.3 shows that the Negro graduates are also strongly committed in larger proportions than the whites to the life career they have chosen. This tends to confirm our hypothesis that job decisions are made earlier and more firmly when there are fewer jobs from which to choose. But the significant difference in sex does not show up in the matter of career commitment: the women of both races are only somewhat more likely than the men to be strongly committed to their career choice.

We also asked the respondents what career preference they had had when they first started college and what career field they intended to enter after commencement.³ Since occupational choices differ considerably by sex, Table 7.4 deals only with the men's answers and Table 7.5 only with the women's answers.

²Some researchers have found much inconsistency in the career choices of students. See, for example, Goldsen, Rosenberg, Williams, Jr., and Suchman (1960, pp. 40-42) and Beardslee and O'Dowd (1962).

³The 1961 college graduates' shifts of fields between their freshman and senior years are analyzed in detail by J. A. Davis (1965, Chap. 2).

TABLE 7.2

PER CENT WHO HAD CONSIDERED A CERTAIN LIFE CAREER BY FRESHMAN YEAR
AND PER CENT WHO HAD DECIDED ON THIS CAREER BY
FRESHMAN YEAR, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Action on Career Choice	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Had considered this career by freshman year of college	75	85	65	74	65	78
Had decided on this career by freshman year of college	45	58	27	40	29	44

TABLE 7.3

STRENGTH OF COMMITMENT TO CHOSEN CAREER IN SENIOR YEAR,
BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Strength of Commitment	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Strongly committed	70	73	60	61	58	62
Moderately committed	28	25	34	33	35	33
Not too committed	2	2	6	6	7	5
N	1,239	2,168	3,156	1,933	12,799	10,485
NA	39	97	47	146	153	483

TABLE 7.4

CAREER CHOICE OF MALE GRADUATES AS FRESHMEN
AND AS SENIORS, BY REGION AND RACE

Career Choice	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Social work	2	5	- ^a	1	-	1
Physical sciences	10	9	13	9	12	8
Engineering	11	8	30	16	25	13
Medicine	10	6	10	6	8	5
Other health fields	4	6	4	3	4	3
Biological sciences	8	5	2	3	3	2
Business fields	7	12	15	28	17	28
Elementary and secondary education	3	4	1	1	1	2
Other education fields	25	27	7	8	11	13
Social sciences	7	7	3	6	4	7
Humanities	9	7	9	11	8	9
Law	4	4	6	8	7	9
N	1,122	1,148	2,819	2,837	11,577	11,973
NA	156	130	384	366	1,375	979

^aIndicates that number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 7.5

CAREER CHOICE OF FEMALE GRADUATES AS FRESHMEN
AND AS SENIORS, BY REGION AND RACE

Career Choice	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Social work	5	10	3	5	3	4
Physical sciences	4	3	6	4	5	2
Medicine	3	1	3	1	2	1
Other health fields	9	7	9	6	11	9
Biological sciences	6	4	3	2	4	2
Business fields	7	6	5	6	4	5
Elementary and secondary education	17	23	21	25	25	28
Other education fields	32	32	26	31	26	31
Social sciences	7	6	6	5	5	6
Humanities	9	8	17	14	14	11
Law	1	- ^a	1	1	1	1
N	1,993	2,051	1,855	1,873	10,025	10,127
NA	272	214	224	206	943	841

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

We are thus able to see clearly the distribution of choice by career fields, as well as the gains or losses in the various careers between freshman and senior years in college. The largest single group of male Negroes is that selecting educational fields above the primary and secondary levels. This choice includes specialization in physical education, music, art, agriculture, business, trade, industrial arts, and administration. The largest single group of male whites, both southern and nonsouthern, is that entering business fields. This includes sales, marketing, advertising, purchasing, accounting, financing, and management, but with very few men in clerical and secretarial jobs.

Table 7.4 shows that the proportionate switches of the male Negroes from one field to another between their freshman and senior years are not as significant as those of the white students. The biggest changes of the white students were into business fields and out of engineering. Whites also transferred out of the physical sciences (which include chemistry, physics, and mathematics) but not to as great an extent as Negroes. The field of medicine loses male students of both races between the freshman and senior years. In general, we find again that the southern and nonsouthern whites are quite similar in their responses and that both of them differ from the male southern Negro students.

Teaching is the most attractive occupation to the largest number of women, and the proportions who choose this career are remarkably similar between the races as well as between the southern and nonsouthern respondents.⁴ Although gains were made in teaching and other professions between the freshman and senior years, we must note that the switches from one career to another were not as numerous or sharp among the women as they were among the male students. The only race differences that seem worthy of note in Table 7.5 show that the female Negroes tend to enter

⁴McGrath (1965, p. 83), shows that one-half (50.9 per cent) of all Bachelor's degrees granted by Negro colleges in 1963 were in education but that this constitutes only 6.3 per cent of all Bachelor's degrees in education granted in the United States during that year.

social work in greater proportions than the female whites, while the reverse is true for the humanities.⁵

When we look in Table 7.6 at the Negro college graduates separately and distribute them according to their anticipated career, we find that women are more likely than men to persist in the same field from the freshman to the senior year. The percentages vary from field to field, but in the total percentage we note that more of the women than of the men report having anticipated the same occupational career as freshmen that they chose as seniors.⁶ There is, however, another factor at work in this question of consistent career choice. Some kinds of employment seem to require earlier decision because of the amount and type of undergraduate preparation needed for them. For example, men who are entering the field of medicine are much more likely than those who are going into social work to have already made up their minds in their freshman year.⁷

We asked the Negro college students whether they had had help from various people in deciding to enter their particular career field. Their college instructor is obviously an important guide for them in this regard, as Table 7.7 indicates, while fewer of them depended on their high school counselor for advice. The women are in general only slightly more likely than the men to seek out such help. It is clear from the overlapping in the table that the same student tends to ask more than one person for assistance and guidance in choosing a career.

Although the Negro college graduates said they had consulted various people for guidance in making their career choice, many more of them

⁵J. A. Davis (1965, p. 76), says of his 1961 graduates who switched careers that the "feminine fields of education and humanities show a feminine trend" as gainers of aspirants.

⁶This confirms the findings of other surveys that about one-half of the college students change their minds about their careers while they are in college. The turnover seems to be approximately the same for Negroes as for whites. This is not quite the same as saying, as does Sharp (1963, p. 29), that "a consistent and realistic career objective is not characteristic of the majority of students."

⁷For a study of aspirants to the medical field, see Merton, Reader, and Kendall (1957) and Kriesberg and Beale (1962). For data on social workers, see Warkov and Gockel (1964).

TABLE 7.6

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES IN EACH CAREER FIELD WHO HAD ANTICIPATED THE SAME FIELD WHEN FRESHMEN, BY SEX

Career Field	Men	Women
Social work	23 (48)	31 (179)
Physical sciences	54 (102)	58 (60)
Engineering	65 (81)	- ^a -
Medicine	86 (65)	- -
Other health fields	37 (65)	67 (156)
Biological sciences	37 (61)	45 (71)
Business fields	42 (126)	57 (105)
Elementary and secondary education	44 (37)	59 (434)
Other education fields	61 (280)	59 (618)
Social sciences	35 (79)	38 (119)
Humanities	43 (75)	53 (160)
Law	48 (45)	- -
All above fields	51 (1,064)	55 (1,902)

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 7.7

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO SOUGHT HELP FROM VARIOUS SOURCES IN CHOOSING LIFE CAREER, BY SEX

Source of Help	Men	Women
College instructor	50 (1,008)	49 (1,664)
Prominent adult friend	44 (978)	50 (1,634)
High school teacher	44 (985)	49 (1,656)
Aptitude tests	41 (957)	41 (1,591)
High school counselor	22 (951)	24 (1,573)

report being influenced by the fact that they have a liking for their prospective type of employment and that they feel they have a talent for it (Table 7.8). More women than men appear to be influenced by their "likes"--that is, the attractiveness of the work influences them more often than the men. But across racial and regional lines there is a remarkable similarity of response in this regard, as well as in the proportions who choose a career because they feel they have talent for it.

TABLE 7.8

SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT CURRENT INFLUENCE ON GRADUATES' CAREER CHOICE, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Most Important Current Influence	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Like this kind of work	45	55	49	54	46	55
Feel I have talent for it	22	20	22	21	27	20
Financial prospects.	11	6	6	3	7	3
People (parents, etc.)	10	8	11	10	8	7
Have had work experience in it . . .	6	7	4	6	5	9
Prestige	3	1	3	- ^a	3	1
Other	3	3	4	6	4	5
N	1,157	1,998	2,965	1,812	12,197	9,966
NA	121	267	238	267	755	1,002

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

In all three categories of respondents, more men than women chose their prospective career because of the amount of money that could be made in it, and this seems to be a stronger motive for male Negroes than for male whites.

About one out of ten respondents to this question said that he was mainly influenced by some person or persons in choosing a career. We had listed eight different categories of persons who might be persuasive in this regard: parents, high school teachers and counselors, college teachers and counselors, other family members, personal friends, and persons prominent in the field. Among these, the college teachers were the most influential--about four times more so than the parents and about three times more so than the college vocational counselors.⁸

This does not mean that parents are completely without influence in the life decisions of their children. Occasionally throughout the survey a minority of the students said they did pay attention to the wishes of their parents, but such influence is not weighty compared with the other influences and forces operating in their lives. We find that a minority decided to follow in the career footsteps of their parents. The proportions doing so are small in both races and both sexes, but the whites are more likely than the Negroes to do this. Since the whites are twice as likely as the Negroes to have college educated parents, they are obviously more likely to have parents who were in occupations requiring college training. The differences in Table 7.9 indicate more the inter-generational distance between Negro students and their parents than the influence of parents on their children's choice of a career.⁹

While a higher proportion of whites (44 per cent) than of Negroes (30 per cent), and a higher proportion of Negro men (41 per cent) than of Negro women (24 per cent), realistically expected to go on for post-graduate study and training immediately after commencement, the ultimate expectation in American society is that the college graduates of both

⁸The question of influence on career choice was put in a different way for the 1961 college graduates, three-fifths of whom said that their parents were very or fairly important influences on them, while almost the same proportion (57 per cent) said this of college faculty members (J. A. Davis, 1964, p. 10).

⁹But note, passim, in our study the differences between the children of the best educated Negro parents and those of the least educated.

racers (aside from the homemaker role) will use their talents in gainful employment. Job agreements are often made in the second semester of the senior year, when "talent scouts" from many businesses and corporations visit college campuses in search of prospective employees. Data from this and previous NORC surveys indicate that they look more often for white than for Negro college seniors and more often for men than for women. In spite of the sex and race differences concerning postgraduate study plans, more whites than Negroes and more men than women had a definite job waiting for them after commencement.

TABLE 7.9

PER CENT WHO ARE FOLLOWING THE SAME CAREER AS THEIR FATHER, MOTHER OR BOTH PARENTS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Career Pursued Is	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Same as father's . .	3	1	9	1	8	2
Same as mother's . .	1	4	1	7	1	6
Same as both parents	- ^a	1	-	1	-	1
No, not the same . .	96	94	90	91	91	90
N	1,236	2,142	3,140	1,933	12,805	10,488
NA	42	123	63	146	147	480

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

Table 7.10 shows us that southern white college graduates do not appear to suffer any disadvantage in competing with nonsouthern white graduates for employment. Jobs are open to them as readily as they are to other whites, and much more readily than they are to their fellow southerners who are Negroes. It is possible that employers in the business fields, into which more whites than Negroes will enter, are more aggressive in seeking prospective employees than are employers in the

educational fields, into which more Negroes than whites will enter.¹⁰
 Yet the social need for trained teachers, particularly in the South,
 is probably greater than the need for business employees.¹¹

TABLE 7.10

PER CENT HAVING A DEFINITE JOB LINED UP FOR AFTER
 GRADUATION, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Job Status after Graduation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes, have a definite job	45	39	71	53	73	59
No, but intend to be working	54	59	28	42	26	36
No; don't intend working	1	2	1	5	1	5
N	733	1,665	1,698	1,603	5,864	7,037
NA	19	47	20	12	65	60
Not appli- cable	526	553	1,485	464	7,023	3,871

We see a more detailed picture of their immediate postgraduate plans in Table 7.11, but we must recognize that there is a certain amount of overlapping in these responses, hence the percentages in each column total more than one hundred. The person who is working part time may also be taking some graduate study without intending to get a degree; the woman who says she will be "mainly" a housewife may also have a part time job of some kind. We should note, however, that more Negroes than whites

¹⁰ Another explanation, given by Norgren et al. (1959, pp. 24f), for the lower hiring rate of Negro college graduates is that the curriculum of the Negro college is not geared to preparing students for the occupations in which manpower is most needed.

¹¹ See Stewart (1964) and the discussion of needs for specialized teachers in the Manpower Report (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965, pp. 85-87).

and more women than men will be working full time, both in their expected long run career fields and in interim fields from which they intend later to depart.

TABLE 7.11
ACTIVITIES ANTICIPATED FOR THE YEAR FOLLOWING
COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Anticipated Activity	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Full time in career field	35	55	37	53	36	53
Full time in non-career field	29	25	17	24	15	22
Working part time	12	9	8	5	10	8
Graduate school assistant	8	5	8	4	7	4
Graduate school student	26	15	38	17	43	24
Taking nondegree courses	7	6	6	9	8	12
Military service	13	- ^a	18	-	15	1
Housewife, mother	0	17	0	29	0	23
Peace Corps	2	1	1	1	2	2
Other activity	4	4	3	6	5	7
N	1,264	2,234	3,196	2,078	12,935	10,946
NA	14	31	7	1	17	22

^a Indicates number was too low to percentage.

Table 7.11 is one of the few tables in which there is comparative similarity across racial and regional lines, at least in one aspect of expected occupational activities. The same proportion of all male graduates intend to be working full time at the type of job that will be their long run career field. While the proportions are lower, they are also practically the same for women across racial and regional lines.

Even though the assurance of having a definite job immediately after commencement varies, as we saw earlier, by race and sex, there appears to be no racial difference in one's launching of his long term career.

Whether a person is going to start work immediately or whether he is going to do further study after commencement, he is generally able to take a long view of his future occupational role and anticipate what kinds of activities he will be performing, since some activities cut across a number of specific jobs. For example, a man may do some writing even though his main work is administration, or he may have to teach others while he is mainly engaged in research and development. We asked our respondents to check off all the important parts of their long run career work. We then asked them to specify which single activity would be the most important of all, and it is this response which is distributed in Table 7.12.

TABLE 7.12

MOST IMPORTANT ANTICIPATED CAREER ACTIVITY IN FUTURE JOB, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Most Important Activity of Career	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Teaching	39	64	17	65	22	65
Research and development	20	10	17	8	15	7
Administration or management	13	4	26	5	27	5
Service to client or patient	18	16	22	13	23	16
Selling and clerical work	2	2	5	2	3	1
Writing and designing	4	2	6	5	6	4
Production and operation	3	1	6	1	3	1
None of these	1	1	1	1	1	1
N	1,146	1,976	3,017	1,818	12,225	10,005
NA	132	289	186	161	727	963

Two-thirds of the women graduates, regardless of race or region, expect that their main occupational activity will be teaching. The fact that the teaching function also exists outside the classroom is demonstrated when we recall the lower proportions of Negro women (55 per cent) as well as of southern (56 per cent) and nonsouthern white women (59 per cent) who said their life career would be in the field of education. That there are also nonteaching functions in the schools is shown in Table 7.13, by the higher proportions of Negro women (68 per cent) as well as southern (62 per cent) and nonsouthern white women (67 per cent) who said their most likely employer would be an educational institution.

TABLE 7.13

MOST LIKELY TYPE OF EMPLOYER IN OCCUPATIONAL CAREER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Most Likely Employer	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Self or family business	3	1	6	1	5	1
Other business or industry	17	4	38	11	36	9
Own practice or partnership	10	2	14	3	14	2
University or college	11	7	10	8	11	7
Elementary or secondary school	29	61	8	54	14	59
Nongovernment research	4	3	4	3	3	3
Federal government	17	8	13	5	9	4
State or local government	3	5	2	4	3	4
Private health or welfare	3	8	1	6	1	8
Other	3	1	4	5	4	3
N	1,217	2,136	3,138	1,925	12,691	10,418
NA	61	129	65	154	261	550

Table 7.13 shows the distribution of employer expectations by these college graduates. We have seen that male Negroes are only one-half as likely as male whites to expect jobs in administration or management. The table also reveals that they are only one-half as likely to expect employment in business or industry, in which the better management jobs exist and which is considered an area of job discrimination against Negroes.¹² The employer expectations of southern and nonsouthern whites are almost alike, except that more male southern whites expect to work for the government, and more male nonsouthern whites expect to work for elementary and secondary schools. As may be expected, the main employer of women of both races will be the educational system. The main employer of male Negroes will be the educational system, while that of male whites will be business or industry.

The items in Table 7.14 have been called the "occupational values" that people have, that is, the characteristics they would like to find in the job or career they are seeking (cf. Singer and Steffire, 1956). Each of the characteristics was listed separately so that the respondent could check whether he considered it very important, fairly important, not too important, or not at all important.¹³ Hardly anybody felt that these values were not at all important. The only exceptions were that about one-fourth of the whites (24 per cent) and of the Negroes (27 per cent) said that the avoidance of high pressure was not at all important as a job characteristic, and a smaller minority (14 per cent of whites; 25 per cent of Negroes) said this about freedom from supervision.

Several comments may be made about the racial comparison and the rank order of responses concerning the importance of these occupational values. The college graduates of both races appreciate at a high level

¹²The argument is now often made that--in the North at least--it is not racial discrimination so much as deficient educational preparation that keeps Negroes out of jobs. On this point see Harris (1964) and a booklet distributed by General Electric (1964) which contains fifty case reports of their Negro employees.

¹³See the research on occupational choice done by Strong (1943) and Rosenberg's (1957) findings on the Cornell Value Study.

the "human values" of a job--the opportunity to be helpful to others or useful to society and to work with people rather than with things.¹⁴ One of the largest statistical differences, however, is in the item ranked highest, in which more Negroes (86 per cent) than whites (60 per cent) feel that being helpful and useful to others is a very important feature of any occupation. The women of both races are much more likely than the men to emphasize the "human values" of their prospective work.

TABLE 7.14

JOB CHARACTERISTICS CONSIDERED VERY IMPORTANT IN CHOSEN CAREER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Job Characteristic	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Be helpful and useful	79	90	50	74	49	74
Be original and creative . . .	58	58	43	49	48	49
Work with people	56	69	48	68	49	72
Make moderate but steady progress	52	56	24	24	21	25
Work in world of ideas . . .	50	49	40	51	42	51
Have chances for leadership	44	31	41	19	39	24
Make a lot of money	21	15	14	5	12	4
Avoid high pressure	16	19	10	18	11	16
Be free from supervision . .	15	9	13	8	16	10

We also find a very significant difference in the respondents' feelings about opportunities for moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure, which the Negroes rank in fourth

¹⁴J. A. Davis (1964, pp. 172-77) relates three occupational values--working with people, originality, and making money--to the chosen careers of 1961 college graduates and finds that the women's occupations rank high on "people interest."

place (55 per cent) and the whites (23 per cent) rank in sixth place. This seems to indicate that whites are occupationally more willing to take a chance on the future and do not feel so great a need for job security as Negroes do. When we recall the poor economic environment from which these Negro students came and the financial struggles they have had through school, we can appreciate their cautious preference for a safe, steady job.

More Negro women than southern and nonsouthern white women emphasize the opportunity to be original and creative, to exercise leadership, and to make a lot of money. This too probably emerges from differences in psychological and financial attitudes. Women of both races are more willing to avoid high pressure jobs and are less worried than men about jobs that are well supervised. Working in the world of ideas is less attractive to white men than to Negro men and to women of both races.

America's search for trained manpower must be aware of the college graduates' self-appraisal of their talents and abilities--what they themselves think they have or do not have the capacity to do. In estimating their abilities against the demands of the various occupations listed in Table 7.15, the Negroes of both sexes tend to show more self-confidence than the whites, and the whites tend to be a little more modest about their abilities than the Negroes. The difference between the sexes in analyzing their abilities for various kinds of employment shows up very clearly: more women than men admit inability in every occupation except that of musician. The rank order of this listing suggests that almost anybody who graduates from college can be a high school teacher and that the Negroes do not think the college professor's work needs rare competence.

When someone says his personality is suitable for certain occupations and not for others, he presumably means that he prefers job situations and functions that are congenial to him.¹⁵ We have already

¹⁵Holland (1958) writes: "The person making a vocational choice in a sense searches for those environments which are congruent with his personal orientations." See also the application of these personality "syndromes" by McKinlay, Rossi, and J. A. Davis (1962, pp. 57-60).

seen that the largest proportions of our respondents chose their career because they liked the kind of work involved in it, and the second largest proportions chose their career because they felt they had a talent for the work. But when we asked about their suitability for the various occupations in Table 7.16, we found that there was no occupation on the list for which more than one-fourth of the Negroes of either sex thought they had an inadequate personality.

TABLE 7.15

PER CENT WHO SAY THEY DO NOT HAVE THE ABILITY FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Occupation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Musician	59	51	71	66	71	68
Engineer	52	76	48	83	54	86
Physician	46	57	55	70	57	70
Lawyer	34	49	29	58	32	57
Research scientist	32	47	49	65	50	66
Business executive	16	34	14	46	15	44
College professor	5	8	11	15	13	22
High school teacher	3	3	6	5	6	7

Of special significance is the Negro woman's self-appraisal in this regard. There are clear differences in the responses of male and female Negroes, especially for occupations such as business executive, engineer, and research scientist. But except for the career of college professor, there is a much wider percentage difference between the male and female whites' responses than between those of the male and female Negro. The female whites, both southern and nonsouthern, are very similar in their answers to this question, but in every case except that of the teaching profession the white women are about twice as likely as the Negro women to say that they do not have a suitable personality for the specified job.

TABLE 7.16

PER CENT WHO SAY THEY DO NOT HAVE A SUITABLE PERSONALITY FOR
SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Occupation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Musician	21	16	38	29	34	27
Lawyer	19	20	25	39	27	41
Business executive	17	26	23	51	26	49
High school teacher	13	10	22	17	24	18
Research scientist	12	17	36	40	37	42
Physician	10	15	21	30	23	28
Engineer	9	19	22	41	26	43
College professor	6	9	14	14	14	16

What appears in these comparisons is a cultural factor that goes beyond personal preferences and the congeniality of the work situation. If the sex differences in response to the occupations of musician and high school teacher reflect the cultural expectations surrounding jobs largely considered "male" or "female," it seems logical to suggest that the response differences between Negro and white women reflect cultural expectations across racial lines. Southern Negro women have been culturally conditioned for their future work life in a way quite different from both southern and nonsouthern white women, and they must logically interpret their own abilities and personalities differently.¹⁶

We saw earlier that the teaching profession ranked low in graduates' estimations of talent required. Now we see that there also seems

¹⁶In a study of 16,000 southern high school students, the data of which are still being analyzed, Negro girls, more than Negro boys or whites of both sexes, were likely to say they definitely wanted to go to college. This incomplete study is being done at the University of North Carolina by M. Richard Cramer ("Aspirations of Southern Youth: A Look at Racial Comparisons"; unpublished manuscript). See also Lott and Lott (1963).

to be a low estimate of the personality traits required to be a college professor or high school teacher. People who have graduated from college have generally had more contact with the teaching profession than with any other type of occupation. They have seen their teachers in daily work situations, and the work probably does not seem too demanding to them, either in talent or in personal qualities. On the other hand, students of both races and both sexes ranked the college professor's work highest on a list of jobs they considered very interesting (Table 7.17). Women of both races, in much higher proportions than men, list high school teaching high as an interesting profession.

TABLE 7.17

PER CENT WHO SAID THEY WOULD FIND THE WORK OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS VERY INTERESTING, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Occupation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
College professor	75	69	67	72	72	72
Research scientist	61	50	49	47	52	50
Business executive	58	37	65	27	63	30
High school teacher	53	68	36	66	43	70
Lawyer	44	34	57	42	56	47
Engineer	44	17	47	16	42	15
Physician	36	25	40	43	41	47
Musician	28	33	21	36	26	39

White men are more likely than Negro men to find the profession of law, and even more so that of business executive, interesting work. White women are more likely than Negro women to say that the lawyer and the physician have jobs that are very interesting to them. These differences by sex and race seem to reflect the employment experiences and potentials of Negroes compared with whites and of women compared with men. People can hardly be expected to express interest in types of occupations that are not open to them.

There are, of course, other occupational aspects besides personal interest and talent or other qualities of the individual that attract or repel a prospective job candidate. There is the perennial incentive of job income. We have seen that making a lot of money is not as important as some other occupational values in choosing a career, but Table 7.18 shows us that these college graduates know where the money is: in engineering, medicine, law, and business. They also know that teachers and musicians are among the lowest paid professionals. More men than women, but more white men than Negro men, consider the salaries of high school teachers inadequate. The significant difference in the answers of nonsouthern women to this item probably indicates the fact that high school teachers are better paid outside the South.¹⁷

TABLE 7.18

PER CENT WHO SAID THEY COULD NOT MAKE AS MUCH MONEY AS THEY WOULD LIKE IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Occupation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
High school teacher	54	33	72	37	63	23
Musician	21	21	35	22	34	22
College professor	21	13	32	12	28	9
Research scientist	5	2	7	3	10	3
Business executive	4	4	3	2	2	2
Lawyer	4	4	3	1	2	2
Physician	3	2	1	1	2	1
Engineer	3	1	3	1	4	1

¹⁷Sharp (1963, p. 52), computing the median 1960 salary of persons who graduated two years previously, shows that women teaching in secondary school compare favorably with women in other occupations. She shows that male graduates make more money in practically every other career except the clergy.

Finally, we asked the respondent whether he would have to invest more time and money in preparing for each of these selected occupations than he felt he could afford (Table 7.19). The largest percentage of both races and both sexes feel they cannot afford the time and money needed to become a physician, and about one-third say the same about the legal profession. Preparing to be a high school teacher or a business executive seems to present the least difficulty in this regard. In practically all these professions, as may be expected, a higher proportion of female than of male students say they would have to invest too much time and money in preparation.

TABLE 7.19

PER CENT WHO SAID THEY WOULD HAVE TO INVEST TOO MUCH TIME AND MONEY TO MERIT PREPARING FOR SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Occupation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Physician	55	56	51	58	47	53
Lawyer	33	37	30	42	29	38
Engineer	20	23	11	20	11	21
Research scientist	18	25	21	28	17	25
Musician	10	9	12	16	9	11
Business executive	7	9	2	5	2	5
College professor	4	5	12	15	12	17
High school teacher	1	1	2	1	1	1

Training for an occupation is the most practical goal of college education, and this training is something more than a random and indefinite preparation. The major field of concentration in college study is pointed toward the life career the graduate anticipates. We find that the largest area in which students major and the career field they most often choose is teaching, an occupation which the respondents found very interesting, not requiring too much ability or too much time

and money in preparation, but also not providing much income. Many more women than men will be in the lower levels of education, while the largest proportion of both sexes will be in other or in specialized teaching fields.

From the data of this study we were able to collapse the large number of specialized study areas into twelve main occupational or career fields. The result, seen in Table 7.20, shows certain important differences between the sexes. For example, hardly any of the female graduates intend to enter the fields of engineering, medicine, or law, but more women than men will be in teaching and social work.¹⁸ The male Negroes are twice as likely as the female Negroes, and the male whites about five times as likely as the female whites, to anticipate an occupational career in business.

TABLE 7.20
DISTRIBUTION OF CAREER FIELDS THAT COLLEGE GRADUATES
ENTERED, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Career Field	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Social work	5	10	1	5	1	4
Physical sciences	9	3	9	4	8	2
Engineering	8	- ^a	16	-	13	-
Medicine	6	1	6	1	5	1
Other health fields	6	7	3	6	3	9
Biological sciences	5	4	3	2	2	2
Business fields	12	6	28	6	28	5
Elementary and secondary education	4	23	1	25	2	28
Other education fields	27	32	8	31	13	31
Social sciences	7	6	6	5	7	6
Humanities	7	8	11	14	9	11
Law	4	-	8	1	9	1
N	1,148	2,051	2,837	1,873	11,973	10,127
NA	130	214	366	206	979	841

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

¹⁸ See the editorial on women in science and engineering by Wofle (1964), which shows that, although there has been a general increase in professionally employed women, there has been a percentage decrease among women engineers, natural scientists, and social scientists.

In order to learn more about the types of students who enter these various career fields, we here concentrate on, and make comparisons by sex between, only the Negro respondents. We want to determine, for example, which career fields attract the brightest students. The distinction by sex is important here, since we have seen that more women (65 per cent) than men (53 per cent) reported that they were among the top 10 per cent of their high school graduating class, and they also reported higher grade point averages in college than did the men. Table 7.21 uses the first norm, that of high school rank, to indicate which career fields draw the highest proportions of "better" students.

TABLE 7.21
PER CENT OF NEGRO STUDENTS REPORTING THEMSELVES IN TOP 10
PER CENT OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASS,
BY CAREER FIELD AND SEX

Career Field	Men	Women
Social work	33 (52)	59 (199)
Physical sciences	58 (103)	86 (59)
Engineering	46 (87)	- ^a -
Medicine	72 (64)	- -
Other health fields	46 (65)	78 (156)
Biological sciences	64 (60)	80 (74)
Business fields	52 (134)	65 (111)
Elementary and secondary education	38 (41)	53 (456)
Other education fields	51 (298)	67 (646)
Social sciences	49 (83)	68 (127)
Humanities	50 (81)	71 (172)
Law	39 (48)	- -
Other	57 (126)	62 (207)

^a Indicates number was too low to percentage.

Among these Negroes who were top high school graduates, the highest proportions of men were drawn to medicine (72 per cent) and the biological sciences (64 per cent), and the lowest proportions to social work (33 per cent) and to elementary and secondary teaching (38 per cent). We saw previously that the medical field had the highest proportion of men (86 per cent) who said they had already anticipated this career when they were freshmen and that social work had the lowest proportion (23 per cent). Among the Negro women the highest proportions of top high school graduates are drawn to the physical sciences (86 per cent) and to the biological sciences (80 per cent), while the lowest proportions are attracted to elementary and secondary teaching (53 per cent). The largest percentage spread between men and women is found in physical science and in health fields other than medicine, while the smallest is found in biology and the two education fields.

If students used their talents consistently throughout college, and if the academic demands of college courses in the various fields were approximately the same, Table 7.22, which distributes academic grades, would roughly match Table 7.21, which shows where the top-flight high school graduates are.¹⁹ Medicine and the humanities have the male students with the highest averages, followed closely by the physical and social sciences. The fact that men in biology and other health fields have lower grades may indicate that these fields include many men who were dropped from premedical courses. The Negro women with the highest academic grades are, in the humanities, the physical sciences, and the social sciences, in that order. In all these comparisons our survey data do not indicate which were the "easier" courses in college and which required the most work and talent.

Another index of talent, but one whose accuracy is modified by availability, is whether the respondents participated in the National Science Foundation undergraduate research program. Here we found that those

¹⁹ For a statistically sophisticated analysis of the types of students who enter the main career fields, see J. A. Davis (1965, Chap. 3).

in the "natural" science fields had the advantage: medicine (15 per cent), physical sciences (11 per cent), biological sciences (6 per cent), and engineering (3 per cent). There was a scattering of respondents in the other career fields who had participated, but none of them amounted to more than 2 per cent. The data from this survey do not reveal whether the colleges they attended provided similar special undergraduate training programs for those preparing for fields like law, the humanities, and business.²⁰

TABLE 7.22

SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE IN COLLEGE, BY CAREER FIELD AND SEX

Career Field	Men				Women			
	A	B	C	N	A	B	C	N
	Per Cent				Per Cent			
Social work	0	40	60	52	2	38	60	198
Physical sciences . .	4	52	44	104	3	58	39	62
Engineering	1	35	64	88	^a	-	-	
Medicine	2	66	32	65	-	-	-	
Other health fields .	0	30	70	66	4	48	48	155
Biological sciences .	0	29	71	59	0	48	52	71
Business fields . . .	1	36	63	135	1	47	52	113
Elementary and sec- ondary education .	0	37	63	41	1	53	46	456
Other education fields	2	46	52	293	3	52	45	647
Social sciences . . .	1	54	45	82	3	56	41	123
Humanities	4	57	39	81	6	57	37	168
Law	0	38	62	47	-	-	-	
Other	3	42	56	119	2	53	45	211
All above fields	2	44	54	1,232	3	51	46	2,204

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

²⁰In the present study we have not employed the "academic performance index," a composite measure based on school quality and the student's grade point average that was developed by Davis in his study of June, 1961, college graduates (see J. A. Davis, 1964, Appendix 3).

We asked them what they anticipated as their main activity in the life career they had chosen, and we found that the responses fell into expected categories by fields (Table 7.23). For example, professional service to patients or clients will be the main activity for those in medicine, law, social work, and the nonphysician health fields. Research work will be the main activity for those in the physical sciences and the biological sciences. Teaching will naturally be the main work of those in elementary and secondary education and in other education fields, as well as for the majority in the humanities.

TABLE 7.23

MOST IMPORTANT ACTIVITY^a ANTICIPATED BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY CAREER FIELD

Career Field	Teaching	Research	Adminis- tration	Service to Client	N
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	
Social work	21	5	7	65	229
Physical sciences	19	75	1	0	150
Engineering	6	37	4	8	79
Medicine	2	19	2	77	83
Other health fields	12	14	4	62	178
Biological sciences	27	64	0	9	126
Business fields	12	7	50	6	232
Elementary and secondary education	95	3	2	0	467
Other education fields	85	5	4	2	877
Social sciences	45	20	6	26	190
Humanities	63	5	6	6	223
Law	15	2	6	74	54
Other	49	18	11	13	232
All above fields	55	14	8	17	3,120
Men	39	21	13	18	1,145
Women	64	10	4	16	1,975

^aNot all activities listed in questionnaire are given here. See Table 7.12 for remainder of items.

Other fields do not show such clear-cut concentration on a single main career activity. For example, the field of engineering will have a spread of activities, with some in research (37 per cent), some in design-
ing (27 per cent), and some in production and operation (18 per cent).

The largest proportion (67 per cent) of the men going into the field of business expect to be occupied chiefly with administration and management, while the women in business expect to be engaged in clerical and office work (34 per cent), administration and management (29 per cent), and teaching (25 per cent). Very few people in any of these fields expect their main activity to be selling or writing, although we did ask them about these possibilities.

Where do these college trained Negroes eventually expect to carry on their life occupation? In other words, where will they find the most likely employer of their talents?²¹ The responses to this question do not differ significantly by sex, but they obviously differ according to the career field which the individual is entering. Listed below are the two or three main expected employers in each field.

The largest proportion of social workers will be employed by a non-government health or welfare organization (38 per cent) and the next largest by state or local government (30 per cent). Some will also be employed by elementary and secondary schools (17 per cent).

People in the physical sciences will be employed in industry or business (35 per cent), by the federal government (30 per cent), and in nongovernmental research organizations or institutes (15 per cent).

Engineers will be employed mainly in business and industry (45 per cent) and by the federal government (27 per cent).

People in medicine will usually have their own professional practice or partnership (57 per cent), but some also expect to be employed in nongovernmental research (14 per cent).

Those who are in other health fields, like nursing, therapy, and technology, will be working both for the federal government (27 per cent) and for nongovernmental health and welfare organizations (27 per cent). Some expect to have their own private practice (12 per cent).

²¹ See the articles on Negro employment by Chalmers and Dorsey (1962), Amos and Perry (1963), and Hope (1963).

The biologists expect to be employed by the federal government (26 per cent), by private research institutes (26 per cent), and by educational institutions at both the elementary and secondary level (16 per cent) and the college level (14 per cent).

Those who anticipate business careers will be working mainly for private industry and business (45 per cent) and for the federal government (24 per cent), with some in secondary schools (11 per cent), probably teaching commercial courses.

Those who are in the category of "other" or specialized education will be working largely in secondary schools (80 per cent), with some also in colleges and universities (10 per cent).

The largest employer of the social scientists will be the secondary school system (40 per cent). Some will work for the federal government (15 per cent) and some at colleges or universities (12 per cent).

Those who are in the humanities will work mainly in the secondary schools (39 per cent) and in colleges and universities (31 per cent).

Finally, those in the legal profession will have their own practice or partnership (43 per cent) or be employed by business and industry (22 per cent) or by the federal government (15 per cent).

Since in our study we are interested not only in the graduates of the higher educational system but also in the colleges that are the training grounds for these graduates, let us sample a few of the findings according to the type of college--southern public, southern private, or nonsouthern--from which they graduated. We have seen that the students from the best educated families are slower than the others to make up their minds about their life career. This generalization shows up in Table 7.24 in relation to the schools attended: we see that the graduates from nonsouthern colleges delay longest and those from southern public colleges decide soonest. We have already seen that Negro graduates in general consider their future career sooner and decide earlier than do white college graduates.

TABLE 7.24

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO HAD FIRST CONSIDERED THEIR CHOSEN CAREER, AND PER CENT WHO HAD DECIDED ON IT, BY FRESHMAN YEAR, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Action on Career	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Had considered this career by freshman year	78	87	71	82	66	69
Had decided on this career by freshman year	48	64	43	52	53	43

Changes occur during the college years, and the careers people choose as freshmen are not always the careers they enter after finishing college.²² We have seen that men who aspire to engineering and medical careers often turn to some other field by the time they become seniors, and that both men and women who finally enter social work are the least likely to have thought of this career as college freshmen. It seems important, from the point of view of manpower employment, to note that these career switches are affected not only by one's sex, but also by his race and region.

In all three types of colleges, as shown in Table 7.25, the male students tend to switch into specialized education and into business fields more than into any other, and they also tend to switch out of the fields of engineering and medicine. The Negro men who are educated outside the South are much more likely than the southerners to enter elementary and secondary teaching, and they are somewhat more likely to be in social science and business. The private college graduates are less likely (26 per cent) than the public college graduates (35 per cent) to enter the teaching field.

²²Sharp (1963, p. 29), writes that "it is known from other studies that a consistent and realistic career objective is not characteristic of the majority of students." See also Brazziel (1961).

TABLE 7.25

MALE NEGRO GRADUATES' CAREER CHOICE AS FRESHMEN AND AS SENIORS,
BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Career Choice	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Social work	2	6	2	3	1	4
Physical sciences	8	8	12	11	10	11
Engineering	11	8	11	7	15	9
Medicine	8	4	13	8	13	10
Other health fields	4	5	4	6	6	0
Biological sciences	8	5	8	5	1	1
Business fields	8	11	6	13	7	16
Elementary and secondary education	4	5	1	2	16	15
Other education fields	28	30	23	24	13	16
Social sciences	7	8	7	7	8	10
Humanities	9	6	8	9	4	4
Law	3	4	5	5	6	4
N	545	569	577	580	80	83
NA	94	70	62	59	6	3

Teaching is the largest single occupation open to women in the United States, and Table 7.26 shows that Negro women in all three types of college tend to switch into the teaching career between the freshman and the senior year of college.²³ Again, the careers of a larger proportion of women from public colleges (61 per cent) than from private colleges (51 per cent) will be in the schoolroom. As freshmen, the nonsouthern college women had aspired more than the southerners to careers in the social sciences and medicine. Practically all the fields listed in Table 7.26 lose Negro women between the freshman and senior years, except for teaching and social work, which gain recruits during the college years. We have seen previously that senior women entering the health fields, like nursing,

²³See the remarks about "female labor force comparisons" by Daniel (1963).

medical technology, and physical therapy, make up the largest proportion (69 per cent) who say that they also wanted this as a career when they were freshmen. Yet in these health fields, too, there is a decrease in female aspirants from all three types of colleges between the freshman and senior years.

TABLE 7.26

FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES' CAREER CHOICE AS FRESHMEN AND AS SENIORS,
BY REGION AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Career Choice	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior	Freshman	Senior
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Social work	4	8	5	11	6	13
Physical sciences	3	2	6	3	7	3
Engineering	^a	-	-	0	1	0
Medicine	2	1	4	2	13	0
Other health fields	8	5	10	8	12	10
Biological sciences	6	2	7	5	3	2
Business fields	9	6	6	5	1	0
Elementary and secondary education	19	24	15	22	22	21
Other education fields	35	37	29	29	15	37
Social sciences	6	6	7	7	15	8
Humanities	8	9	10	8	1	3
Law	-	-	1	-	4	3
N	917	933	1,077	1,119	88	86
NA	138	122	133	91	2	4

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

The evidence is overwhelming that white college graduates of both sexes enjoy better employment prospects than do Negro college graduates. We do not know from the present data whether the occupational counseling of students is more intense at white colleges than at Negro colleges or at private schools than at public schools. Some colleges have a placement office which helps direct students to prospective employers, but its successful operation probably depends a good deal on the availability of

jobs and the recruiting efforts of employers.²⁴ At any rate, less than one-half of the Negro college seniors said they had a job waiting for them after commencement (Table 7.27). The nonsouthern Negro graduates show the greatest discrepancy by sex, among whom almost twice as many women as men have the assurance of employment. Yet these women are no more likely than the women from southern colleges to have a full time job after graduation, as seen in the distribution of plans in Table 7.28.

TABLE 7.27

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO HAVE A DEFINITE JOB LINED UP FOR YEAR FOLLOWING COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Job Status after Commencement	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes, have job lined up	44	42	46	36	34	67
No, but intend to be working	55	56	52	62	63	33
No; do not intend to work	1	2	2	2	3	0
N	401	788	297	876	41	39
NA	9	26	11	22	0	0
Not applicable	229	241	331	312	45	51

The data reveal that more Negroes of both sexes than whites, and more women of both races than men, intend to be gainfully employed either full time or part time after graduating from college. Intraracial differences show up here among the male Negroes: the products of public colleges

²⁴We saw earlier that most of the Negro seniors did not have a job lined up for after graduation. The seniors in the subsequent graduating class (1965) were perhaps more fortunate. As Hechinger (1965) reports: "Recruiters from business, industry, banking and government are engaged in the most extensive search for Negro graduates ever staged on the nation's college campuses."

will have the largest proportion and those from nonsouthern colleges the smallest in full time career employment. This means that the reverse is true for graduate work: the products of public colleges will have the smallest proportion and those from nonsouthern colleges the largest who will be studying for a postgraduate degree.

TABLE 7.28

MAIN ACTIVITIES OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES FOR YEAR FOLLOWING COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Main Activities ^a	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Full time work, career job .	40	58	30	52	26	52
Full time work, noncareer job	29	26	29	25	37	24
Working part time	11	9	13	9	26	7
Graduate assistant	9	5	7	6	1	2
Working for graduate degree .	22	13	31	17	43	42
Taking graduate courses	7	6	8	7	10	16
Military service	14	1	11	1	4	1
Housewife, mother	0	16	0	18	0	30
Peace Corps	2	1	1	1	1	1
Other	4	4	4	4	4	8
N	632	1,034	632	1,201	86	90
NA	7	21	7	10	0	0

^aQuestionnaire item allowed for multiple answers.

The postgraduate plans of the Negro women differ by region as well as by the type of college they attended in the South. The question concerning their main activities allowed multiple answers, and the differences lie not so much in employment plans as in other roles which will accompany employment. For example, the nonsouthern women are more likely (30 per cent) than the southern (17 per cent) to say that they would be mainly busy as a housewife or mother. They are also much more likely (58 per cent) to be attending graduate school than are the southern public (19 per cent) and private (24 per cent) college graduates. Part of the explanation for this

regional difference in both marital and graduate school prospects may be that the nonsouthern women are somewhat older than the southerners.

Since certain functional roles cut across various types of occupations, we asked the respondents what single most important activity they expected to perform in their prospective career. More male Negroes from public colleges expect to be engaged in teaching than do those from either private or nonsouthern colleges. But they are less likely than the others to be engaged either in research and development or in professional service to patients or clients. Table 7.29 shows a similar distribution among the women according to the type of college they attended but with larger percentage differences.

TABLE 7.29

ACTIVITY OF CAREER THAT NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES EXPECTED TO BE MOST IMPORTANT, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Most Important Career Activity	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Teaching	43	70	35	59	33	54
Research and development .	17	7	24	13	23	15
Administration, management.	14	6	12	3	15	6
Service to patients, clients	16	13	21	18	26	20
Selling and clerical work .	2	2	2	3	0	1
Writing and designing . . .	4	1	4	3	2	2
Production and operation .	3	a	2	1	1	1
None of these	1	1	-	-	0	1
N	573	914	573	1,063	79	86
NA	66	141	66	147	7	4

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

When we compare their main occupational activity with the type of employer they expect to have (Table 7.30), we find that teaching will be only one aspect of the work they intend to do in educational institutions. In other words, there are fewer graduates in each category who specify

teaching than there are future employees at all educational levels-- elementary, secondary, and collegiate. The private college graduates differ from the public college graduates in that fewer of them will be working in the elementary and secondary schools, and more of them will be working for the federal government and in professional practice. The graduates of nonsouthern colleges are somewhat more likely than the others to be employed in business or industry, but otherwise they do not differ greatly from the southern college graduates in the prospective employers they indicated.

TABLE 7.30

TYPE OF EMPLOYER EXPECTED BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES,
BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Type of Employer Expected	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Self or family business . . .	2	^a	4	1	0	0
Other business or industry . .	17	4	17	5	24	5
Own professional practice . . .	8	1	11	2	12	1
College or university	11	7	10	6	8	4
Elementary, secondary school	35	68	24	55	30	57
Private research organiza- tion	3	2	5	5	3	0
Federal government	15	6	19	10	13	12
State or local government . .	4	4	3	6	6	9
Private health or welfare . .	3	7	3	8	1	9
Other employer	2	1	4	2	3	3
N	605	985	612	1,151	83	88
NA	34	70	27	59	3	2

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

The occupational values of Negro college graduates, seen in Table 7.31, differ from those of white graduates in that more Negroes think it is very important for a job to give one the opportunity to be helpful to others and useful to society, to allow for moderate but steady progress, and to provide a chance to make a lot of money. Southern Negroes differ from nonsouthern Negroes by seeming to place more importance on being original and creative in their work, on making moderate but steady progress on the job, on getting a chance to exercise leadership, and on making a lot of money. The graduates of southern public and private colleges do not differ greatly in their appraisal of desirable job characteristics, but the public college graduates are somewhat more likely to esteem the opportunity to work with people, to exercise leadership, and to make a lot of money.

TABLE 7.31

JOB CHARACTERISTICS CONSIDERED VERY IMPORTANT BY NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Job Provides Opportunity To:	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern College	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Be helpful and useful to others	79	90	79	89	81	83
Work with people	58	71	54	67	53	80
Be original and creative	57	61	60	56	39	58
Make moderate but steady progress	57	56	47	57	28	42
Work in world of ideas	53	50	48	47	32	49
Exercise leadership	47	37	41	27	27	19
Make a lot of money	23	18	19	12	11	10
Avoid high pressure	17	18	16	20	11	14
Be free of supervision	13	11	16	7	20	17

In summary we see that the employment preparations and plans of Negro college graduates differ in some ways from those of whites. The Negroes plan earlier, decide sooner, and are more strongly committed to their career choice. They switch career fields between their freshman and senior years in about the same proportion as whites, but unlike whites, they do not shift so strongly into business fields. There is little difference in the motivations for or influences on career choice across racial and regional lines. The strongest influence for everyone is his personal attraction to the type of work chosen.

A very significant racial difference for both sexes is the fact that white college graduates are much more likely than Negroes to be assured of a definite job right after commencement. More women of both races than men expect to have full time employment in the year following graduation, but more men than women--especially white men outside the South--expect to be graduate students. More Negroes are going into teaching at the elementary and secondary school levels, while more whites will be employed in business and industry. Negroes are more interested than whites in work that is helpful to others and useful to society and in jobs that promise moderate but steady progress.

In appraising the requirements and characteristics of eight selected occupations, the Negroes were consistently less ready to say that they did not have the ability or that they did not have a suitable personality for the work. Male Negroes are not as interested as male whites in the job of business executive, and female Negroes are not as interested as female whites in the field of medicine. For all categories of respondents, the most time and money expended for preparation was in the field of medicine and the least in high school teaching.

As far as they are dependable, the norms of academic ability tell us that the "smartest" male Negro high school graduates go into medicine and biology, and the "smartest" female Negroes go into the physical and biological sciences, with the health fields close behind. The male Negroes who make the best college grades, however, are those in the humanities and those preparing for medicine; the female Negroes with the best grades are

those in the humanities and the physical sciences. The type of job activity and the kind of employer the graduates anticipated are in accord with the demands of the occupation they chose and the availability of jobs in the field.

CHAPTER VIII

RACE AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

Even the most casual white observer of the American occupational system knows that some companies and organizations discriminate against Negroes in their hiring practices, and that some career areas, like business and management, are greatly underrepresented by Negro personnel. But even in the face of much evidence to this effect, there is a recent and repeated contention that good job offerings are going begging because Negro applicants cannot measure up to the requirements. While Negro college seniors were answering this survey and reporting in large numbers that they had no definite job lined up for the following year, a government spokesman wrote that "the job market today shows a clear concern for the hiring of Negroes as a matter of policy" and that for every job filled by a Negro researcher, scientist, professional man, or business administrator, "openings for four or five others are going begging because qualified candidates are not available."¹

There is no doubt that the federal government has been setting the example in the hiring of Negroes, who in 1962 constituted 13 per cent of the government's total employment. Federal agencies have increased their recruiting visits to Negro college campuses and are said to have about twenty thousand openings for college trained people. The central problem in Negro unemployment is apparently the inadequate education even of college graduates. Only about 7 or 8 per cent of the Negroes taking the Federal Service Entrance Examination pass this test, compared to the overall passing rate of 34 per cent (cf. Amos and Perry, 1963; Hope and Shelton, 1963).

¹Perry (1964, p. 116) says optimistically that "the occupational outlook for Negroes is very different from what it has been in the past. The change is fundamental and it is proceeding at an accelerating rate. The most promising fields in the immediate future are in the professions and science. The supply of Negroes who are qualified for such positions is very short."

The proven and clearly documented failure of so many Negro college graduates to pass objective entrance examinations and to demonstrate the qualifications needed for the more demanding jobs in government, business, and industry is nothing less than an indictment of the educational system through which they have passed. But this fact sidesteps the question of discrimination in employment.² In spite of inferior precollegiate schooling and inadequate college training, there are qualified Negroes who suffer from job discrimination. This is the very reason for establishing a movement for equal employment opportunities. We asked our Negro respondents for their opinions about job opportunities that were equal to those of whites of the same educational level. What the Negro college graduate is asking for is the job opportunity that is equal to the talent and training he has.

Table 8.1 provides the distribution of answers to the qualified question: "In your view, when will Negroes have job opportunities equal to those of whites of the same educational level?" Depending upon one's degree of tolerance of a system of racially unequal opportunities, he may say that it is encouraging to find that eight out of ten expect job equality in the large northern cities within the next ten years. Three out of four of these Negro college graduates think that the nation as a whole will catch up within twenty years. The lowest expectations are focused on the southern region, where most of these college students live and where a large portion of them feel that it will take an incredible thirty years or more before they have employment chances commensurate with their education.

Whether one interprets these estimates as optimistic or pessimistic, the fact is that the respondents are practically unanimous in their opinion that job prospects are not racially equal in the South right now. Almost one-eighth say this of the nation as a whole, and more than one-third say it about the large Northern cities. The table shows that the

²Hope (1960) states that there is racial discrimination in addition to the lack of skills and training for Negroes.

Negro women are somewhat more hopeful than the men in estimating the amount of time that will pass before these improvements will occur.³ This finding seems to relate also to the higher degree of self-confidence that the Negro woman has in herself (cf. Chap. 5) and to the peculiar employment status of Negro women that has been traditional in the southern regions.

TABLE 8.1

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF WHEN AND WHERE NEGROES
WILL HAVE EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES, BY SEX

Estimated Time for Equal Opportunities	In Larger Northern Cities		In the Nation as a Whole		In the Southern States	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Have equal opportunities now	33	39	9	14	^a	1
It will take ten years . . .	42	41	40	43	22	24
It will take twenty years .	13	11	21	19	31	31
Thirty to fifty years . . .	7	6	19	16	24	24
Sixty years or more	5	3	11	8	23	20
N	1,125	1,976	1,115	1,971	1,137	1,964
NA	153	289	163	294	141	301

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

The job opportunities of Negroes are obviously poorer in the more segregated areas of the country, but there are also employment opportunities within racially segregated organizations no matter where they exist.

³The theme of "Negro optimism" has been widely discussed in the literature on race. See Pettigrew's (1964b, pp. 194-96) analysis of these findings in relation to rising Negro aspirations. But the Newsweek poll of 1963 (Brink and Harris, 1964, p. 161) suggested that "Negroes do not expect the millenium overnight." Brink and Harris found that only one-third of the Negro respondents, both southern and nonsouthern, thought there would be "a lot of integration" in the next five years.

In discussing the segregated colleges, we saw that the Negro graduates anticipate certain advantages in working for, or belonging to, organizations that are mainly white. They felt they could work on the same basis as whites, would be in contact with a larger world, and would learn more about how to succeed. They also felt that segregated organizations were second class organizations, and by this they seemed to mean separate organizations for Negroes only. If they were faced with a choice between the same job in an organization (such as a business, a school, or a hospital) that was mainly Negro and one of the same sort that was mainly white, six out of ten would prefer to work for the organization that was mainly white (cf. Chap. 6).

In attempting to elicit more specific opinions from the Negro college graduates about employment prospects, we presented a list of seventeen diverse occupations and asked questions about them (Tables 8.2, 8.3). Our supposition was that Negroes meet discrimination more often in some career fields than in others. We asked them to what extent these fields are open to Negroes, whether they personally know Negroes in these occupations, and whether job opportunities in these fields are changing for better or worse at the present time. On the basis of their responses, we made a rough, three level division into occupations with good, average, and poor job opportunities. Tables 8.2 and 8.3 do not present a comparison of the answers by sex because they tend to balance out across sex lines. For example, the Negro women are more likely than the men to say that these fields are open to Negroes on the same basis as they are to whites, while the men are more likely than the women to say that opportunities for Negroes are changing for the better.

In the category of fields we classed as having good occupational opportunities, all the fields except the military function on a mainly segregated basis in the South. Southern education and social work are for the most part performed by Negroes for Negroes and by whites for whites. Since these social services are relatively well financed and well promoted, either publicly or privately, in the southern communities in which these college graduates live, there are many openings for Negro

employment. Therefore when we see in Table 8.2 the large proportion of respondents who say that these jobs are open to Negroes on the same basis as they are to whites, we must infer that they are thinking not of the extent of segregation in these fields, but rather of the "equality" of these professions in terms of the recent equalization of salary rates and working conditions,⁴ which was hurriedly introduced in some states as a means to preserve the "separate but equal" fiction. Under a segregated system we would hardly expect careers in education and social work to be open only to "exceptional" Negroes.

TABLE 8.2
 NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES' OPINIONS ON THE EXTENT OF OPPORTUNITY
 FOR NEGROES IN SEVENTEEN CAREER FIELDS

Career Field	Employment on Same Basis as Whites	Open Only to Exceptional Negroes	Open on Separate Basis Only
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Good job opportunities:</u>			
Elementary school teacher	52	7	40
High school teacher	49	9	42
Social work	51	15	34
Career in military service	74	18	5
College professor	44	29	27
<u>Average job opportunities:</u>			
Medicine	42	31	27
Law	32	38	30
Creative artist or writer	40	46	11
Research in social science	33	48	16
Engineer	33	53	12
Research in physical science	32	61	7
<u>Poor job opportunities:</u>			
Salesman	31	20	46
Accountant	31	39	27
Advertising and marketing	18	40	30
Business executive	15	43	36
Executive in state government	10	48	15
Executive in federal govern- ment	29	56	1

⁴ Even when teaching salaries are equal and certification is granted to both races, we cannot conclude that Negro and white teachers have equal training or work with equal efficiency. The Negro teachers tend to have more crowded classrooms and fewer chances for professional growth through in-service training facilities. See Amos (1955); C. L. Miller (1960).

TABLE 8.3

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES' OPINIONS ON THE EXTENT OF CHANGE IN
JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES IN SEVENTEEN CAREER FIELDS

Career Field	Field Is Changing for the Better	I See No Changes in This Field	I Know Negroes in This Career
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Good job opportunities:</u>			
Elementary school teacher . . .	72	26	96
High school teacher	72	26	96
Social work	80	19	77
Career in military service . . .	79	20	84
College professor	83	16	96
<u>Average job opportunities:</u>			
Medicine	87	13	93
Law	76	33	73
Creative artist or writer . . .	67	32	34
Research in social science . . .	72	27	32
Engineer	80	19	49
Research in physical science . .	84	16	51
<u>Poor job opportunities:</u>			
Salesman	65	32	62
Accountant	74	26	53
Advertising and marketing . . .	58	39	20
Business executive	65	33	47
Executive in state government . .	57	39	18
Executive in federal govern- ment	76	22	25

The second level of opportunity given in Tables 8.2 and 8.3 brings the question of exceptionality to the fore. For example, when we look at the category of average job opportunities, we find that engineering

and research in the physical and biological sciences are the careers most likely to be considered those to which only exceptional Negroes have access. But quite aside from the question of racial discrimination, jobs of this type also require exceptional talent on the part of white people. This is not to say that the creative artist and the social science researcher require more talent than the medical man or the lawyer, as Table 8.2 may imply. Nevertheless, medicine and law, which are rated as average in job opportunities, are professions that are practiced largely on a segregated basis in the South, and this seems to be more important than the exceptionality of their practitioners.

The six occupations in the category of poor job opportunities are the only ones which some of the respondents thought were not at all open to Negroes, no matter how exceptional. More than one-fourth of the Negro college graduates said this about the executive level of state government. One need not be familiar with southern politics to recognize that the higher appointive positions in the southern states go to whites. Negroes have won a few elective positions in the most recent past, but it is most likely that Negroes will not be appointed to executive jobs in state governments before Negro voting rights are established and widely exercised.⁵

We have seen that the military is considered the career most open to Negroes on the same basis as to whites, but the same federal government which supports and promotes equality of opportunity in the military is not seen by these college graduates as an equal employer of Negroes at the civilian executive level.⁶ We must remember that this does not refer to the lower levels of clerical, secretarial, and general office workers-- jobs which the federal government readily makes available to Negroes.

⁵As in most other aspects of race relations, there is an increasing interest in this question. See for example, Price (1955), Wilson (1960), and Gosnell and Martin (1963).

⁶Among the one hundred Negro leaders interviewed for the 1963 Newsweek poll, eleven were in city or state government (aldermen, judges, commissioners, etc.) but not one of these was from the South (Brink and Harris, 1964, Appendix C).

At the executive level, the federal government is considered more open to Negroes than the state government, but it too is seen as having a greater demand for the talents of exceptional Negroes (cf. U.S. News and World Report staff, 1963).

The private-profit areas of business and of advertising and marketing, from the executive to the accountant and salesman, are considered the most difficult for Negro job seekers to penetrate. We have already seen that very few Negroes anticipate a career in administration or management, or in selling and clerical work, and also that very few expect to be employed in business or industry. While these college students are in general fairly optimistic about improving employment opportunities in most of the listed careers (Table 8.3), two-fifths of them still see no change in the prospects for jobs in advertising and marketing, and one-third of them also say this about opportunities as business executive or salesman.⁷

When we asked them whether they personally knew any Negroes in these various occupations, we found that the largest proportions of them know Negroes in the career fields that are mainly segregated. More than nine out of ten know Negroes who are grade school or high school teachers, college professors, or physicians, and more than seven out of ten know Negro social workers and lawyers. We might think that examining the extent to which the respondents know Negroes in specific fields would give us a rough check on the accuracy of their judgments about the improvement of opportunities in various career fields, but we must bear in mind that their acquaintance with Negroes in these fields depends first on the segregated system and second on the opportunities they would have had to come in contact with them. For example, since the respondents are graduates of Negro colleges, they would clearly have had more contact with Negro educators. And, just as clearly, as residents of southern Negro communities, they would have had occasion to go to Negro physicians, but not as

⁷The seriousness of racial discrimination in business has been repeatedly documented. See Bird (1963), Perry (1963), and Silberman (1963).

much occasion to know Negro social workers or lawyers. The exceptional finding is that more than eight out of ten know Negroes in military careers--the one occupation that has been desegregated even in their native South.

The question about personal acquaintance with Negroes in these several career fields must be looked at also from another point of view: that of the proportionate numbers of people of either race who are employed in these fields. There are probably few white college graduates who personally know white creative artists and state government executives. The fields in which Negro graduates are least likely to have Negro acquaintances are also fields of relatively limited numbers of employees, like social science researchers and federal government executives. We must probably look first to note if employment opportunities in general are available in these fields before judging that lack of personal acquaintance implies racial discrimination.

In spite of the recognized problems of discrimination and inequality in various aspects of the job market, the great majority of these Negro college graduates believe that opportunities are changing for the better. More than eight out of ten think that Negroes' opportunities are changing for the better in medicine, physical and biological research, and college teaching. Well over one-half of the respondents see opportunities improving even in the various types of business careers. Almost no one feels that things are getting worse in any of these seventeen occupational areas. This general optimism, however, must probably be tempered by the manner in which they see regional differences in work opportunities. We saw in Table 8.1 that almost eight out of ten (78 per cent) think that the large northern cities will provide equal job opportunities for Negroes within ten years, while almost the same proportion (76 per cent) think that this will take twenty years or more in the southern parts of the United States.

While equal employment opportunities still remain for them the single most important goal of the civil rights movement, their responses to another question we asked (Table 8.4) also reflects Negroes' hopefulness

about better employment chances: "Suppose you were asked advice by a young Negro just now entering college concerning whether he should try to enter a field which up to this point has not been very open to Negroes. What would your advice be?" Six out of ten Negroes, but more women than men, say that he should be a pioneer in trying to open the field, and one-third feel that the situation may improve over the next four years while the student is in college. Practically no one takes the pessimistic view that his attempt will be a waste of time and that new fields of occupation will not open for Negroes in the next decade.

TABLE 8.4

NEGRO GRADUATES' SUGGESTED ADVICE TO FRESHMAN ABOUT ENTERING CAREER FIELDS NOT RECEPTIVE TO NEGROES, BY SEX

Suggested Advice	Men	Women
	Per Cent	
Should try for the field and be a pioneer	55	64
Should try because situation may change before graduation	37	32
Should try it but be prepared to lose out	7	4
Wasting his time; things won't change that much	1	^a
N	1,211	2,162
NA	67	103

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

One of the specific questions we asked only of Negro college graduates in this survey was whether they had seriously considered any career field other than the one they are entering and, if so, what reasons they had for not following it. Before analyzing the principal career fields separately, we note in Table 8.5 the general reasons for not entering upon careers which they had seriously considered. More men (54 per cent) than women (50 per cent) had turned away from a first preference career, and more men (44 per cent) than women (36 per cent) had also given up a second

preference career. The two most important reasons given are that they had lost interest in the subject matter (which more women than men gave) and that they did not have the financial resources to pursue the necessary studies (which more men than women gave).

TABLE 8.5

REASONS FOR NOT ENTERING CAREER OF FIRST OR SECOND PREFERENCE, BY SEX

Reason Career Not Entered	Career of First Preference		Career of Second Preference	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Did not have the talent	18	18	17	16
Felt that Negroes could not get anywhere in this career	17	14	16	14
Did not have the financial resources to pursue studies	43	31	33	24
Lost interest in the subject matter	30	34	39	41
It would take too long to get ahead in this career	22	18	26	20
Other	13	16	11	16
N	587	951	393	575
NA	100	179	150	245
No preference	591	1,135	735	1,445

The significance of these responses in relation to job opportunities for Negroes is seen only when we analyze the specific careers from which the Negro graduates had turned away. In a sense, these are "lost vocations" for the specific occupations given regardless of the reasons, and they are examples of wasted manpower insofar as either racial discrimination or economic poverty prevent Negro students from entering these fields. As we have learned from other aspects of our survey, relatively few Negro college graduates are willing to say that they lack the talent for prospective occupations in which they are

interested, but even a smaller proportion in Table 8.5 complain that "Negroes could not get anywhere" in these careers.

Tables 8.6 and 8.7 show that the largest number of transfers made by male students were out of the medical fields--which consist mainly of physicians but also include pharmacists, dentists, and a few others--and out of the engineering fields--which include electrical, civil, architectural, and other forms of engineering. The biggest hindrance for men is financial inability to pursue studies in medicine, and this also is the major problem for engineering and for the legal profession. Oddly enough, more men "lost interest" in the biological fields than in any other career, while the length of time required to make progress in the career was a hindrance to more in law and medicine than in the other careers.

What is more pertinent to the discussion here, however, is that more than one-third of the men who had rejected the business field, and one-fifth of those who gave up engineering and law, said they felt that Negroes could not advance in these careers.⁸ This reason, which implies discrimination against Negroes, is given also by the women much more for the business career--which for them means mainly clerical, secretarial, and office work--and for social work than for any of the other occupations. While there are jobs available for Negro women in social work, the better paying administrative positions in the South are almost always held by whites.

A relatively large number of women had earlier aspired to the medical profession, but practically none of them actually anticipated this as a career when graduating from college. The main obstacle was again financial disability and also to some extent the length of time it would take to make any progress. The largest number of Negro college

⁸ Glenn (1963) ingeniously projects the occupational trends of the 1950's, showing that Negroes would not be proportionately represented among business managers until the year 2730. See also Young (1963), who says that progress will occur "as the business programs in colleges and universities attended primarily by Negroes are up-graded and as training programs of leading companies accept qualified persons on merit."

TABLE 8.6
 PRINCIPAL CAREERS MALE NEGRO GRADUATES CONSIDERED BUT DID NOT ENTER
 AND REASONS FOR NOT ENTERING THEM

Reason Career Not Entered	Medical Fields	Engineering	Business Fields	Biological Sciences	Law
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Did not have the talent . . .	17	25	9	16	15
Felt that Negroes could not get anywhere in this career	6	20	36	6	19
Did not have the financial resources to pursue studies	71	46	23	33	56
Lost interest in the subject matter	23	27	27	44	23
It would take too long to get ahead in this career .	26	14	19	16	32
Other	8	8	14	8	11
N	173	161	74	64	62

TABLE 8.7
 PRINCIPAL CAREERS FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES CONSIDERED BUT DID NOT ENTER
 AND REASONS FOR NOT ENTERING THEM

Reason Career Not Entered	Nursing Therapy, Technology	Medical Fields	Business Fields	Biological Sciences	Social Work
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Did not have the talent . . .	25	33	8	32	6
Felt that Negroes could not get anywhere in this career	6	6	26	10	30
Did not have the financial resources to pursue studies	35	55	5	26	36
Lost interest in the subject matter	35	21	55	37	24
It would take too long to get ahead in this career .	9	37	11	14	22
Other	13	14	11	13	14
N	237	159	109	87	78

women transfer out of the auxiliary health fields--mainly from nursing but also from medical technology and physical and occupational therapy. Financial obstacles are part of the explanation for these transfers, but so is a loss of interest in the careers they left.

What does it take for a Negro to succeed occupationally in spite of discrimination and inequality? Some Negroes have indeed been able to rise to positions of responsibility in this country and have become symbols of racial pride through their professional success. We presented a list of personal qualities and characteristics of behavior that might help to account for the success that such Negroes have achieved, and we asked the Negro graduates to rate them according to their importance. It is once again possible to classify these characteristics in three rough categories, from those that are considered most important to those that seem of least importance. Table 8.8 distributes their responses to this question by sex.

One suggestion for Negro success--that of being an "Uncle Tom"--met with the greatest resistance, with four-fifths (78 per cent) saying that this would do more harm than good. One-fourth of them (26 per cent) also believe that being ruthlessly ambitious would be more harmful than beneficial for success. On the other hand, being more moral than others is not thought to be a great advantage: more than two-fifths (43 per cent) say that this makes no difference. An even larger proportion (65 per cent) think that having a light skin color really makes no difference in the Negro's status achievement.⁹

There is apparently no real substitute for high intelligence and special talents and abilities as an aid to occupational success; the responses are practically unanimous on this point. Being a natural leader is also considered important by equal proportions of male and female.

⁹On this question of skin color and Negroid features, see Vontress (1963, p. 240), who writes that "in Negro organizations special considerations are often given to lighter Negroes, so that even success within the group may become associated with a lighter skin, diminished Negroid features and 'good' hair." Most of the testing on color awareness has been done on young children; for a sample, see Peck and Rosen (1965).

respondents, but the men are much more likely than the women to say that working harder than others is important, and more men than women say this about having the right friends.

TABLE 8.8

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH SELECTED QUALITIES AND ACTIONS HELP NEGROES TO SUCCEED, BY SEX

Personal Quality or Behavior	Helps a Great Deal		Helps a Little	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
<u>Of most importance:</u>				
Intelligence, talent, ability	95	95	5	4
Working harder than others	68	56	25	27
Being a natural leader	64	65	28	27
Being at ease with whites	61	58	27	27
Having the right friends	52	42	40	42
Sticking up for one's rights	52	57	36	35
<u>Of moderate importance:</u>				
Having gone to the right schools	46	42	36	34
Having a powerful white sponsor	43	31	39	40
Being ruthlessly ambitious	38	31	30	34
Working for Negro community	33	33	35	33
Following the rules closely	31	33	43	39
<u>Of least importance:</u>				
Being more moral than others	17	15	40	34
Being an "Uncle Tom"	7	3	13	9
Having a light skin color	6	6	31	23

Respondents consider relations with whites of some significance; well over one-half indicated that the Negro can succeed if he feels natural and at ease in dealing with them, but at the same time he should be prepared to stick up for his own rights. The men apparently put more value than the women on the advantage and influence of personal connections. They also put greater importance on having gone to the right schools and in having a powerful white sponsor. They recognize the personal influence of well placed people who can be of assistance to Negroes, perhaps

especially in a segregated society. We should recall that seven out of ten of the respondents also recognized this kind of relationship when they indicated that the greatest advantage in attending an Ivy League school was associating with people of higher status.

One of the more revealing answers in Table 8.8 is the fact that two-thirds of the college graduates think they could be helped to success by sticking to skills and services needed by the Negro community (for example, medicine and insurance). In answer to another question, almost the same proportion (63 per cent) said that the reason for belonging to an organization that is mainly Negro is that they do not want to be a show-piece. It is well known, of course, that exclusively professional service to Negroes (such as education, medicine, social work, and law) has provided the bulk of the better job opportunities for Negroes in the South, and in this sense it has provided another and separate ladder to status and responsibility.¹⁰ On the other hand, it is only by maintaining the segregated system and by perpetuating these professions as intraracial services that such skills can be said to be needed by the Negro community more than by the white community.

The Negro students who have had the best cultural and educational advantages, even in the segregated southern system, are the children of parents who went to college. When we asked what their advice would be to a Negro freshman aspiring to a career field that has not been open to Negroes, we found a minority of men among them (15 per cent) who do not seem optimistic about such prospects. Table 8.9 shows that only 8 per cent of the men from lower class backgrounds take this attitude, while there is no discernible class difference in the distribution of responses among the women. We have seen that the larger majority of the women (64 per cent) than of the men (55 per cent) advise that the Negro freshman try to be a pioneer in his prospective career, but the class position of their family--

¹⁰ An important case in point is the low supply of qualified faculty members for Negro colleges, one of the reasons for which is the increasing migration of Negro professors to predominantly white institutions. See Jenkins (1958); McGrath (1965, Chap. 7).

as measured by their parents' education, occupation, and income--does not seem to affect their attitudes in this regard.

TABLE 8.9

NEGRO GRADUATES' SUGGESTED ADVICE TO NEGRO FRESHMAN ABOUT ENTERING CAREER FIELDS NOT RECEPTIVE TO NEGROES, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Suggested Advice	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Should try to be a pioneer .	52	62	58	63	56	64
Try; situation may change .	33	32	34	33	37	32
Try but be ready to lose out	13	6	7	4	6	4
Wasting his time trying . .	2	0	1	^a	1	-
N	137	253	280	429	732	1,332
NA	6	16	14	15	39	60

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

There is some difference in opinion on this question, however, according to the type of college the respondents attended (Table 8.10). The southern public and private college graduates do not differ, but there is a difference among those who attended college outside the South. In this group the attitudes by sex are reversed, with more men (53 per cent) than women (49 per cent) being in favor of the freshman's attempting to pioneer in untried fields. These nonsouthern Negro students also differ in the proportions (men, 15 per cent; women, 12 per cent) who feel that the young Negro may lose out, or may be wasting his time, in trying to break into a new career field.

We see this attitude of relative pessimism more clearly in the estimates concerning the amount of time it will take before Negroes will have the job opportunities equal to those of whites with the same education. Obviously, since the problem of discrimination is much more serious

in the southern states, the graduates estimate that getting equal employment opportunities will take longer there than elsewhere in the United States. Southern male and female students are pessimistic in about the same degree, but there are significant differences by class and region in this regard.

TABLE 8.10

NEGRO GRADUATES' SUGGESTED ADVICE TO NEGRO FRESHMAN ABOUT ENTERING CAREER FIELDS NOT RECEPTIVE TO NEGROES, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Suggested Advice	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Should try to be a pioneer .	55	62	54	65	53	49
Try; situation may change .	36	34	38	31	34	39
Try but be ready to lose out	8	4	7	4	10	12
Wasting his time trying . .	1	- ^a	1	-	3	0
N	605	1,003	607	1,160	38	43
NA	34	52	32	50	2	2

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

Table 8.11 shows that the children of better educated parents are much more likely (54 per cent) than the children of the least educated parents (43 per cent) to estimate that it will be three decades or more before Negroes have equal job opportunities in the South.¹¹ This appears to agree with the hypothesis advanced by some behavioral scientists that

¹¹Brink and Harris (1964, pp. 164, 238) point out that Negro leaders tend to be more optimistic than the rank and file. They predict that in five years the income of Negroes will be better (81 per cent vs. 67 per cent) and that the work situation will be better (76 per cent vs. 64 per cent). But they are also more impatient: 77 per cent of the leaders say that progress in Negro rights has been too slow, as opposed to 51 per cent of the others.

people of lower status tend to have the highest hopes for the future.¹² Looked at from the other end of the scale, that is, from the expectation of more rapid change, it may seem strange that the students from the lower stratum Negro families--whose parents have experienced the least economic opportunities--are about twice as ready as the children of advantaged Negro families to estimate that the South will provide equal job opportunities in ten years or less.

TABLE 8.11

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF TIME WHEN NEGROES WILL HAVE EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Estimated Time for Equal Job Opportunities	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Have equal opportunities now.	1	1	1	2	_a	1
It will take ten years . . .	12	15	28	25	21	26
It will take twenty years . .	33	29	29	29	31	30
Thirty to fifty years	29	33	20	22	25	24
Sixty years or more	25	22	22	22	23	19
N	133	240	261	382	689	1,220
NA	10	29	33	62	82	172

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

The graduates of private Negro colleges are somewhat less hopeful about equal job opportunities in the South than are the graduates of public Negro colleges (Table 8.12). One-fourth of the latter (26 per cent) and

¹²Pettigrew (1964b, p. 184) reworked data collected by Samuel Stouffer and concluded that "the greatest relative optimism was evidenced by Negroes who were laborers, or had only a grammar school education, or resided in the South." In an unpublished paper, Rivera (1965) reviews the literature on the subject and makes certain refinements in the generalization that Negroes express higher aspirations than whites. For data on aspirations to higher education, see Chap. 9.

one-fifth of the former (21 per cent) think that it will take only ten years for the South to provide these opportunities, but almost the same proportions of both categories (22 per cent) go to the other extreme and say that it will take sixty years or longer, although more men than women say so. The nonsouthern collegians, who presumably know the least about southern conditions, are the most pessimistic of all: more than one-half (53 per cent) of the men and two-fifths (39 per cent) of the women say that the South will take sixty years or more before it will allow Negroes to achieve job opportunities equal to those of whites.¹³ Like the southern women, the women from outside the South are somewhat less pessimistic than the men. In either case, however, these nonsoutherners have a most dismal view of Negro economic prospects in the South.

TABLE 8.12

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF TIME WHEN NEGROES WILL HAVE EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH, BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Estimated Time for Equal Job Opportunities	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Have equal opportunities now.	.. ^a	1	-	1	0	0
It will take ten years . . .	25	27	20	22	12	11
It will take twenty years . . .	29	29	32	32	10	14
Thirty to fifty years	23	22	25	26	25	36
Sixty years or more	23	21	23	19	53	39
N	557	901	580	1,063	40	44
NA	82	154	59	147	0	1

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

¹³Brink and Harris (1964, p. 238) report that, when asked to assess their status five years from now in regard to pay, work, housing, voting, and integrated education and restaurants, higher proportions of southern than of nonsouthern Negroes responded that they would be better off. This may simply reflect the fact that racial discrimination has been much worse in the South than elsewhere.

When we asked this same question about job opportunities in the large northern cities, we found the same peculiar discrepancy in response between the most culturally advantaged students, who are the most pessimistic, and the least advantaged students, who are the most optimistic (Table 8.13). Eight out of ten of the latter (men, 80 per cent; women, 82 per cent) think either that the northern cities already provide equal job opportunities for Negroes or that they will do so within the next ten years. All categories of respondents obviously expect more results in civil rights in the North than in the South.

TABLE 8.13

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF TIME WHEN NEGROES WILL HAVE
EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN LARGE NORTHERN CITIES,
BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Estimated Time for Equal Job Opportunities	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Have equal opportunities now	23	27	38	40	33	41
It will take ten years	40	42	42	42	41	41
It will take twenty years . .	20	16	11	9	14	10
Thirty to fifty years	8	10	6	6	7	5
Sixty years or more	9	5	3	3	5	3
N	133	237	258	388	677	1,227
NA	10	32	36	56	94	165

The small number of nonsouthern Negroes (176) who answered the main questionnaire of this study was reduced to an even smaller number (85) who answered the supplementary questionnaire concerning the civil rights of Negroes. When we compare the men and women of this latter group, the categories obviously become very small. Nevertheless, their opinions seem worth noting, especially since they differ considerably from the opinions of southern Negro college graduates.

The nonsouthern Negroes are the most pessimistic about job opportunities not only in the South but also in the large northern cities (Table 8.14). They are presumably better acquainted with employment conditions outside the South than are the graduates of southern Negro colleges, yet they are much less likely than the southern Negroes to say that job opportunities exist for Negroes in the northern cities at present. The most pessimistic of all the students are the men who went to college outside the South. Almost two-fifths (38 per cent) of them say that even the large Northern cities will take thirty years or more to bring about equal employment for Negroes. The women from southern public colleges are the least pessimistic in this regard.

TABLE 8.14

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF TIME WHEN NEGROES WILL HAVE
EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN LARGE NORTHERN CITIES,
BY REGION, SEX, AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Estimated Time for Equal Job Opportunities	Southern Public		Southern Private		Nonsouthern Negroes	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Have equal opportunities now	35	43	30	36	11	19
It will take ten years . . .	41	40	43	42	32	47
It will take twenty years .	12	9	15	12	19	19
Thirty to fifty years . . .	8	6	6	6	19	9
Sixty years or more	4	2	6	4	19	6
N	559	912	566	1,064	37	43
NA	80	143	73	146	3	2

In summary, then, we see that the graduates of Negro colleges are generally optimistic about improved job opportunities but quite pessimistic about the prospects of change in the South. Reinforcing their pessimism is the fact that they continue to get most of their jobs in segregated employment like the school system. The military is the large exception to the pattern of segregated careers, a situation that owes

its existence to Executive Order. We must remember here that our survey was taken just before the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and before the vigorous promotion of a campaign for Negro job opportunities. Perhaps the respondents' optimism would have been greater if they had completed the questionnaire at a later date.¹⁴

Executive civilian government jobs are seen to require exceptional talent of Negroes, and they believe the various careers in the business world provide the poorest job opportunities. This opinion is underlined by the proportion of graduates who had decided not to enter a business career because they felt that Negroes cannot get very far in that occupational area. Relatively few felt that they did not have the talent for business or that they did not have the financial resources to pursue studies in that field. They cite racial discrimination more in business than in any other occupational career.

Although we did not ask these questions of white college graduates, it appears that Negro college graduates stress the same qualities that whites do as requirements for success. Both races point to the need for intelligence, hard work, and the right connections in order to get ahead in the American occupational system. Obviously, the role of the Negro in the segregated South has significant handicaps to success, yet it is interesting to note that the majority of these Negro college graduates think that being an "Uncle Tom" is more a hindrance than a help and also that having a light skin color does not really make much difference in succeeding.

¹⁴This is perhaps an oversimplified generalization about a highly complicated psychological process. Pettigrew (1964b, p. 179) remarks that "Negro aspirations have risen far more swiftly than Negro advances," which he considers an aspect of their current greater "relative deprivation." Yet a question has been raised whether higher Negro aspiration arises from a "depriving environment" or from a "supportive environment." Smith and Abramson (1963) favor the compensatory over the supportive theory, suggesting that Negro students express a "fantasy level of aspiration rather than a real level." Thus, Negroes are desirous of "escaping the implications of their ascribed status."

The social class of the Negro graduate appears to influence some of his attitudes about employment but not others. While the southern women are more venturesome than the men in encouraging a hypothetical young Negro to try career fields that have not been open to Negroes, the distribution of responses is about the same for Negroes of both higher and lower status. There is likewise little difference in response to this question between the graduates of public and private southern colleges, but nonsouthern women are less willing than the others to recommend that the young job aspirant be a pioneer.

The students from the better educated Negro families, whose parents also enjoy higher occupational status and income, are not as sanguine as the students from the least educated families in expecting equal occupational opportunities for Negroes. The factor of family status seems more significant than the type of college--public or private--from which the student graduated. Even though their personal plans point to more professional jobs and jobs of higher status than do the plans of the less advantaged graduates, these students are less optimistic about progress toward equal job opportunities in both the southern states and the large northern cities.

CHAPTER IX

PLANS FOR POSTGRADUATE TRAINING

Not everyone who graduates from an American four-year college wants to go on for further study and professional training.¹ Some would like to but are hindered for various reasons. The data of our study confirm those of previous NORC surveys of college graduates in finding that a higher proportion of whites than of Negroes, and of men than of women, enroll for postgraduate courses and degrees.² As in previous studies of college graduates, we find that aspirations and ultimate expectations for further study are higher among Negroes than among whites but that they are more often frustrated and delayed in their fulfillment.³

The fact is, of course, that it is only recently--and even now only in very small numbers--that Negro college graduates have been admitted to southern graduate and professional schools.⁴ As McGrath (1965, p. 157) recently showed, the predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning are chiefly four-year undergraduate colleges; a few have graduate schools, but only three of them offer the Doctor's degree, and two

¹For an excellent, overall study of this area of education, see the work of Berelson (1960).

²N. Miller (1963, pp. 27-30) shows that among the 1961 college graduates "even those Negroes with definite plans to enroll were considerably less likely to do so than whites."

³J. A. Davis (1964, pp. 101-4), points out that the Negroes in his study were much more likely than the whites to say that they were postponing entrance to graduate school rather than to say that they were never going to enter.

⁴The fact that the majority of white colleges and universities in the southern states (except Mississippi) have "complied" with racial integration, at least in policy, does not mean that southern Negroes are rushing into them. See Chap. 6 for data on the attitudes of our respondents to southern state universities.

offer the doctorate only in selected fields.⁵ The degree programs at the Master's level in these Negro colleges tend to focus much more on teacher preparation than on substantive areas of science and research. Our study found that, of those who are going immediately to graduate school, southern Negroes are the most likely to anticipate the Master's degree (Table 9.1), and of those who are postponing graduate work, southern Negroes are the most likely to anticipate the Doctor's degree (Table 9.2).

Among those who have made up their minds to attend graduate school in the fall following commencement, a slightly higher proportion of whites (22 per cent) than of Negroes (18 per cent) hope ultimately to attain the Doctor's degree. When we compare these responses across racial lines we find that the male Negroes are quite different from the male whites but that there is not much difference between male white southern and nonsouthern graduates. The female respondents, however, are quite similar across both racial and regional lines.

The questions resulting in both Table 9.1 and Table 9.2 asked the students to check off any type of degree they ever expected to obtain, and those who expected to get the doctorate also checked off the lower graduate degrees so that the distribution in both instances totals more than 100 per cent. There is a difference by sex in those who did not plan to enroll immediately for graduate work but not a racial or regional difference of any significance at the Master's level; and there is also a large difference between the sexes in their expectations about getting professional degrees. Prospective lawyers, dentists, and physicians are included in this classification, and these occupations are mainly male in American society. The high aspirations of Negroes are shown by the fact that many more of them (19 per cent) than of the whites (10 per cent) aspire ultimately to the Doctor's degree.

⁵ McGrath (1965, p. 183) also provides an Appendix classifying the 157 Master's degrees granted by twenty-two Negro colleges in 1963, of which 89 were "professional and educational."

TABLE 9.1
 FINAL GRADUATE DEGREES EXPECTED BY RESPONDENTS INTENDING TO GO
 IMMEDIATELY TO GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Final Degree Expectation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Master's (M.A., M.S., M.P.H., etc.) . . .	71	86	57	83	62	81
Professional (L.L.B., M.D., D.D.S., etc.)	23	9	34	9	30	6
Doctor's (Ph.D., D.Sc., Ed.D., etc.) . . .	20	16	25	17	25	14
No plans for degree	3	2	1	4	2	5
Undecided	5	4	4	7	4	9
N	508	533	1,481	461	6,988	3,819
NA	18	18	4	3	35	52
Not going this year	752	1,714	1,718	1,615	5,929	7,097

M.P.H.: Master of Public Health.

TABLE 9.2
 FINAL GRADUATE DEGREES EXPECTED BY RESPONDENTS INTENDING ULTIMATELY TO GO
 TO GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Final Degree Expectation	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Master's (M.A., M.S., M.P.H., etc.)	77	87	78	89	76	84
Professional (L.L.B., M.D., D.D.S., etc.)	13	5	12	1	10	2
Doctor's (Ph.D., D.Sc., Ed.D., etc.)	24	16	13	7	13	5
No plans for degree	^a	1	1	3	2	5
Undecided	4	5	8	8	10	11
N	691	1,592	1,185	1,141	4,621	5,183
NA	33	60	15	10	47	43
Not applicable	554	613	2,003	928	8,284	5,742

M.P.H.: Master of Public Health.

^a Indicates number was too low to percentage.

Only time and experience can tell whether the ultimate degree expectations of these graduates will be realized.⁶ We are interested in the academic degree level to which they aspire, but the kinds of career fields they enter and in which they intend to do graduate work are also of great importance to the whole investigation of trained manpower in American society. We asked all aspirants to graduate school, regardless of when they intended to go, to indicate the major academic areas in which they hoped to study. Table 9.3 shows that there are important differences by race and sex in their responses. Much lower proportions of male Negroes than of male whites will do postgraduate work in the fields of business, engineering, and law.⁷ In the physical and social sciences and the humanities, the proportions of male Negroes and whites are about the same, while higher percentages of Negro men plan further degrees in education and biology.

By and large, the distribution of responses is quite similar between the southern and nonsouthern white college graduates. In both instances the white women will do graduate work in about the same proportions in teacher training, the humanities, and the social sciences. The Negro women will also emphasize graduate study in these fields, but in considerably lower percentages in the humanities. They are about twice as likely as the white women to anticipate graduate study in social work. We must remember that the answers in Table 9.3 come from all college graduates who indicated any desire whatsoever to do further studying regardless of when they intend to do so.

⁶One of the central problems for them, as Brown (1958) points out, is the paucity of graduate facilities at southern Negro institutions. Langer (1964) notes a recent change in this regard in the high-level schools: Howard University, Fisk University, and Hampton University.

⁷Spaeth and Miller (1965, p. 79) show that the actual male enrollment by fields of graduate study is quite similar to the expectations of the male whites of our study given in Table 9.3, except that more of their male respondents are in education and fewer in graduate business courses.

TABLE 9.3
PER CENT OF STUDENTS PLANNING TO DO POSTGRADUATE STUDY OR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN VARIOUS FIELDS, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Field of Graduate Study	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Social work	4	9	1	5	1	4
Physical sciences	10	4	11	5	10	3
Engineering	5	^a	14	-	11	-
Medicine	4	1	6	1	5	1
Other health fields	5	6	2	5	2	6
Biological sciences	10	6	4	6	4	4
Business fields	9	4	21	2	23	2
Elementary and secondary education	2	12	-	13	1	16
Other education fields	26	35	8	28	11	29
Social sciences	10	11	9	12	10	14
Humanities	10	12	13	22	11	20
Law	5	-	11	1	11	1
N	1,143	2,013	2,660	1,623	11,500	9,130
NA	135	252	543	456	1,452	1,838

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

To remove ourselves from these generalizations, we may attempt at this point to refine the data about prospective graduate students. We tried to determine with some exactness the respondents' immediate and actual decisions concerning graduate and professional training. In a series of successively more specific questions, we asked them (a) what their graduate plans had been as college freshmen, then as seniors; (b) whether they had actually applied for admission to a graduate school and, if so, to how many; (c) whether they had decided on a specific school and, if so, whether that school was their first choice; and (d) whether they were enrolled for the summer session or for the fall semester or quarter. By asking these questions, we discovered that the general aspirations of the Negro graduates were higher than those of the whites, but the viable plans of the white graduates were more specific than those of the Negroes.

We have seen that Negroes think about their future occupations earlier in life, and make their career decisions at a younger age, than do whites. It appears that this is true also of their plans about graduate and professional training (Tables 9.4, 9.5).⁸ More than six out of ten Negroes (63 per cent), while they were still freshmen in college, planned on ultimately doing graduate work, and the same proportion (62 per cent) were considering it in their senior year of college. The big difference is that the proportion of men wanting to go to graduate school had increased and the proportion of women wanting to do so had decreased between freshman and senior years.

The white students, on the other hand, were twice as likely when seniors (70 per cent) as they were when freshmen (34 per cent) to have thought about going to graduate school. But there is a disproportion between the sexes in this regard: more male than female whites in both the

⁸Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959, p. 24) report that 26 per cent of the graduate students had decided to do graduate work by the time they were in their second year of college, and the men (27 per cent) had decided sooner than the women (18 per cent). Various correlations with the time of graduate decision are given in Part I, Tables 115-30, of their Technical Appendix.

TABLE 9.4

DISTRIBUTION OF PLANS WHILE FRESHMAN IN COLLEGE FOR STUDY BEYOND THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Plans as Freshman	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Planned on graduate study	63	63	37	23	41	24
Planned to stop at Bachelor's	5	6	24	35	18	31
Had no definite plans	32	31	39	42	41	45
N	1,273	2,245	3,199	2,061	12,921	10,923
NA	5	20	4	18	31	45

TABLE 9.5

CONSIDERATIONS DURING SENIOR YEAR ABOUT GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Consideration as Senior	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Yes, considered going	74	55	74	57	78	62
No, did not consider going	26	45	26	43	22	38
N	1,263	2,208	3,192	2,076	12,883	10,881
NA	15	57	11	3	69	87

freshman and senior years thought about graduate school. The racial phenomenon of high academic aspirations on the part of Negroes as early as the freshman year, with no percentage difference between male and female Negroes, is consistent with other attitudinal findings of our study.⁹ To suggest that Negro college freshmen are unrealistic or are indulging in fantasy misses the fact that the average Negro entering college already has a sense of achievement that the average white does not have at that point. To have survived till college, when so many of his friends and relatives had dropped out of school, is a relatively great personal triumph which opens the door to higher aspirations.¹⁰

The sincerity and seriousness of a college senior's plans about postgraduate study are tested by his deciding to apply for admission to a graduate school (Table 9.6). About three-fourths of the men of both races thought about going to graduate school as seniors, but the percentage of male Negroes who actually applied for admission dropped dramatically; the drop was not nearly as great for either the southern or the non-southern male whites. Even though the proportion of Negroes of both sexes who actually applied was low, they are considerably more likely than the whites to say that they were still planning to apply, an indication perhaps of both aspiration and procrastination on the part of the Negro college seniors.

When all the doubts and hesitations have been resolved and the time comes for a decision, we find that more whites (44 per cent) than Negroes (30 per cent) say that they will probably attend a graduate or professional school during the academic year following commencement (Table 9.7). Comparison of the sexes shows again that the men of both races will

⁹ See, for example, the confidence expressed by Negro students in their talents and suitability for various types of occupations, which we discussed in Chap. 7.

¹⁰ This has even been used as an argument against community or junior colleges, which prevent the Negro entering as a freshman from enjoying the prestige of "going away to college."

TABLE 9.6

PLANS OF THOSE WHO CONSIDERED GRADUATE SCHOOL AS SENIORS FOR APPLYING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Graduate School Plans	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Yes, made application.	42	27	57	30	58	34
Application not necessary	1	1	3	2	2	5
Am planning to apply	29	36	14	16	17	23
Not going this next year	28	36	26	52	23	38
N	895	1,175	2,333	1,148	9,966	6,641
NA	50	102	40	34	172	178
Not applicable	333	988	830	897	2,814	4,149

TABLE 9.7

PLANS ABOUT GOING TO GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL SCHOOL IMMEDIATELY AFTER COMMENCEMENT, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Graduate School Plans	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Probably will attend in fall	41	24	46	22	54	35
Probably will not attend in fall	59	76	54	78	46	65
N	1,278	2,265	3,203	2,079	12,952	10,968

attend graduate school in greater proportions than the women,¹¹ but a significant regional difference shows up among the women. Southern white women have the lowest percentage, and nonsouthern white women the highest, going to graduate school. We have already seen that more of the southern white women are married than are the other women and that they are more likely than the others to prefer being a housewife only. At any rate, our respondents indicate that nonsouthern whites of both sexes are more likely to attend graduate school than are southern whites.

Attempting to pinpoint the graduate school plans of these students more precisely, we asked them further if they had decided on the specific school they intended to enter (Table 9.8). Some college seniors apparently make up their minds about this even before they apply for admission, while others apply to more than one graduate school and then either make a choice or wait to be chosen, depending on how many schools accept them. At any rate, of those going in the fall, more whites (77 per cent) than Negroes (63 per cent) had picked a definite graduate school to which they were going. The Negroes of both sexes are apparently the slowest about making this choice, a fact which relates to their delay in applying for admission, as Table 9.6 indicated. On the other hand, there are higher proportions of southern whites of both sexes than of nonsouthern whites who have decided on a specific school, even though lower percentages of southern whites actually intend to go to graduate school in the fall. We suggest that where fewer alternative graduate schools exist, as in the South, the choice can be made more definitely and quickly. But this does not apply to southern Negroes, whose choices are most limited and whose delay in specifying their prospective graduate school must be explained by other factors. Whatever the reasons for this difference between the races, the whites seem to be more decisive about their graduate school plans and in a better position to implement them.

¹¹In absolute numbers, however, more Negro women than men are going to graduate school, which reflects the fact that there are approximately twice as many female as there are male Negro college graduates. The opposite is true for whites. Sharp (1963, p. 11) shows that Negroes constituted 2.1 per cent of the men and 4.9 per cent of the women receiving the Bachelor's degree in 1958.

TABLE 9.8

DECISIONS OF THOSE GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL ABOUT SPECIFIC SCHOOL THEY WILL ATTEND, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

State of Decision	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Yes, have decided . .	68	59	85	78	77	73
No, have not decided .	32	41	15	22	23	27
N	507	537	1,461	447	6,889	3,774
NA	18	15	25	17	135	97
Not going this fall	753	1,713	1,717	1,615	5,928	7,097

The white students were also more fortunate (77 per cent) than the Negroes (64 per cent) in going to the graduate school of their first choice, and there is no regional difference among the whites in this regard. When discussing Negro poverty we saw that Negroes were more often hindered from going to the graduate school of their first choice because of financial disability, and whites were prevented more often by being refused admission. Negroes were also much more likely than whites to say that they could not go to the graduate school they really wanted to attend because it was too far away, which again indicates the lack of graduate school facilities for Negroes in the South.¹²

Table 9.9 is a recapitulation of the plans for graduate studies beginning with the freshman year in college. These are percentages of the totals, without regard to those who did not answer some of the questions. The third line represents the most reliable proportion of those going to graduate school without delay.

¹²In the survey by Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959, p. 16), the distance of the school from home was not given as a reason for failing to seek graduate education, but lack of money was.

TABLE 9.9

PER CENT TAKING VARIOUS STEPS IN GETTING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Action on Graduate School	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Planned when freshman to go	63	62	37	23	41	25
Considered going when senior	73	54	74	57	78	61
Intend to go next fall	41	24	46	22	54	35
Applied for admission.	30	14	44	18	47	24
Decided on specific school	27	14	39	17	41	25
N	1,278	2,265	3,203	2,079	12,952	10,968

We have seen that the Negro student takes longer to get through college, and it appears that he will also take longer to get through his graduate studies. Previous NORC surveys which checked back with respondents two and three years after they had graduated found that Negroes more often than whites are part time students in graduate school and concentrate more on summer session courses. Tables 9.10 and 9.11 tend to confirm this finding. More Negroes (50 per cent) than whites (39 per cent) are enrolled for the summer session immediately after graduation, but more whites (66 per cent) than Negroes (59 per cent) attend as full time students in the fall semester.¹³ We can suspect that this racial pattern is linked with the fact that so many of the Negro graduates are in the teaching field, in which the custom, at least at the Master's level, is to take full time summer courses and to attend part time during the regular academic year.

¹³The distribution of responses concerning the summer session should be viewed with some caution, because such large numbers, especially of the men, in all three categories did not answer the question.

TABLE 9.10

PER CENT ATTENDING OR NOT ATTENDING GRADUATE SCHOOL IN SUMMER SESSION, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Involvement in Graduate School	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Full time student	28	27	24	22	20	22
Part time student	24	21	12	15	14	24
Will not be enrolled	48	52	64	63	66	54
N	187	233	730	261	2,957	2,048
NA	339	318	755	203	4,066	1,823
Not applicable	752	1,714	1,718	1,615	5,929	7,097

TABLE 9.11

PER CENT ATTENDING OR NOT ATTENDING GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL SEMESTER OR TRIMESTER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Involvement in Graduate School	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Full time student	63	54	77	51	74	45
Part time student	32	29	19	32	22	40
Will not be enrolled	5	17	4	17	4	15
N	408	357	1,422	434	6,587	3,248
NA	118	194	63	30	436	623
Not applicable	752	1,714	1,718	1,615	5,929	7,097

In their plans for summer or fall graduate work, the southern and nonsouthern whites tend to be similar, but there are some differences between the sexes of different races. The male whites are much more likely than the male Negroes to be full time students during the fall semester, while the female Negroes are somewhat more likely than the female whites to be full time students both in the summer and in the fall. Approximately

the same proportionate minority of women of both races, however, say that they will not be enrolled for graduate work in the fall.

One of the mechanisms for attracting good students to graduate schools, and for helping them through their higher studies, is the granting of stipends. Like all academic scholarships, these are sometimes granted on the basis of financial need and sometimes on the basis of academic competence (cf. J. A. Davis, 1962, esp. Chap. 6). Southerners of both races were more likely than nonsoutherners to apply for a stipend, as Table 9.12 indicates. In discussing Negro poverty we saw that, among the reasons for not seeking a stipend, more whites than Negroes said they did not need financial support of this kind to go to graduate school.

TABLE 9.12

PER CENT OF THOSE INTENDING TO GO TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL WHO DID OR DID NOT APPLY FOR A STIPEND, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Action on Stipend	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Yes, did apply for stipend	54	56	55	68	45	40
No, did not apply	46	44	45	32	55	60
N	494	468	1,445	412	6,824	3,683
NA	32	83	40	52	199	188
Not applicable.	752	1,714	1,718	1,615	5,929	7,097

Some scholarships for graduate work are outright gifts varying in monetary value and others require certain duties of the recipient. Table 9.13 reveals that Negroes, especially the women, are more likely than whites to receive "duty free" scholarships for graduate work. This may result from either the superior academic performance of whites that makes them more preferred for the duties required, or the greater financial need of the Negroes, or a combination of both. We shall see, however, that the monetary value of the stipends received by Negroes is considerably less than those received by whites.

TABLE 9.13

TYPE OF STIPEND ACCEPTED BY PROSPECTIVE GRADUATE STUDENTS FOR THE FALL SEMESTER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Type of Stipend	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
<u>Duty free:</u>						
Worth tuition or less	24	34	14	11	21	19
Worth tuition plus cash	36	41	36	32	34	38
<u>With duties of:</u>						
Research assistant	12	8	18	4	15	11
Teaching assistant	23	11	28	45	25	27
Laboratory assistant	5	6	4	8	5	5
N	93	73	429	124	1,824	659
NA	56	99	66	50	239	248
Not applicable.	1,129	2,093	2,708	1,905	10,889	10,061

We have seen that a large proportion of Negro students say they cannot go to graduate school because they cannot afford it. We found also that among those prevented by financial obstacles, Negroes were more likely (27 per cent) than southern whites (19 per cent) and nonsouthern whites (18 per cent) to say that less than one thousand dollars would enable them to go to graduate school. When we look now at those who are going to graduate school and who actually have received stipends (Table 9.14), we find that the amount of money involved in these scholarships is much lower for Negroes than for either southern or nonsouthern whites.¹⁴

¹⁴The increase in the amount of stipend money for graduate students in the course of two years seemed to benefit the whites but not the Negroes. Spaeth and Miller (1965, p. 52) found that 35 per cent of the stipends in 1962 were valued at under one thousand dollars. The comparable proportions for our 1964 graduates in this low category are 33 per cent under one thousand dollars for Negroes and only 15 per cent for whites. The specific recommendations for scholarships and for work-study and loan programs made in President Johnson's message to Congress on January 4, 1965, will increase these stipends for higher education.

TABLE 9.14

MONETARY VALUE OF STIPENDS RECEIVED FOR COMING ACADEMIC YEAR IN GRADUATE SCHOOL, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Monetary Value	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Less than \$500 . . .	10	16	4	4	7	9
\$500-\$999	22	19	11	5	8	10
\$1,000-\$1,999 . . .	26	30	23	36	19	22
\$2,000-\$2,999 . . .	23	24	37	36	35	37
\$3,000 or more . .	19	11	25	19	31	22
N	120	100	446	122	1,894	707
NA	29	72	49	52	169	200
Not applicable . .	1,129	2,093	2,708	1,905	10,889	10,061

One of the explanations for this racial difference in stipend value is undoubtedly the fact that more white students will be "earning" their graduate stipends by giving assistance to their department in the university through teaching, research, or laboratory work. Many of the stipends originate with the university itself (Table 9.15), which is the greatest single source of graduate stipends and which uses these graduate students to augment its professional staff.¹⁵

The federal government, according to the reports of these stipend recipients, provides one-fifth of the help to postgraduate students, giving no greater assistance to Negroes than to whites.¹⁶ Private sources,

¹⁵Daniel (1962b) argues that this kind of experience would help to develop competent Negro college teachers. Teaching assistantships are also highly approved by Berelson (1960).

¹⁶These students are reporting in 1964, and the percentage of their stipend help from the federal government is twice as high as J. A. Davis (1962, p. 71) found for the graduate students of 1958. Spaeth and Miller (1965, p. 56) report that the graduate students in 1962 got 18 per cent of their stipends from the federal government.

like philanthropies and business corporations, give more help to Negroes than to whites, which seems to indicate that they are more aware than the federal government of the disproportionate financial needs of the Negro students. We did find, however, that more male Negroes than any other respondents expect help from National Defense Education Act loans.

TABLE 9.15

SOURCE OF STIPENDS ACCEPTED BY PROSPECTIVE GRADUATE STUDENTS FOR THE FALL SEMESTER, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Source of Stipend	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Federal government	13	29	22	15	20	22
School I will attend	51	34	57	52	55	52
Other private sources	25	22	12	13	11	9
Other	11	15	9	20	14	17
N	93	73	429	124	1,824	659
NA	56	99	66	50	239	248
Not applicable	1,129	2,093	2,708	1,905	10,889	10,061

Although a smaller proportion of Negroes than of whites actually reach graduate school during the year following their undergraduate commencement, those who do intend to go apply for graduate stipends in about the same proportion as do whites. The actual application for and receipt of graduate stipends, however, differ considerably from field to field. For example, only 6 per cent of the Negro respondents intend to do graduate work in the physical sciences, but 11 per cent have applied for graduate stipends and 16 per cent have received them.¹⁷ This suggests,

¹⁷ Spaeth and Miller (1965, p. 54) show that the physical sciences (70 per cent) and the biological sciences (67 per cent) had the highest proportions holding stipends in the first year of graduate school, while the lowest were in education (22 per cent), law (24 per cent), and business (27 per cent).

as we see in Table 9.16, that laboratory and research scholarships are more available in the physical sciences than in other fields.

TABLE 9.16

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES WHO INTEND TO GO TO GRADUATE SCHOOL, PER CENT WHO APPLIED FOR GRADUATE STIPEND, AND PER CENT WHO RECEIVED GRADUATE STIPEND, BY CAREER FIELD

Career Field	Intend Graduate School Sometime	Applied for Stipend for Graduate School	Received Stipend for Graduate Work
Social work	8	8	9
Physical sciences	6	11	16
Engineering	2	3	3
Medicine	2	9	6
Other health fields	6	5	6
Biological sciences	7	5	3
Business fields	6	7	3
Elementary and secondary education	8	5	1
Other education fields	32	22	20
Social sciences	10	9	11
Humanities	11	14	19
Law	2	3	3
N	3,156	469	152
NA	43	3,016	3,373
NA career field	344	58	18

These comparisons are also of interest in the field of humanities, in which 11 per cent intend graduate school, 14 per cent have applied for stipends, and 19 per cent have received them. In this area there seem to be teaching scholarships available for Negro college graduates. Those who will make a career of teaching in elementary and secondary schools are less interested in planning graduate studies and are also less likely than

others to apply for and receive graduate stipends. We shall see also that plans for further study differ considerably from field to field, partly because of the demands of the occupation itself and partly because of unequal graduate facilities.

When we look at the graduate school aspirations of our respondents according to their major career fields, we find some small differences between the sexes but some large differences from career to career. More than nine out of ten men anticipate graduate or professional training in the biological and physical sciences and in law. Those who least expect graduate training are the men and women who are making a career of elementary and secondary teaching. We must point out that the information in Table 9.17 refers to ultimate plans and expectations for graduate work and not to plans for starting graduate school immediately after commencement.¹⁸

The question of ultimate aspirations in a career field can be made more concrete by asking the respondents approximately when they expect to start postgraduate study and professional training. Tables 9.18 and 9.19 show that the more immediate expectations of further study differ substantially from career to career, but they differ especially between the sexes. In every one of the comparable fields we find that a consistently lower proportion of women than of men intend to start on a graduate program in the same year they finished college. Even in education and social work, the fields which attract the largest proportions of women, they are less likely than the men to start graduate school immediately.¹⁹

The men who are going into the field of medicine constitute the highest percentage of students going into graduate work immediately after commencement. But more than one-half of the men in humanities, law, the

¹⁸We may compare these high aspirations of our Negro college graduates in some fields with those studied by Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959, p. 47), who reported that 69 per cent of the male and 51 per cent of the female undergraduates had plans for graduate or professional study.

¹⁹Sharp (1963, p. 171) found that 37.6 per cent of the men in the field of education, compared with only 15.5 per cent of the women, had enrolled for graduate degree work.

TABLE 9.17

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES IN EACH CAREER FIELD WHO WILL TAKE GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN THAT FIELD, BY SEX

Career Field	Men	Women
Social work	81 (47)	84 (193)
Physical sciences	93 (101)	86 (58)
Engineering	75 (74)	^a -
Medicine	75 (65)	67 (25)
Other health fields	81 (64)	78 (128)
Biological sciences	95 (60)	96 (72)
Business fields	77 (126)	71 (102)
Elementary and secondary education	53 (39)	47 (432)
Other education fields	81 (293)	75 (622)
Social sciences	77 (81)	88 (125)
Humanities	88 (83)	90 (166)
Law	91 (49)	- -

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 9.18
 MALE NEGRO GRADUATES' PLANS FOR POSTGRADUATE AND
 PROFESSIONAL TRAINING, BY CAREER FIELD

Career Field	Will Start This Year	Will Start Within Five Years	Will Start Sometime in Indefinite Future	Probably Will Never Go	N
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	
Social work	42	50	4	4	52
Physical sciences	51	41	8	0	106
Engineering	35	40	17	8	86
Medicine	65	33	2	0	66
Other health fields	52	37	8	3	65
Biological sciences	34	58	8	0	62
Business fields	40	44	12	4	136
Elementary and second- ary education	40	48	10	2	40
Other education fields	29	59	11	1	297
Social sciences	51	47	1	1	83
Humanities	58	38	4	0	82
Law	54	38	8	0	50

TABLE 9.19

FEMALE NEGRO GRADUATES' PLANS FOR POSTGRADUATE AND
 PROFESSIONAL TRAINING, BY CAREER FIELD

Career Field	Will Start This Year	Will Start Within Five Years	Will Start Sometime in Indefinite Future	Probably Will Never Go	N
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	
Social work	26	63	10	1	200
Physical sciences	34	60	5	1	62
Medical and health	30	54	15	1	159
Biological sciences	38	51	10	1	71
Business fields	17	52	20	11	109
Elementary and second- ary education	19	67	12	2	456
Other education fields	23	62	13	2	645
Social sciences	40	53	7	0	120
Humanities	31	59	9	1	166

physical and social sciences, and the nonphysician health fields also expect to make this immediate start in graduate school. The largest percentage of men postponing--those who will go in the indefinite future or probably will never go--is found in engineering and the business fields. Only one-fifth of the men had said that a career in engineering requires an investment of too much time and money for them, and less than one-tenth had said this about business careers. And the lowest percentages felt that graduate training is "absolutely necessary" in engineering (29 per cent) and business (23 per cent).²⁰ In this regard, their attitudes are consistent.

The distribution of responses in Table 9.19 indicates that the Negro women are not quite as anxious as the Negro men to start graduate work immediately after commencement. Although the great majority of Negroes in all career fields intend ultimately to get further training and study, there is no field in which more than 40 per cent of the women expect to start graduate work immediately. The least anxious to begin are those in the business fields and in teaching. For comparison, the women in business fields are about twice as likely (31 per cent) as those in any other field to be quite uncertain about ever doing graduate work. Business is also the only career for which one-half (51 per cent) of the respondents, male and female, think that graduate training is not at all necessary (11 per cent) or merely useful (40 per cent).

Table 9.20 gives the opinions of students in the various career fields on the necessity or utility of postgraduate work in their own fields. As may be expected, students entering the legal and medical professions say that postgraduate training is absolutely necessary for carrying on these occupations. But one-third or more think that further schooling is not necessary in engineering (38 per cent), elementary and secondary teaching (36 per cent), or in the other fields of education (33 per cent). We must remember that we overlook a significant subjective

²⁰Sharp (1963, p. 73) found that among those who had earned a Master's degree in 1958, the lowest percentages of potential Ph.D.'s were in education (3.7 per cent), business (10 per cent), the fine arts (13.8 per cent), and engineering (18.8 per cent).

aspect in these responses, since each of the larger careers listed contain several more specific occupations, and we cannot know in any precise manner how each individual views his chosen career or what demands he thinks it will make on him.

TABLE 9.20

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES' OPINIONS ON THE NECESSITY AND UTILITY OF POSTGRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IN THEIR CHOSEN CAREER FIELD

Career Field	Absolutely Necessary	Usually Necessary	Useful but Not Necessary	Not at All Necessary	N
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	
Social work	47	39	11	3	239
Physical sciences . . .	35	39	22	4	162
Engineering	29	33	31	7	88
Medicine	88	7	1	4	86
Other health fields . .	56	19	18	6	190
Biological sciences . .	54	31	14	2	128
Business fields	23	26	40	11	248
Elementary and secondary education	43	21	29	7	477
Other education fields	40	27	27	6	909
Social sciences	63	25	10	2	198
Humanities	52	26	20	2	239
Law	91	4	5	0	57

Regardless of the respondent's feelings about the necessity or utility of further graduate study in his own career field, if he is a Negro he has an opinion about the graduate facilities open to Negroes compared with those open to whites.²¹ Nine out of ten Negro graduates feel

²¹McGrath (1965, Appendix E., pp. 184-93) provides a state-by-state list of the white colleges in the South and classifies them as actually desegregated (208), desegregated in policy but all white (27), or segregated and all white (52). Policies and practices continue to change in these colleges and can be followed in the objective reporting of the Southern School News, published in Nashville, Tennessee.

that the desegregation of educational institutions is an extremely important goal of the civil rights movement, and seven out of ten (71 per cent) feel that segregated institutions are at best second class. Since they are living in the segregated South, we asked them if they thought that postgraduate training equal to that of whites was available to Negroes in their own field.

Table 9.21 distributes the opinions of graduates in each of the major career fields concerning equal opportunities in that field. The question we asked them was: "Do qualified Negroes have opportunities equal to whites to get such postgraduate training?" There is a considerable range of response among these fields. The people in social work are the highest proportion and the people in medicine the lowest proportion of those who think that graduate training facilities are open equally to Negroes and whites. As far as the personal opinions of these Negro graduates can be objectified, they provide a measuring rod for the relative distance yet to be traversed in the various career fields before equal opportunity in higher education has been attained.²²

These opinions on equal opportunity in graduate education do not seem to be connected directly with the students' statements that they would have preferred another career (Table 9.22). By and large, the respondents seem to be satisfied with their career choices. The least desire for change is expressed by the men in medicine--the very field in which professional training is hardest to obtain for Negroes. We have already seen the reasons why some of these respondents did not follow the career of their first choice.

There are other disappointments besides failing to follow the occupational career of one's preference. Let us turn again to those college graduates who said that they would not enroll for further study and training during the academic year following commencement and note to what extent

²²See Dunham and Wright (1964, Tables 4, 9). See also Wright and Huyck (1965), in whose work the deficiencies in staff at Negro schools are clearly shown.

TABLE 9.21

OPINIONS OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES IN VARIOUS FIELDS ON NEGROES' OPPORTUNITIES TO GET POSTGRADUATE TRAINING IN THAT FIELD.

Career Field	Opportunity Equal to That of Whites	Opportunity Less than That of Whites	N
	Per Cent	Per Cent	
Social work	72	28	230
Physical sciences	62	38	154
Engineering	59	41	81
Medicine	45	55	82
Other health fields	69	31	177
Biological sciences	59	41	125
Business fields	54	46	214
Elementary and secondary education	68	32	411
Other education fields	62	38	846
Social sciences	61	39	187
Humanities	60	40	224
Law	56	44	54

TABLE 9.22

PER CENT OF NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES IN EACH CAREER FIELD WHO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A DIFFERENT CAREER, BY SEX.

Career Field	Men	Women
Social work	26 (52)	19 (201)
Physical sciences	23 (107)	15 (60)
Engineering	27 (88)	- ^a -
Medicine	8 (66)	12 (26)
Other health fields	18 (66)	26 (134)
Biological sciences	16 (62)	29 (74)
Business fields	19 (138)	24 (115)
Elementary and secondary education .	24 (42)	20 (465)
Other education fields	31 (308)	22 (663)
Social sciences	30 (84)	27 (127)
Humanities	15 (86)	24 (173)
Law	20 (50)	- -

^a Indicates number was too low to percentage.

they wished it had been otherwise. We have seen that the majority of Negroes (63 per cent), compared with one-third (34 per cent) of the whites, had planned from their freshman year to go on to graduate and professional training. But when the time came to implement those plans, the racial positions were reversed: more whites (44 per cent) than Negroes (30 per cent) said they were actually going to pursue higher studies in the fall following graduation. What about those of both races who were not planning immediate entrance to graduate school? Had they ever considered it during their college years or contemplated an occupation which would require professional training beyond the Bachelor's degree? Table 9.23 answers these questions.

TABLE 9.23

EXTENT TO WHICH THOSE NOT GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL
HAD CONSIDERED POSTGRADUATE STUDY OR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING,
BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Graduate School Consideration	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Never thought of it	1	1	2	4	2	4
Thought of it but never seriously	9	8	26	26	20	25
Thought seriously; decided no	3	2	17	15	17	15
Will go but not next year	87	89	55	55	61	56
N	727	1,675	1,705	1,608	5,868	7,049
NA	25	39	13	7	61	48
Not applicable	526	551	1,485	464	7,023	3,871

The higher academic aspirations of the Negro students show up again even in those who cannot go to graduate school immediately. Many more Negroes (88 per cent) than whites (58 per cent) say that they do plan eventually to pursue higher studies. The whites are three times as

likely (26 per cent) as the Negroes (9 per cent) to admit that during their college years they never thought about or never seriously considered graduate and professional training. In both races, there is about the same distribution of responses to this question between the sexes, and there is little difference between the southern and nonsouthern whites.

Obstacles of various kinds get in the way of these plans to go to graduate school, the largest of which is the Negro students' financial disability. So we asked the graduates whether they would like to go on for further studies if there were no hindrances of any kind, financial or otherwise. Table 9.24 shows that under this supposition the Negroes are still twice as ready (40 per cent) as the whites (20 per cent) to enter graduate school right away. The consistent sex difference occurs again: the men of both races are more eager than the women to start further study immediately. The findings here, especially those concerning the Negroes, are a clear index to the amount of lost talent and trained manpower that American society suffers. Not all the obstacles to graduate work can be removed, since some of them are quite personal, but the greatest hindrance to the Negroes, their poverty, seems to be easily removable in the wealthiest nation on earth.²³

When we look at the total responses of the Negro college graduates and make only the distinction by sex categories, we overlook the variations that exist as a function of different background experiences. We have already seen that those from well educated families differ considerably from those whose parents had little formal education and that the students from private colleges differ from those who went to public colleges. As we may expect, these factors also have an influence on the plans for graduate study and further professional training.

²³This was obviously the belief of President Johnson when he asked, in his message to Congress on January 12, 1965, for additional funds in the 1966 budget for both ongoing and new programs of federal assistance to higher education. It is the theme of the special issue of the Journal of Negro Education (1962) that the Negro colleges in the South are not getting their proportionate share of state and public funds. In writing about land-grant colleges, Reddick (1962) says that this has been "the great scandal through the years" and that "federal officials shrug their shoulders at what is in fact mishandling of federal funds."

TABLE 9.24

EXTENT TO WHICH THOSE NOT GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL
WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE FURTHER STUDIES IF ALL OBSTACLES
WERE REMOVED, BY REGION, RACE, AND SEX

Desire for Graduate Study	Southern Negroes		Southern Whites		All Other Graduates	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Would like to go this year	53	35	26	16	25	16
Sometime within the next five years . . .	45	62	56	62	60	64
Some after next five years	1	2	6	8	6	8
Would not ever like to go	1	1	12	14	9	12
N	730	1,674	1,709	1,612	5,877	7,065
NA	22	40	9	3	52	32
Not applicable	526	551	1,485	464	7,023	3,871

Students from families in which the parents had attended college are much more likely than the others to have thought about graduate school while they were still in their freshman year of college. These better educated families also produce many more who will go to graduate school immediately after college commencement. Their children are more concrete and definite in their plans for higher study, as shown by the fact that they are more than twice as likely as the students from the least educated homes to have applied for admission and to have decided on the particular graduate school they plan to attend,²⁴

²⁴Simpson (1962) has suggested that parental influence is more important than class status in fostering ambition and aspirations. In our survey these are indistinguishable, since we have assumed that better educated Negro parents are of a higher social stratum and do encourage their children to more education.

The statistical differences in the responses of private college students and those from public colleges are not as great as the differences between students from the best educated and the least educated homes, but they do exist in a consistent fashion. The Negro private colleges are apparently more oriented toward preparing their students for graduate work than are the Negro public colleges, and the data of our survey indicate that they send proportionately more students to professional and graduate schools.²⁵ In Tables 9.25 and 9.26, in which we trace the successive steps to graduate school, each step is a percentage of the total respondents, without allowing for those who failed to answer any particular item.

The difference in the graduate plans of each sex shows up clearly in these two tables, but what seems most significant is that three-fifths of the men who come from better educated families, and almost one-half of the men who have attended private colleges, are entering graduate school right after commencement. There is little that can be done about the parental generation as a factor in this situation, though we may look to the better educated Negro parents to continue encouraging their children to do graduate work and professional training. The importance of the private Negro college as a seedbed of professional and trained manpower is probably as great as that of the private white college, and programs for strengthening these institutions seem to be well calculated to increase their academic productivity.

Tables 9.27 and 9.28 deal only with those students who intend to go to graduate school in the fall following college commencement, showing the kinds of degrees they intend to take. Very few respondents in any of

²⁵ See the special issue of the Journal of Negro Education (1960). Part of the encouragement of private college students seems to emerge from their developing interchange with white colleges. McGrath (1965, p. 102) says that the private colleges have been "especially enterprising" in this regard. In the academic year 1963-64, twenty-seven Negro colleges established student exchanges with sixty-four white colleges, and only two of the Negro and two of the white institutions were publicly supported.

TABLE 9.25

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES' STEPS TOWARD GRADUATE SCHOOL,
BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Step toward Graduate School	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Planned when freshman to go	75	69	60	59	60	63
Intend to go next fall	61	45	36	22	39	21
Applied for admission	52	36	25	10	28	13
Decided on specific school	50	31	23	11	25	12
N	143	269	294	444	771	1,392

TABLE 9.26

NEGRO COLLEGE GRADUATES' STEPS TOWARD GRADUATE SCHOOL,
BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED AND SEX

Step toward Graduate School	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		
Planned when freshman to go	57	60	68	64	62
Considered going when senior	70	53	76	55	61
Intend to go next fall	36	23	47	26	30
Applied for admission	25	13	36	17	20
Decided on specific school	21	12	33	16	19
N	639	1,055	639	1,210	3,543

TABLE 9.27

FINAL DEGREES EXPECTED BY NEGRO STUDENTS GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN THE FALL, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Final Degree Expected	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Master's degree	62	89	68	88	73	84
Professional degree	35	11	17	6	22	10
Ph.D. or equivalent	19	14	24	9	19	18
No plans for degree	4	1	4	2	2	2
Undecided	4	3	8	6	5	4
N	86	120	102	91	291	287
NA	1	1	4	8	12	9
Not applicable	56	148	188	345	468	1,096

TABLE 9.28

FINAL DEGREES EXPECTED BY NEGRO STUDENTS GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN THE FALL, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED AND SEX

Final Degree Expected	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Master's degree	78	90	66	82	79
Professional degree	17	6	28	12	16
Ph.D. or equivalent	21	18	20	14	18
No plans for degree	3	1	3	3	3
Undecided	5	4	5	4	5
N	221	229	288	303	1,041
NA	8	11	9	9	37
Not applicable	410	815	342	898	2,465

the categories report that they do not intend to work for a degree or that they are still undecided about the type of degree they anticipate. As we have seen in previous data, more women than men will study for the Master's degree.

These tables show that the "professional" people--that is, the students who intend to take a professional graduate degree, such as law, dentistry, medicine, etc.--come in largest proportions from the families with the best educated parents and have gone to private colleges. This is especially true of the male graduates. The men from the best educated families are twice as likely as the men from the least educated families to work for a professional degree, and the men from private colleges are also more likely than those from public colleges to seek a professional degree.

We have seen that only about three-tenths of all Negro graduates (but a higher proportion of men than of women) were going to graduate or professional school immediately after commencement. We were interested in knowing whether the rest of them--the majority--wanted to go to graduate school and whether they expect some day to do so. In Tables 9.29 and 9.30 we see that practically all of them (97 per cent) express a desire to attend graduate school, either immediately or within the next five years. In all these comparisons, more women than men tend to say they would like to postpone graduate study beyond the next year. There is, however, little difference among the several categories of female graduates: approximately one-third of them consistently say they would like to attend graduate school immediately if all obstacles were removed.

The most significant statistical difference in this regard is that the sons of well educated parents are less likely than the sons of poorly educated parents to say they would like to go to graduate school right away. We have no way of explaining this discrepancy, since other responses have suggested that the sons of the well educated not only will go to graduate school but also want to do so. Those who are not going immediately are a kind of residual category, subtracted from those who decided to go

to graduate school right after commencement, and it may well be that they have serious reasons for postponing further study.

TABLE 9.29

EXTENT TO WHICH NEGRO STUDENTS NOT GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE FURTHER STUDIES IF ALL OBSTACLES WERE REMOVED, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Graduate School Desires	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Would like to go this year.	37	33	50	33	55	36
Within next five years . . .	61	65	49	64	42	61
After next five years	2	1	0	2	2	2
Do not ever want to go . . .	0	2	1	1	1	1
N	55	145	178	338	458	1,074
NA	1	3	10	7	10	22
Not applicable . . .	87	121	106	99	303	296

TABLE 9.30

EXTENT TO WHICH NEGRO STUDENTS NOT GOING TO GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE FALL WOULD LIKE TO PURSUE FURTHER STUDIES IF ALL OBSTACLES WERE REMOVED, BY SEX AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Graduate School Desires	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Would like to go this year.	51	34	54	36	40
Within next five years . . .	45	63	45	61	57
After next five years	2	2	1	2	2
Do not ever want to go . . .	2	1	0	1	1
N	399	792	331	882	2,404
NA	12	23	11	18	64
Not applicable . . .	228 ⁸	240	297	310	1,075

The great majority (77 per cent) of all the "residuals" declare that they will definitely go to graduate school in the future (Tables 9.31, 9.32). The proportion of Negro students from the better educated homes who say so is only slightly higher than that from the poorly educated homes, and there is no significant difference in the responses of public and private college students. We see here again the high level of academic aspirations of all the Negro college graduates--a level that is remarkably above that of the white college graduates. In other aspects of our survey we have seen that preferences and expectations do not always coincide. People often desire more than they realistically expect. In this case, however, the graduates' desire to do further study is at approximately the same level as their expectation of actually doing so.

Negro college graduates' desires and expectations for further study may be tempered by the opportunities available to them to get into a graduate school. We have seen that the students who are going into the fields of medicine, business, and law have certain misgivings about whether Negroes have opportunities equal to those of whites. In Tables 9.33 and 9.34 we have looked at this matter from another point of view. We find that in all categories of respondents, the women are more certain than the men that they will have equal graduate school opportunities, and the women from the better educated families express the greatest optimism. There is relatively little difference in the outlooks of the graduates of public and private colleges.

In summary, what we have found here is that the general aspirations of the Negroes about going to graduate or professional school are higher than those of the southern and the nonsouthern whites, even back in the freshman year of college, but the graduate plans of the whites are more specific when it comes time to make the actual decision and to apply for admission. Among those entering graduate school immediately after college commencement, male Negroes are more likely than male whites to work for a Master's degree, while male whites are more likely than male Negroes to aim at professional degrees and the doctorate.

TABLE 9.31

GRADUATE SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS OF NEGRO GRADUATES WHO ARE NOT GOING IN THE FALL, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Graduate School Expectations	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Definitely will go in future.	81	80	74	75	76	79
Probably will go	14	16	22	22	20	18
Probably will not go	5	2	4	3	3	2
Definitely will not go	0	2	0	^a	1	1
N	56	145	183	340	457	1,081
NA	0	3	5	5	11	15
Not applicable	87	121	106	99	303	296

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 9.32

GRADUATE SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS OF NEGRO GRADUATES WHO ARE NOT GOING IN THE FALL, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED AND SEX

Graduate School Expectations	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Definitely will go in future .	77	77	74	78	77
Probably will go	19	20	22	18	19
Probably will not go	4	2	4	3	3
Definitely will not go	^a	1	0	1	1
N	401	803	334	883	2,422
NA	9	12	8	17	46
Not applicable	228	240	297	310	1,075

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 9.33

OPINIONS OF NEGRO GRADUATES ON NEGROES' OPPORTUNITIES TO GET GRADUATE TRAINING IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD, BY SEX AND AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION

Opinion on Opportunity	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Opportunity equal to that of whites	54	71	56	59	59	66
Opportunity less than that of whites	46	29	44	41	41	34
N	128	233	261	347	692	1,195
NA	10	23	20	65	46	129
Not applicable . . .	5	13	13	32	33	68

TABLE 9.34

OPINIONS OF NEGRO GRADUATES ON NEGROES' OPPORTUNITIES TO GET GRADUATE TRAINING IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELD, BY SEX AND TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Opinion on Opportunity	Southern Public		Southern Private		All Negro Graduates
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent
Opportunity equal to that of whites	59	65	56	64	62
Opportunity less than that of whites	41	35	44	36	38
N	579	889	559	1,021	3,048
NA	35	122	50	110	317
Not applicable . . .	25	44	30	79	178

As we have found in other studies, higher proportions of men of both races than women will go to graduate school. In this study we see that more nonsoutherners of both sexes will go than will either Negro or white southerners. Lower percentages of male Negroes than of male whites will do graduate work in the fields of business, engineering, and law, but more male Negroes will be in the educational field and in the biological sciences. Women of both races will concentrate more on graduate studies in education than in any other field. This is to be expected, since teaching is the largest single career open to women.

Negro men are less likely than white men to say that they will be full time students in graduate school, and Negroes of both sexes are less likely than whites to receive "work" scholarships for graduate school--that is, stipends to which are attached duties in research, teaching, or the laboratory. The main obstacle preventing Negroes from going to graduate school is lack of finances, and the monetary value of the graduate stipends they do receive is lower than that of the stipends received by whites.²⁶

In proportion to the numbers going to graduate school in each of the major career fields, the Negroes in the physical sciences and in the humanities have the best prospects of obtaining graduate stipends, and those in elementary and secondary education have the worst. We must realize, of course, that teaching at the lower levels is also the field with the smallest proportion of persons who intend to do graduate work. While practically all Negro graduates intend someday to further their formal studies, the men are much more likely than the women to start immediately after college commencement, and those going into the medical career are more likely than any of the others to start postgraduate work immediately.

²⁶ Gropper and Fitzpatrick (1959, p. 18) report that 40 per cent of their undergraduate seniors would find the lack of money a condition for deciding against graduate work. In our survey, military service does not seem a great hindrance to advanced study; three-fourths of the male Negroes and four-fifths of the male whites say that it would not affect their plans at all.

While the medical and legal professions are probably more demanding of professional training than are the other career fields, these together with business are also the areas in which large numbers of Negroes feel they will not have postgraduate opportunities equal to those of whites. They feel that social work, teaching, and nonphysician health fields offer fairly good opportunities to Negroes for postgraduate training.

The majority of college graduates did not elect to go to graduate school, at least not immediately after commencement. The largest racial difference we found, however, lies in their intentions and expectations of going. Among those not going immediately, the Negro graduates are much more likely than the whites to say they are going ultimately and that they would go immediately if all obstacles could be removed. As we might have expected, Negro graduates whose parents had themselves attended college are more likely to plan for and to enter graduate school than are children from the least educated Negro families. And the private colleges have exceeded the public colleges in producing students who plan for and start their postgraduate studies and training right after commencement.

CHAPTER X

THE MOVEMENT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

Some of the strongest support of the Negro movement for civil rights in recent years has come from the college campus, and all the Negro institutions of higher learning in the southern states have in some degree been involved in its activities.¹ The Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have also gained recruits in many nonsouthern colleges, but the Negro students have predictably been much more involved than the white students in the various campus organizations working for the civil rights of minorities. After fraternities and sororities and the special interest groups, the civil rights movement is the campus activity that attracted the largest proportion of Negro students.

Showing them a list of campus groups and activities, we asked the students to check off all those in which they had been active participants. We were not surprised to find that the Negro students were almost seven times (33 per cent) as likely as the white students (5 per cent) to report that they had participated in campus movements for civil rights for minorities. There are certainly other American minorities whose civil rights have been threatened, but the contemporary focus has been on the movement for Negro rights. Table 10.1 shows that white women report more activity of this kind than white men, and so do Negro women at nonsouthern colleges. In the predominantly Negro colleges of the South, the male students consistently report more civil rights activity than the female students.

The data reveal that the Negro students from families in which the parents attended college have the highest record of civil rights

¹The first CORE chapter was formed by James Farmer in 1942 after some University of Chicago students staged the first restaurant sit-in in the United States. It was not until the middle 1950's that the organization went south. See Rich (1965), Meier (1963).

participation and that the students at private Negro colleges are more active than those at the public tax-supported colleges.² The responses in Table 10.1 are drawn from a question that was asked of both Negro and white students, but most of the analysis we make in this chapter depends upon responses to questions asked only of Negroes. On the one hand, we find that one-third of the Negroes reported they were active participants in campus minority movements. On the other, in indicating their personal role in the campus civil rights movement, about one-fifth said they were either leaders (2 per cent) or very active (20 per cent), while three-tenths (31 per cent) said they were nonparticipants, or, as we call them here, "bystanders." It is among the remaining large category of Negro students (47 per cent) who said they were participants but were not very active that we must find those who did not check off the campus movement for minority rights as one of their main activities.

TABLE 10.1
PER CENT REPORTING ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN COLLEGE CIVIL RIGHTS
MOVEMENTS, BY SELECTED BACKGROUND FACTORS AND SEX

Characteristics of Respondents	Men	Women
All southern Negro respondents	40	28
State or public Negro college students.	38	27
Private Negro college students	42	30
Both parents attended college	47	35
Both parents attended grade school . .	35	25
Parents had intermediate education . .	41	29
Negroes at non-Negro colleges	28	34
All white respondents	4	7
Southern white students	2	4
Nonsouthern white students	4	7

²From a different approach to the question, Oppenheimer (1963) concluded that "the nature of support of the college [public versus private] seems to make no significant difference in either the outbreak or the success of a sit-in." See also Oppenheimer (1964).

Let us look first at the more general question of the Negro students' attitudes toward the civil rights movement on their own campus (Tables 10.2, 10.3). We asked them how they would feel about their school if there were more emphasis or less emphasis on the movement there, and how much more or less they would like their college. We found that six out of ten (61 per cent) are in favor of more emphasis on civil rights activities, and the same proportion (62 per cent) are against de-emphasizing such campus activities. While Negro men and women differ in the extent to which they participate in civil rights activities, and in attitudes of optimism and pessimism concerning the advancement of Negro rights, they are remarkably similar in the amount of emphasis they want to see put on the movement at their own college.

There is apparently a minority of from 5 to 10 per cent of these Negro respondents who would prefer to de-emphasize the civil rights movement on their own college campus; and there is a larger minority of about 30 per cent who seem to be indifferent to either increasing or decreasing emphasis on the movement. There was an even greater indication of indifference when we asked them about having white students on the campus, but in this case a greater proportion of women (61 per cent) than men (48 per cent) did not care whether there were more white students, and a greater proportion of women (70 per cent) than men (55 per cent) were indifferent to having fewer white students on the campus (cf. Chap. 6). Among the most active students, more women (84 per cent) than men (78 per cent) said that they were very enthusiastic about the civil rights movement, but Table 10.4 shows us that both public and private college women are less ready than the men to say that the movement was very much a success on their campus (cf. Chap. 5).

Although one-fourth of the men in both types of colleges claim to have been leaders or very active participants in the campus movement for civil rights (Table 10.5), there is admittedly less activity of this kind in the public colleges than in the private colleges. We have seen that more public college students than private college students would like their campus to put greater emphasis on the movement, and this may be an index

TABLE 10.2

NEGRO GRADUATES' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR OWN SCHOOL IF EMPHASIS ON CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT THERE WERE TO INCREASE OR DECREASE, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Attitude toward Own School	Southern Public		Southern Private	
	More Emphasis	Less Emphasis	More Emphasis	Less Emphasis
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
I would like school a lot more .	36	5	30	4
I would like school a little more	29	6	28	5
I would like school a little less	2	16	4	18
I would like school a lot less .	2	47	2	43
It would make no difference . . .	31	26	36	30
N	1,579	1,510	1,719	1,651
NA	115	184	130	198

TABLE 10.3

NEGRO GRADUATES' ATTITUDES TOWARD THEIR OWN SCHOOL IF EMPHASIS ON CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT THERE WERE TO INCREASE OR DECREASE, BY SEX

Attitude toward Own School	Male Students		Female Students	
	More Emphasis	Less Emphasis	More Emphasis	Less Emphasis
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
I would like school a lot more .	34	4	33	4
I would like school a little more	28	7	29	5
I would like school a little less	4	17	2	18
I would like school a lot less .	2	46	2	44
It would make no difference . . .	32	26	34	29
N	1,217	1,187	2,081	1,974
NA	61	91	184	291

TABLE 10.4

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF SUCCESS OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT ON THEIR OWN CAMPUS, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED AND SEX

Estimate of Campus Civil Rights Movement	Southern Public		Southern Private	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very much a success	39	33	45	37
Somewhat of a success	38	42	41	50
Somewhat of a failure	15	16	10	10
Very much a failure	8	9	4	3
N	581	910	592	1,095
NA	58	145	47	115

TABLE 10.5

NEGRO GRADUATES' PERSONAL ROLES IN CAMPUS CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVITY, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED AND SEX

Role in Campus Civil Rights Movement	Southern Public		Southern Private	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Leader	5	1	3	1
Very active participant	20	18	23	19
Not very active participant	46	43	51	49
Nonparticipant	29	38	23	31
N	598	954	607	1,136
NA	41	101	32	74

of some dissatisfaction with its progress. When we asked them to compare their own campus with other colleges in this regard, the dissatisfaction became more apparent. More students from the public colleges (43 per cent) than from the private colleges (34 per cent) say that their campus is not as active as others in the movement (Table 10.6).

TABLE 10.6
 NEGRO GRADUATES' COMPARISONS OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT ON THEIR OWN CAMPUS WITH MOVEMENT ON OTHER CAMPUSES, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Estimate of Movement on Own Campus	Southern Public	Southern Private
	Per Cent	Per Cent
A great deal more active than others	16	19
Somewhat more active than others . .	16	20
About the same as others	25	27
Somewhat less active than others . .	23	23
A great deal less active than others	20	11
N	1,630	1,796
NA	64	53

In the network of Negro colleges throughout the South there is probably more communication than one finds among the white colleges, especially on the matter of civil rights, in which the students were for the most part vitally interested. As civil rights programs, marches, and demonstrations increase in number, student representatives from more colleges meet and discuss their experiences. Thus the comparative judgments made in Table 10.6 are probably quite reliable--but the evidence is even more compelling that students at the Negro public colleges do not participate as much as those at private colleges in the various types of protest programs. More of the former (17 per cent) than of the latter (7 per cent) remark that none of the civil rights activities listed in the questionnaire item referred to earlier occurred on their campus.

It seems significant that the largest percentage difference between public and private college students is in the matter of voter

registration campaigns (Table 10.7). This issue tends to involve the college with local political officials who are at least the indirect representatives, and probably also informants, of higher state officials. Since the public college gets its financial support from--and indeed owes its continuing existence to--the state political administration, it is in a vulnerable position when promoting programs for desegregation. These institutions simply do not enjoy the same degree of academic and civic freedom that private colleges have.³

TABLE 10.7

PER CENT OF NEGRO GRADUATES WHO PARTICIPATED IN MAIN CAMPUS ACTIVITIES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

Campus Activity	Southern Public	Southern Private
Boycott moves against segregated businesses	60	66
Sit-ins in segregated public places	56	66
Voter registration campaigns	39	57
Marches on city hall or state capitol	41	44
Public addresses by civil rights leaders	35	45
Holding rallies	35	38
Fund raising for civil rights movement	33	37
Participation in March on Washington	21	26
Participation in freedom rides	18	21
None of the above	17	7
N	1,624	1,795
NA	70	54

³Daniel (1962a) pointed out that "the attitude of state officials is important" in relation to the student sit-ins and other nonviolent demonstrations in public colleges. He contrasts the reprisals on college students in Alabama and Louisiana and the relative freedom they have in North Carolina. For other articles on Negro public and private colleges, see the special issues of the Journal of Negro Education (1960, 1962).

The two activities in which Negro campus participation was lowest were the March on Washington, which was a one-time occurrence and meant travel from home, and the freedom rides, which involved an element of personal risk. Even in these out-of-town activities, the students in public colleges were less active than those in private colleges. Aside from the restrictions placed on the administration and student body by the very nature of state support and control, it may well be that the types of students attending such schools are less actively committed to the movement than are those who attend private colleges. The latter come from families of somewhat higher socio-economic status and are also more likely to have performed better academically than the public college students. The extent to which this conforms to Frazier's analysis of the apathy of the "black bourgeoisie" must remain an open question.⁴

The brief history of campus protest movements has witnessed the development of great ingenuity in the variety of their activities. Some of them are general programs, like rallies and speeches, designed to inform and to arouse the interest of the student audience. Most of them, however, focus on a particular local objective, the most popular of which are the boycotts against segregated business establishments and the sit-ins in segregated public facilities (see Smith, 1961; Searles and Williams, 1962). College students are particularly apt assistants in voter registration campaigns because they are able to instruct less educated Negroes in preparing and filling out registration applications.

On the basis of the several indices we used for measuring family background influences, the students in private colleges seem to have a consistent advantage over those in state-supported schools. More of them had parents who had attended or graduated from college. To the extent that parental education is a factor in the social attitudes of children, it probably provided a family environment in which there was greater social awareness and hence a greater interest in the Negro protest movement

⁴Some of Frazier's (1962) generalizations are now being questioned by social scientists. See also Frazier (1957); Pettigrew (1964b, pp. 31-34).

when the children of such parents became students in privately controlled colleges.

We can also presume that the occupational milieu of the parental household has an influence on the social thinking of children. The students in public colleges are twice as likely (15 per cent) as the others (7 per cent) to come from farm families, and they are less likely (18 per cent) than the others (28 per cent) to come from families in which the head of the household is a white collar or professional person. We can expect that there is a greater knowledge and wider discussion of social problems affecting the Negro in households with higher educational standards and occupational status.

The difference in family income between the two categories of students reflects both education and occupation. Since the family income of southern Negroes is generally low, it does not allow a sharp distinction between "masses" and "classes." Our data do show, however, that the private college students are somewhat more likely (40 per cent) than the others (32 per cent) to come from homes with an income over \$5,000 a year, a probable factor in their greater involvement in the civil rights movement.⁵

Table 10.8 tells us that one-fourth of the public college students are disappointed with their own campus movement and feel that it has been a failure at their college. This category may consist of the very enthusiastic core of leaders and active participants who want nothing less than full equality in every area as quickly as possible. Even though a majority (75 per cent) of these public college students believe that the campus movement has been a success, we should recall that a majority (65 per cent) had also said that they would be in favor of more emphasis on the civil rights movement at their own college.

⁵ It seems significant that the Newsweek poll (Brink and Harris, 1964, p. 203) gives a difference between action and promise of action. The middle and upper income Negroes had actually participated more than the low income Negroes in boycotts, marches, picketing, and sit-ins, but when the low income group was asked if they were "willing" to participate in such direct action, the affirmative responses shot up remarkably.

TABLE 10.8
 NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF SUCCESS OF CIVIL RIGHTS
 MOVEMENT ON THEIR OWN CAMPUS, BY TYPE OF
 COLLEGE ATTENDED

Estimate of Movement on Campus	Southern Public	Southern Private
	Per Cent	Per Cent
Very much a success	35	39
Somewhat of a success	40	47
Somewhat of a failure	16	10
Very much a failure	9	4
N	1,491	1,687
NA	203	162

The general, all embracing goal of the civil rights movement is, of course, attaining full equality for the Negro in all areas of American life. For logical and strategic reasons this goal is specified in the several vital areas of immediate needs of Negroes. In other words, some objectives are considered more pressing than others. We asked the respondents to rate the importance of each one of these and then to indicate the single most important need. The results of their rating appear in Tables 10.9 and 10.10.

More than nine out of ten of the Negro college graduates agree that equal employment, voting, and schooling are extremely important goals of the civil rights movement, and the majority also say this of public facilities and housing. In these opinions there is substantial agreement between men and women and between students in public and private colleges. Yet in attempting to rank these goals in relation to one another, the basic economic needs of the Negro people again come to the fore. The opportunity for just and equal consideration in the job market is by far the single most important goal in the minds of the Negro students, and it is more important to women (58 per cent) than to men (51 per cent).⁶ This difference between the sexes seems to reflect again the

⁶The continuing major crisis of unemployment and underemployment among Negroes is carefully documented by Hill (1965). For a sampling of other discussions on this problem, see Street and Leggett (1961) and Kessler (1963).

TABLE 10.9

NEGRO GRADUATES' RANKINGS OF DEGREE OF IMPORTANCE OF SELECTED GOALS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Goal of Movement	Extremely Important	Fairly Important	Somewhat Important	Not too Important
	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent	Per Cent
Equal employment opportunity	97	2	1	- ^a
Equal voting rights	97	2	1	-
Desegregated education	90	7	2	1
Desegregated public facilities	76	17	5	2
Desegregated housing	56	27	8	9

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 10.10

NEGRO GRADUATES' JUDGMENT OF THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT GOAL OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, BY SEX.

Goal of Movement	Men	Women
	Per Cent	Per Cent
Equal employment opportunity	51	58
Desegregated education	22	20
Equal voting rights	20	17
Desegregated public facilities	6	4
Desegregated housing	1	1
N	1,121	1,946
NA	157	319

occupational position of women in the Negro society. In general the focus on employment opportunities implies that, with adequate income, the Negro will be able to find a solution to most of his other problems. The question was asked, of course, as a personal one: What is most important to you?

When we look back at the main campus activities of the civil rights groups, we find that more than six out of ten (64 per cent) said that they participated in boycotts against segregated businesses. In most instances the boycotts were in protest of unfair hiring practices. This is in accord with the majority's rating equal employment opportunities as the most important personal objective of the movement. An inconsistency is that six out of ten (61 per cent) cooperated with sit-ins in segregated public places, but sit-ins were a goal which only 5 per cent of the respondents ranked first in importance.

In the long run every individual is logically concerned with the extent to which the civil rights movement affects his own personal opportunities in life (Tables 10.11-10.14). In answer to a question to this effect, more than six out of ten (63 per cent) feel that as a result of the movement they now have better opportunities for employment. Of these respondents, more men than women and more students from private colleges than from public colleges feel that the civil rights movement has provided better job opportunities for them.

TABLE 10.11

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL GAIN IN EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, BY TYPE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED AND SEX

Personal Effect of Movement	Southern Public		Southern Private	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
I now have more opportunity	65	56	71	62
I still have about the same opportunity	28	36	22	31
I now have less opportunity	1	1	1	1
Don't know	6	7	6	6
N	612	1,008	614	1,148
NA	27	47	25	62

TABLE 10.12

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL GAIN IN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, BY SEX

Personal Effect of Movement	Men	Women
	Per Cent	
I now have more opportunity	70	64
I still have about the same opportunity . .	26	31
I now have less opportunity	1	1
Don't know	3	4
N	1,216	2,142
NA	62	123

TABLE 10.13

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL GAIN IN OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE KIND OF LIFE DESIRED, BY SEX

Personal Effect of Movement	Men	Women
	Per Cent	
I now have more opportunity	38	31
I still have about the same opportunity . .	51	56
I now have less opportunity	3	3
Don't know	8	10
N	1,212	2,115
NA	66	150

TABLE 10.14

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF PERSONAL GAIN IN OPPORTUNITY TO LIVE WHERE DESIRED, BY SEX

Personal Effect of Movement	Men	Women
	Per Cent	
I now have more opportunity	30	28
I still have about the same opportunity . .	58	57
I now have less opportunity	4	4
Don't know	8	11
N	1,216	2,132
NA	62	133

The majority of respondents, but more men than women, feel that the civil rights movement has also provided them personally with more opportunities for equal education (Table 10.12). Less than four out of ten, but again more men than women, find that they have better opportunities to live the kind of personal life they desire (Table 10.13), and more than one-half of both sexes do not think that the civil rights movement has made any change in this regard. The problem of the whole segregated social system is involved in the restrictions placed on the personal lives of Negroes. The continuing problem of residential segregation is implied in the majority's response that there has been no change in the opportunity to live where they want to (Table 10.14).⁷ We have seen that more than one-half (56 per cent) of the graduates think of desegregated housing as an extremely important objective of the civil rights movement. This is also the area in which the smallest percentage of both sexes find better opportunities. Yet, when ranking the importance of the civil rights objectives, hardly anyone gave it precedence over the several other goals that organized Negroes are trying to attain.⁸

Let us turn now to the campus leadership of the civil rights movement. It did not surprise us to learn that the Negro men are more likely than the women to be among the leaders, that the women are more likely to be among the nonparticipants, and that there is less participation on the campuses of state-controlled colleges than in the private colleges. The men are generally more optimistic than the women about the results of the movement, while the women who are actively committed to the movement are more enthusiastic than the men (Table 10.15).

⁷There is evidence that residential segregation is actually increasing even though the ability of Negroes to pay for housing has improved. See Teuber and Teuber (1963), Blumberg (1964).

⁸The attempt to rank either the importance of or the amount of change in these objectives must not obscure the fact that they are all intimately interrelated. Income, education, and housing, as Young (1964, pp. 25-37) told a group of businessmen, become a vicious circle unless they are attacked simultaneously.

TABLE 10.15

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS NATIONALLY AND IN THE SOUTH, BY SEX

Estimate of Movement	Nationally		In the South	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very much a success	44	43	30	23
Somewhat of a success	50	51	58	63
Somewhat of a failure	5	5	10	11
Very much a failure	1	1	2	3
N	1,212	2,073	1,213	2,070
NA	66	192	65	195

For the purposes of our study it seems important to know something about these leaders--where they come from, their background, characteristics, experiences, and aspirations. We may assume that they are, or will be, leaders of their race in the sense that they represent experienced, knowledgeable, and aggressive personnel in the struggle for Negro progress. We are therefore making comparisons among three categories of male Negro college graduates: the leaders (N=305), the followers (N=587), and the bystanders (N=313).⁹ The assumption is that we shall find the largest differences between the first category--the active campus leaders--and the last category--the indifferent nonparticipants in the civil rights movement (see Table 10.16).

There are certain similarities in the comparative data these three types of respondents report, so that we cannot assume that the leaders in

⁹ Among the one hundred Negro leaders interviewed for the 1963 Newsweek poll (see Brink and Harris, 1964, pp. 234, 238) only ten were women. Leaders generally were more optimistic than the rank and file. For example, many more leaders predict better attitudes by whites toward Negro rights five years from now. More of them also predict better pay and better work situations, but they are not as optimistic as the rank and file in their views on housing accommodations.

civil rights are either from typical middle class families or from the ranks of the desperately poor. They are not all the disillusioned products of broken homes and disorganized family living. The most significant difference is that they are considerably younger than the nonparticipants, and (a corollary of their age bracket) they are also much more likely to be unmarried. Their lack of marital encumbrance is probably an important factor in the time and energy they can devote to civil rights affairs. Since they have been so deeply involved in the movement, it is understandable that they are twice as likely as the nonparticipants to have been involved in trouble with the police.¹⁰

TABLE 10.16

PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS IN CAMPUS CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT HAVING SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristic	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Family income of \$7,500 or more . . .	15	16	14
Father a college graduate	14	12	13
Father in white collar occupation . .	23	22	29
From broken home	34	33	38
Had been arrested or unjustly accused.	18	12	9
Protestant in religious preference . .	70	72	66
Never married	82	76	63
Aged 23 years or younger	83	72	59

It is an interesting fact that more than twice as many leaders (58 per cent) as bystanders (27 per cent) come from hometowns in the South Atlantic States (Delaware, the District of Columbia, Georgia, Maryland, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.)

¹⁰Willingness to be arrested in the cause of civil rights is now almost a qualification for Negro leadership, as Cothran and Phillips (1961) and Meier (1963) attest. Brink and Harris (1964, p. 203) report that 21 per cent of the leaders and 15 per cent of the middle and upper income respondents, compared with only 4 per cent of the rank and file, had gone to jail for civil rights.

This concentration indicates the general region where the Negro college students have been most active in the civil rights movement. There is no indication that "outside agitators" (i.e., nonsoutherners) have infiltrated the Negro college student bodies in the South to provide leadership in the movement. In fact, a larger proportion of the leaders (85 per cent) and followers (87 per cent) than of the bystanders (79 per cent) come from hometowns in the U.S. Census Bureau regions embracing the southern states. There is no significant difference in the size of these respondents' home communities.

How do college students become campus leaders in movements like that of the civil rights groups? Part of the answer lies in the fact that they had already been student leaders when they were in high school. Table 10.17 shows that these college leaders were much more likely than the nonparticipants to have been officers of their senior class in high school and that they were also more active in varsity teams and athletics. We asked them about the experiences they had while in high school and found that their leadership consisted of more than popularity and athletic prowess. They were consistently more prominent and successful in the academic and scholarly activities as well. More of them (54 per cent) than of the nonparticipants (47 per cent) said that they had been at the top of their high school graduating class (Table 10.18).

We have seen that senior class officers and graduating valedictorians may be more numerous among those who come from small high schools. As a matter of fact, the civil rights leaders are somewhat less likely (22 per cent) than the followers (24 per cent) and the bystanders (28 per cent) to have come from high schools in which the graduating class numbered less than fifty students. The overwhelming majority of all the Negro graduates had attended public high schools, and there seems little significance in the fact that even more leaders (97 per cent) than bystanders (91 per cent) went to public high schools.

What does seem of some importance, however, is the comparative exposure to social science study at both the high school and college levels (Table 10.19). A higher proportion of the leaders (71 per cent) than

TABLE 10.17
 PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS IN
 SELECTED EXPERIENCES DURING HIGH SCHOOL

Experience during High School	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Was officer of senior class	51	43	35
Won letter in athletics	46	42	37
Was member of a science club	37	36	25
Was placed in advanced class	37	35	28
Took more than normal number of courses	32	34	25
Worked on high school paper	30	25	20
Was in National Honor Society	26	24	16
Won award in science fair	17	12	12
Had paper, story, or poem published	12	7	8
Repeated one or more courses	9	9	9
Won award for farm production	8	8	4
Was finalist in science talent search	6	1	1
Was finalist in mathematics contest	5	8	7
Was placed in below average class	5	6	3
Was in NSF summer training course	3	3	1
None of these apply to me	8	9	13
N	292	577	308
NA	13	10	5

TABLE 10.18
 SELF-REPORTED RANK IN HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATING CLASS:
 PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Rank in Graduating Class	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Valedictorian, salutatorian	15	16	10
Top 10 per cent	39	37	37
Top 25 per cent	19	20	21
Top half	24	20	24
Bottom half	3	7	8
N	294	575	308
NA	11	12	5

of the nonparticipants (60 per cent) studied social science for three or four years while in high school. While in college nine-tenths of all these respondents took one or more courses in social science, but certain other college experiences in the social science field demonstrate differences among these types of students (Table 10.20).

TABLE 10.19

NUMBER OF YEARS SOCIAL SCIENCES STUDIED IN HIGH SCHOOL:
PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Number of Years Studied	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
None or one	7	17	14
Two	22	27	26
Three	30	24	24
Four	41	32	36
N	286	567	300
NA	19	20	13

TABLE 10.20

SELECTED RESPONSES CONCERNING COLLEGE SOCIAL SCIENCE COURSES:
PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Response	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Had one or more courses in social science	90	91	89
Have a flair for social science	33	26	29
Teachers encouraged me to go on in the field	32	20	20
Admired teachers in social science	43	37	34
Have close friends majoring in the field	52	46	40
N	297	570	301
NA	8	17	12

The civil rights leaders on the campus tended to associate with fellow students who majored in social science. They apparently had good relations with the professors in the field, whom they admired as persons and who encouraged them to do further work and study in the social sciences. It is more than simple speculation to say that the whole current movement for Negro rights had to be a major topic of discussion in the social science courses at Negro colleges and that the students active in the movement profited most by these discussions. The data of our survey show that the campus leaders were more involved than other students in these social science courses.

The evidence from the high school experiences of these three types of male students is that the civil rights leaders had achieved the best academic record. However, when we look in Table 10.21 at their comparative academic grades at the college level we find that they are somewhat better than the followers but somewhat worse than the bystanders. Perhaps the lesson of this comparison is that a student's complete dedication to a campus movement or organization will interfere with his class assignments and course work, with a subsequent lowering of his grades.

TABLE 10.21

SELF-REPORTED GRADE POINT AVERAGE IN COLLEGE: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Grade Point Average	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
A, A-	1	1	4
B, B+, B-	50	41	47
C, C+, C-	49	58	49
N	295	574	300
NA	10	13	13

The fact that the campus leaders of the civil rights movement did not report grades that were any better than the followers or the bystanders does not mean that they failed to achieve academic distinction on

their college campus. They were not as likely as the bystanders to graduate from college cum laude, but they were more often distinguished by every other collegiate honor and award. As Table 10.22 shows, more male leaders were on the Dean's List and participated in the honors program at their school. Only about 1 per cent of the male Negro students won the National Merit Scholarship, but a larger proportion of the leaders were awarded other scholarships on the basis of academic ability.

TABLE 10.22

AWARDS AND HONORS WON IN COLLEGE: PER CENT
OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Award or Honor	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
On Dean's List	58	48	52
In academic honor society	13	9	13
Graduated with honors	12	9	16
Won other academic scholarships	29	20	23
In honors program	32	22	24
Won scholarship or research prize	5	4	7
Won literary, musical, or artistic prize	10	10	8
Took graduate level course	16	18	13
Won other honors or awards	34	31	20
No special honors	19	27	28
N	290	552	287
NA	15	35	26

Since we are dealing here with the question of leadership, we considered it important to ask what characteristics are necessary for Negroes to reach positions of responsibility and status in American society. We felt that campus leaders in the civil rights movement would emphasize some characteristics more than others. Table 10.23 shows that all male respondents place the greatest emphasis on high intelligence and

special talents or abilities. Nine out of ten of all respondents think that being a natural leader is of much or some help. Working much harder than anyone else is also considered a necessary ingredient of success.

TABLE 10.23

PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS MAKING VARIOUS ESTIMATES OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS WHICH HELP NEGROES TO SUCCEED IN SPITE OF DISCRIMINATION

Characteristic	Leaders		Followers		Bystanders	
	Helps a Great Deal	Helps Somewhat	Helps a Great Deal	Helps Somewhat	Helps a Great Deal	Helps Somewhat
Intelligence, talents, ability . . .	94	6	96	4	93	6
Being a natural leader	67	23	63	30	61	32
Working harder than others	65	23	68	27	69	24
Being more moral than others	18	36	13	42	21	41
Having a light skin color	5	29	6	32	7	35

Whether morality contributes to success seems to be a moot question in the minds of these male Negro collegians. Less than one out of five of them feels that it would help a great deal if a person were more moral than anyone else. This question has a peculiar significance to the whole current program of organized Negro protest, which has been guided by the highest moral virtues: courage, prudence, patience, and nonviolence. It is assumed that the strongest element of the movement's success is that the higher morality is on the side of the Negroes.¹¹

¹¹This point is made specifically by Laue (1965), who writes that the "activists," among whom are the student groups, are seeking goals with definite philosophical or theological bases.

There is a difference, of course, between personal success and organizational success, and these respondents may be making a realistic judgment when they say that the individual Negro has seldom risen to positions of status even when he was attempting to be more moral than anyone else.

The effect of skin color on Negroes' aspirations seems to be one of considerable subtlety. We have no way of knowing the personal appearance of the respondents to our survey, nor do we know whether those who report themselves leaders have a lighter or darker skin color than the followers and the bystanders. In a competitive Caucasian society in which race and color are used as value norms of social status, the color of one's skin is obviously of some importance. On the other hand, we can expect the growing self-awareness and race consciousness of American Negroes to work toward a de-emphasis of color. Yet one-third of the leaders (34 per cent) and even more of the bystanders (42 per cent) think that having a light skin color is of some help to a Negro who is trying to succeed (cf. Goodman, 1960; Butts, 1963).

If these respondents were faced with a choice between the same job in an organization that was mainly white and one that was mainly Negro, seven-tenths (68 per cent) would choose the white organization. Nine-tenths of them (92 per cent) say that they prefer a white organization because it is important generally for Negroes to succeed on the same basis as whites. One-half of the leaders (51 per cent) and more of the bystanders (61 per cent) feel that in a white organization they would learn more about how to succeed than they would in a Negro organization. One interesting difference is that the leaders are only one-half as likely (8 per cent) as the bystanders (16 per cent) to say that they prefer a white organization because they enjoy the company of whites more than that of Negroes.

Attitudes toward white people obviously loom important in the minds of Negro college students who are striving for racial equality. While only a minority say that they like whites better than Negroes, a majority of the leaders (60 per cent)--but fewer followers (48 per cent) and bystanders (41 per cent)--say that they would like it better if their

college had a larger percentage of white students (Table 10.24). Practically none of the respondents expressed a hostile attitude¹² toward whites by saying they did not want white fellow students, but the majority of nonparticipants (55 per cent) are characterized by their indifference to the matter. As in their attitude toward the civil rights movement itself, they are simply not interested in whether their campus is integrated or segregated. In this too they are bystanders.

TABLE 10.24

ATTITUDES TOWARD OWN SCHOOL IF MORE WHITE STUDENTS ATTENDED IT:
PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Attitude toward Own School	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Would like school a lot more	38	26	24
Would like school a little more	22	22	17
Would like school less . .	2	3	4
It would make no difference	38	49	55
N	297	570	299
NA	8	17	14

We have seen that nine-tenths of the Negro college graduates consider the desegregation of educational institutions an extremely important goal of the civil rights movement. They also feel that they would have had many advantages if they had been able to attend an Ivy League college or a large state university outside the South. When asked about the state universities inside the South, however, many more of them recognize the disadvantages they would have suffered there.

¹²The generalization social psychologists propose is that hostility emerges from frustrations and that phenomena like the Black Muslims, aggressive criminality, and race riots are expressions of lower class Negro frustrations. For a discussion of student rejection of whites, see Steckler (1957).

The interesting point here is the similarity in the opinions of the three categories of male respondents. The civil rights leaders are working actively for the desegregation of colleges, but they are even more likely than the bystanders to say they would have received a worse education if they had attended a white southern university. In Chapter 6 (q.v.) we discovered that the majority of respondents--but more men (76 per cent) than women (67 per cent)--agreed that a segregated organization is a second class organization and gave this as their reason for wanting to work in an organization that was mainly white. The opinions indicated in Table 10.25, however, show that many think there would be more disadvantages in attending a segregated white southern college than a segregated Negro southern college.

It is probably true that people who are the most deeply involved in any organized activity are also the most optimistic about the size of the gains they have achieved.¹³ We would expect the civil rights leaders to continue their activity in the movement, because they are more likely than others to recognize the progress that is being made. The largest percentage difference in this regard exists between leaders and bystanders in their estimates of the movement's success on their own college campus. One-half of the leaders see very much success on their own campus, but only one-third give this high an estimate of the movement's success in the whole of the South. The bystanders, on the other hand, are more likely to say that it is a success nationally than to say it has been successful on their own campus or in the South generally. Tables 10.26-10.28 show the distribution of responses to these three questions.

In spite of these differences of opinion among leaders, followers, and nonparticipants, it seems worth noting that the great majority of all three types of male Negro students are convinced that the civil rights movement has been successful nationally, regionally, and on their own

¹³ Practically all the Negro leaders interviewed for the Newsweek poll (Brink and Harris, 1964, passim) are deeply involved in the civil rights movement, and they tend in general to be more sanguine about Negro progress than does the average Negro.

TABLE 10.25

VIEWS ON ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ATTENDING A SOUTHERN
STATE UNIVERSITY: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS,
FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Probable Advantage or Disadvantage	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
<u>Probable advantages:</u>			
Would be better prepared for graduate study	15	12	14
Better jobs would be open to me later on	15	12	12
Would better realize my potentialities	12	12	13
Would have had a better education.	11	11	9
People would have respected me more	8	9	9
Would have associated with people of higher status	8	5	5
Would have gained more social polish	7	4	9
Would have been much happier	6	4	6
<u>Probable disadvantages:</u>			
Would not have been on inside of things there	57	60	59
Would have been lonely	55	63	59
Would have had a worse education .	45	36	38
Would have failed to graduate . .	21	17	22
N ;	194	387	188
NA	111	200	125

TABLE 10.26

ESTIMATES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS ON OWN COLLEGE CAMPUS: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Estimated Success on Campus	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Very much a success	49	46	28
Somewhat of a success	41	40	37
Somewhat of a failure	9	11	21
Very much a failure	1	3	14
N	295	570	282
NA	10	17	31

TABLE 10.27

ESTIMATES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS NATIONALLY: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Estimated Success Nationally	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Very much a success	45	45	37
Somewhat of a success	50	50	53
Somewhat of a failure	4	4	7
Very much a failure	1	1	3
N	300	576	296
NA	5	11	17

TABLE 10.28

ESTIMATES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS IN THE SOUTH: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Estimated Success in South	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Very much a success	33	31	24
Somewhat of a success	59	59	57
Somewhat of a failure	6	9	14
Very much a failure	2	1	5
N	301	579	297
NA	4	8	15

campus. They gave these estimates at the end of their senior year in college, even before Congress passed the 1964 civil rights legislation. The same kind of optimism was evinced when we asked them what advice they would give a young Negro about entering a career field that had not previously been open to Negroes. Practically no one thought he would be wasting his time in this effort, but more leaders (66 per cent) than followers (54 per cent) and bystanders (47 per cent) urged that he should be a pioneer in opening up the field.

The male leaders (51 per cent), followers (50 per cent), and bystanders (55 per cent) all consider equal employment opportunities the single most important goal of the civil rights movement. When we asked them to predict the length of time it will take for Negroes with equal education to have job opportunities equal to those of whites (Tables 10.29, 10.30), we found that the leaders and the nonparticipants in the civil rights movement are remarkably similar in their predictions. They are obviously more pessimistic about achievements in the South than in the nation as a whole: three-fourths of them say that it will take twenty years or more in the South, and only one-half of them expect it to take twenty years or more in the entire nation. The followers show a distribution of responses that is somewhat different from the others.

College seniors are understandably preoccupied with their future job prospects, and the preoccupation of male Negro college seniors is probably tinged with a certain degree of apprehension. The great majority of these men realize most clearly that even with a college diploma they will not have job opportunities equal to those of white college graduates. We asked them further about certain characteristics they might consider important in selecting a job or career. Our supposition was that the campus leaders of the civil rights movement would put greater emphasis on the "human values" attached to occupations than would either the followers or the bystanders. Tables 10.31-10.33 distribute their responses to these queries.

TABLE 10.29

ESTIMATES OF TIME WHEN NEGROES WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITIES EQUAL TO THOSE OF WHITES WITH SAME EDUCATION IN THE NATION AS A WHOLE: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Estimated Time for Equal Opportunities	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Have equal opportunity now	11	6	12
It will take ten years	39	44	36
It will take twenty years	20	23	21
Thirty to fifty years	17	18	19
Sixty years or more	13	9	12
N	274	521	270
NA	31	66	43

TABLE 10.30

ESTIMATES OF TIME WHEN NEGROES WILL HAVE OPPORTUNITIES EQUAL TO THOSE OF WHITES WITH SAME EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Estimated Time for Equal Opportunities	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Have equal opportunity now	^a	-	1
It will take ten years	24	20	24
It will take twenty years	24	34	27
Thirty to fifty years	28	25	22
Sixty years or more	24	21	26
N	279	537	271
NA	26	50	42

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

TABLE 10.31

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF OPPORTUNITY IN CAREER TO BE HELPFUL AND USEFUL: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Relative Importance	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Very important . . .	83	79	75
Fairly important . .	13	16	19
Of little importance	4	5	6
N	261	494	269
NA	44	93	44

TABLE 10.32

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH PEOPLE RATHER THAN THINGS: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Relative Importance	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Very important . . .	61	53	53
Fairly important . .	24	27	28
Of little importance	15	20	19
N	249	473	257
NA	56	114	56

TABLE 10.33

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF OPPORTUNITY IN CAREER TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP; PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Relative Importance	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Very important . . .	47	41	44
Fairly important . .	34	38	32
Of little importance	19	21	24
N	245	459	251
NA	60	128	62

All three categories of Negro college men place the greatest stress on the type of occupation that provides opportunities to be helpful to others or useful to society. However, more leaders than non-participants say that this job characteristic is very important to them. The majority of them, but again more leaders than bystanders, see great importance in jobs that allow them to work with people rather than with things.

Less than one-half of these graduates think it very important to have a job that gives them a chance to exercise leadership. The leaders of the civil rights movement on campus tend to emphasize this characteristic somewhat more than do the other men, but they do not appear to give it the degree of significance we might expect. It is obvious that the occupational world is quite different in its procedures and objectives from the voluntary organization of college students for the promotion of civil rights. Nevertheless, we should point out that male Negro campus leaders place greater emphasis on these human values than does any category of male white college students.

With what type of employer will they find job opportunities in which they can exercise these preferred occupational values? While job prospects and alternatives are not as broad for Negro college graduates as for whites, and the range of choice in general is narrower for Negroes, there do appear to be some differences between leaders and bystanders on the Negro campus. For example, the leaders are more likely than the bystanders to be on a college faculty or administration, while the bystanders are more likely than the leaders to be employed at the elementary or secondary levels of education (Table 10.34).¹⁴

If we look at this question of future employment from the standpoint of the student's major academic field in college (as we do in Table 10.35), we find other differences between the male leaders and bystanders.

¹⁴As we have noted elsewhere, it also seems significant that Negroes who were the products of public colleges, and those whose parents were poorly educated, will go in heavily for teaching in the elementary and secondary schools.

TABLE 10.34

MOST LIKELY TYPE OF EMPLOYER IN EXPECTED CAREER: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Most Likely Type of Employer	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Self or family business	3	2	4
Other business or industry	14	19	16
Own practice or partnership	11	10	9
University, college, junior college	16	7	10
Elementary or secondary school	25	29	34
Nongovernment research organization	4	5	3
Federal government	16	18	16
State or local government	5	4	3
Nongovernment health or welfare	3	3	3
Other	3	3	2
N	291	568	296
NA	14	19	17

TABLE 10.35

OFFICIAL MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY DURING LAST YEAR IN COLLEGE: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Major Field of Study	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Elementary and secondary education	18	21	20
Specialized education	17	18	17
Physical sciences	15	20	14
Social sciences	15	13	14
Humanities	15	8	8
Biological sciences	11	12	15
Business fields	6	6	10
Health fields	1	1	^a
Other	2	1	2
N	290	564	293
NA	15	23	20

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

We find that more of both types prepare for careers in elementary and secondary education than actually go into it (cf. Tables 10.36, 10.37), and fewer of both types major in business than go into that field. Both as a field of major studies and as an anticipated career the humanities attract more leaders than bystanders, while the business fields attract more nonparticipants than campus leaders. The general distribution of responses, however, is quite similar in these two categories of Negro college men. It would be difficult from these data to make a case indicating that one area of occupational and academic interest has greater influence than another in stimulating students to participate in the civil rights movement.

In looking forward to the autumn following commencement, a smaller proportion of leaders (28 per cent) than followers (37 per cent) and bystanders (41 per cent) expected to be working full time in their long run career field, and a greater proportion of leaders (43 per cent) than followers (42 per cent) and bystanders (38 per cent) expected to be attending a graduate or professional school.

TABLE 10.36
 ANTICIPATED CAREER FIELD AT GRADUATION FROM COLLEGE: PER CENT
 OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Anticipated Career Field	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Elementary and secondary education .	11	13	12
Specialized education	17	16	18
Physical sciences	15	20	14
Social sciences	14	9	13
Humanities	9	7	6
Biological sciences	4	6	4
Business fields	11	10	14
Health fields	9	12	11
Law	6	3	5
Other	4	4	3
N	286	556	292
NA	19	31	21

TABLE 10.37

DISTRIBUTION OF GRADUATE OR PROFESSIONAL FIELDS OF STUDY: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Graduate or Professional Field of Study	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Elementary or secondary education	7	10	9
Specialized education	19	17	20
Physical sciences (and engineering).	14	19	11
Social sciences	16	12	15
Humanities	12	10	9
Biological sciences	8	10	9
Business fields	9	8	12
Health fields	7	11	9
Law	7	3	5
Others	1	_a	1
N	278	536	275
NA	11	31	18
Not applicable	16	20	20

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

Regardless of the occupational field they anticipated, very few of these respondents (leaders--8 per cent; followers--11 per cent; bystanders--12 per cent) felt that postgraduate or professional training was not at all necessary for the career field they were entering. This does not mean that the great majority intended to try to obtain that training immediately. Marriage or marriage plans, military service, and especially financial disability stood between the Negro college graduate and a program of further study. There was also the possibility that opportunities for postgraduate training were not equally open to whites and Negroes. We asked them whether they thought that qualified Negroes had opportunities equal to those of whites to get useful and necessary postgraduate training. We see their responses in Table 10.38.

TABLE 10.38.

ESTIMATED OPPORTUNITIES FOR QUALIFIED NEGROES COMPARED TO THOSE OF WHITES TO GET POSTGRADUATE TRAINING: PER CENT OF MALE LEADERS, FOLLOWERS, AND BYSTANDERS

Estimated Opportunity	Leaders	Followers	Bystanders
Opportunity greater than that of whites	1	1	2
Opportunity equal to that of whites	53	55	62
Opportunity less than that of whites	46	44	36
N	280	524	275
NA	8	29	16
Not applicable	17	34	22

We have seen that in general the campus leaders of the civil rights movement have a more positive and optimistic view of its success than do the nonparticipants. However, their estimates of the amount of time it will take before Negroes have job opportunities equal to those of whites are essentially the same as the bystanders' estimates. Now when they give their opinion about Negro opportunities for postgraduate and professional training, we find that they are more likely than both the followers and the bystanders to say that qualified Negroes do not have the opportunities that whites have to get useful and necessary graduate training for their chosen career.

There are other variables complicating one's chances of getting to graduate school besides personal and financial problems or even the existing discrimination against Negroes. We have seen, for example, that the proportions going immediately to graduate school differ according to the career field they have chosen and that the availability of stipends and other forms of assistance can be considerably greater in one field than another. Men who are going into social work or into elementary or secondary education see better opportunities for graduate work than do those who are going into medicine, business, or the biological sciences.

Only one out of ten (9 per cent) of those who applied for a stipend in social work received it, and one out of seven (14 per cent) of those applying for a stipend in medicine received it; yet a much higher proportion of those going in for medicine (72 per cent) than of those going into social work (45 per cent) had applied for a stipend.

Earlier in this chapter we gained the impression that Negroes from families of higher status were more likely than others to be interested and active in the campus civil rights movement. We based this surmise on the fact that private colleges are more active in the movement than are public colleges and that private colleges tend to have larger proportions of Negroes of higher status. Testing this hypothesis in Table 10.39 we find that the sons of college educated persons are somewhat more likely to be among the active (25 per cent and 21 per cent), and somewhat less likely to report that they were nonparticipants (25 per cent and 31 per cent), than were the sons of those with the least education.

TABLE 10.39

NEGRO STUDENTS' PERSONAL ROLE IN CAMPUS CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT,
BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Personal Role in Movement on Campus	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Leader	4	1	3	1	4	- ^a
Very active participant	21	18	18	18	23	20
Participant but not very active	50	50	49	42	49	47
Nonparticipant	25	31	30	39	24	33
N	138	254	270	400	734	1,295
NA	5	15	24	44	37	97

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

Among the three categories in Tables 10.39 and 10.40, the largest proportion of active students is in the intermediate group, that is, the men who come from families which are neither the most nor the least educated. They are also more likely than any of the other types of students to feel that the rights movement on their campus was very much a success (Table 10.40). When we compared the types of colleges attended, we found that the women in publicly supported colleges had the largest minority (25 per cent) who thought the movement a failure on their campus. The women from poorly educated families are most ready to say that it was a failure and least ready of all to say that it was very much a success.

TABLE 10.40

NEGRO STUDENTS' ESTIMATES OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS ON THEIR OWN CAMPUS, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Estimated Success of Movement on Campus	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very much a success	41	39	37	29	44	37
Somewhat of a success	42	50	42	43	38	47
Somewhat of a failure	11	8	14	19	13	11
Very much a failure	6	3	7	9	5	5
N	134	251	261	380	717	1,245
NA	9	18	33	64	54	147

When we compared the opinions of the different sexes on the nationwide success or failure of the civil rights movement, we found no proportional difference in their responses (Table 10.41). The more influential factor in forming these attitudes seems to be the class position of the respondent, and it affects the men more than the women. The men from the least educated families appear to be much more optimistic than those from the best educated families, considerably more of them believing that the

movement on the national level is very much a success. Oddly enough, while the percentage differences are not as wide, the daughters of the poorly educated are less likely than the other women to have this high estimation of the movement's success.

TABLE 10.41

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS
NATIONALLY, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Estimated Success of Movement	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very much a success	33	44	49	40	44	43
Somewhat of a success	63	53	44	53	49	51
Somewhat of a failure	4	2	6	5	5	5
Very much a failure	^a	1	1	2	2	1
N	139	256	266	392	744	1,284
NA	4	13	28	52	27	108

^aIndicates number was too low to percentage.

There appears to be a certain degree of ambivalence among these daughters of the Negroes with the poorest education. When we asked the same civil rights question about the southern region (Table 10.42), all categories of Negro respondents gave a lower estimation of the movement's success. Yet the children of poorly educated parents are somewhat more inclined than the others to feel the movement has been very much a success in the South, even though there are also more women from these families than from the others who think of the southern movement as a failure. We have seen too that these girls are more likely than any of the others to say that they were nonparticipants in the campus movement for civil rights.

In this chapter the survey data reveal that about three-tenths of the Negro college graduates seem to be indifferent to the civil rights

movement on their campus. The majority of them, however, would like their own college better if there were a greater emphasis on the movement there. The main activities of the students in the movement were organized boycotts against segregated businesses and sit-ins against segregated public places. The private colleges sponsored more civil rights activities than the public colleges, especially in campaigns for voter registration. More private college students than public college students think their campus has been successful in these affairs.

TABLE 10.42

NEGRO GRADUATES' ESTIMATES OF CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S SUCCESS IN THE SOUTH, BY AMOUNT OF PARENTAL EDUCATION AND SEX

Estimated Success of Movement	Amount of Parents' Education					
	College		Grade School		All Other	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
Very much a success	26	26	33	31	31	24
Somewhat of a success	63	66	55	62	57	62
Somewhat of a failure	9	7	10	13	10	11
Very much a failure	2	1	2	4	2	3
N	140	255	272	402	737	1,276
NA	3	14	22	42	34	116

The graduates put a much greater emphasis on achieving equal job opportunities than they do on educational desegregation in evaluating the importance of the movement's goals, but the most important personal gain of the movement for them has been better opportunity for equal education. They feel quite expectably that the Negro protest has succeeded more at the national level than it has in the southern region.

Male Negro students are more active in civil rights than are the women, and the male campus leaders, compared with the bystanders, have a

greater record of student activities even back in their high school years. They had more social science courses in high school and were more involved in social sciences at the college level. The leaders are much more likely than the bystanders to want desegregation (that is, more white students) on their own campus; they are also more likely to think the movement has been very much a success at their own college, in the southern region, and on the national scene. Yet they are not significantly more optimistic about gaining employment opportunities for Negroes equal to those of whites.

APPENDIX 1

THE SAMPLE: DESIGN AND EXECUTION

Introduction

Three distinct student populations are utilized in this study. The principal population, that of the "Southern Negro," is derived from a survey of fifty predominantly Negro schools, nearly all of them in the South. The design of that survey will be described in detail in the following pages. The second population--presented in two components, "Southern White" and "All Other"--is derived from NORC's companion study of the national 1964 senior class but excludes respondents from the two predominantly Negro schools which fell into the sample of that study. (A brief discussion of the design of the national study is presented in the last section of this appendix.) The third population--that of the "Nonsouthern Negro," discussed particularly in Chapter 6--is derived from Negro respondents to the 1964 national study who received degrees from non-Negro schools. It is in fact a subgroup of the second population described above and will be discussed in conjunction with that population at the end of this appendix.

Negro Colleges; The Universe

The universe for studying the graduates of Negro colleges was defined in the following manner.

All students who received baccalaureate degrees during the spring, 1964, convocation from any one of seventy-seven institutions identified as primarily attended by Negro students.

The underlined terms in the definition are limiting in nature and require explanation.

All Students

"All students" is a concept which embraces non-Negro students, as well as the overwhelming majority of students who are Negro, at the identified institutions. No attempt was made to exclude non-Negro students from the universe or the sample; nor was this attempted in the analysis

of respondents except as may be noted in specific contexts in the text. Since one focus of the study is upon students of the "Negro" schools qua schools, and since isolation of the non-Negro students at the design or collection stages would have involved massive presampling research, it was decided to treat the universe generally as if the identified schools enrolled only Negroes. In point of fact, 97.6 per cent of all the respondents were Negroes, 1.7 per cent were whites, and 0.6 per cent were "other races."

Baccalaureate Degrees

"Baccalaureate degrees" are defined as those degrees received as the result of a four- or five-year baccalaureate program, not including degrees otherwise considered "first level" given by professional schools which require at least two years of undergraduate work before admission. The universe thus includes such degrees as the B.S. in engineering--which in some institutions involves a five-year work-study program--but it specifically excludes such professional degrees as M.D., B.D., D.D.S., and LL.B. Limiting the design to the four- and five-year baccalaureate programs has two advantages. First, because it excludes the first-level degrees in medicine and law, which are generally "terminal," it focuses more sharply on the problem of graduate educational plans. Second, with minor exceptions, it corresponds to the degree universe embraced by the U.S. Office of Education in its "Earned Degrees Conferred" series.

Spring Convocation

Several considerations dictated limiting the study universe to those students graduating during the spring convocation. In the first place, for reasons inherent in its timing, a 1961 NORC study of college seniors was limited to the spring graduates, and the desire to make comparisons with it provided a compelling reason to retain basically the same design structure in the 1964 national sample study and consequently in the present study. Second, degrees not awarded in the spring convocation are spread rather widely across the remaining months of the year. In order to query these students and, at the same time, avoid the distortions of retrospection and the alterations in career or study plans for the future which many

students make in the year after graduation, it would have been necessary to field questionnaires and collect data over an entire year's time, with attendant design and administrative difficulties. Third, the perspective of other graduates--particularly of the midyear graduates--is quite different from that of the spring graduates. The midyear graduate enters the labor market and the competition for graduate study emoluments at a time out of rhythm with the modal flow of college graduates. To the midyear graduate, it is not fully meaningful to speak of "fall plans," since that concept signifies a special time of opportunity as well as a point in time. The sophisticated problems of questionnaire design that accompany an attempt to deal with these potentially dissimilar groups of graduates did not seem to be justified by the analytic results we anticipated.

As a part of our sample design process, we asked the registrars of all the institutions eligible for our universe for the distribution of degrees awarded by month. As Table A-1.1 illustrates, almost 80 per cent of all degrees are awarded during the May-June convocations, 13 per cent are awarded in August, and the remaining 7 per cent are spread across the other months of the calendar.

TABLE A-1.1

PER CENT OF BACHELOR'S DEGREES AWARDED BY SEVENTY-EIGHT
NEGRO SCHOOLS, BY MONTH DURING WHICH AWARDED

January	3.2
February	0.0
March	0.2
April	3.1
May	36.1
June	43.4
July	0.7
August	12.9
September	0.0
October	0.0
November	0.0
December	0.4
Total	100.0
N	12,469

With the confidence that such a definition would embrace 80 per cent of all 1964 baccalaureates, we thus defined spring commencement as a commencement occurring during the months of May or June, except that a July commencement fell into our spring definition if an institution held no commencement during May or June. This qualification was necessary to include within the universe an extremely small percentage of schools-- notably those on the trimester system--which do not hold May-June commencements.¹

While the formal universe of this study embraces only the spring graduates, we may give some consideration to the extent to which the formal universe--and thus our study--is representative of all baccalaureates. Evidence available from a more elaborate analysis of the interrelationship of school characteristics and proportion of May-June graduates undertaken on our universe and the eleven hundred schools in the national sample universe suggests (although it does not document) that May-June graduates represent a slightly higher orientation toward arts and sciences, and thus a slightly higher affinity for graduate education, than those students who graduate in other months.²

¹One large school in the universe--Florida A&M--holds a commencement during April but none during May, June, or July, a fact which was noted too late in the sampling stage to open the definition to April. The omission does not affect the sampling structure, and Florida A&M's April graduates are not properly within the universe as defined. But it is useful to note that the operating definition of spring commencement did exclude all the graduates of this institution from selection and analysis.

²For a discussion of the methodology and results of this analysis for the national sample schools, see Schiltz (1966, Appendix 1). Because data on undergraduate majors were not collected for all the students in the Negro schools of this present study, the analysis of May-June graduates by undergraduate major for the Negro schools is somewhat less reliable, but the same tendencies do emerge: the liberal arts in general are overrepresented, and education and business underrepresented, among May-June graduates compared to the distributions for the entire academic year.

Identified Schools

"Identified schools" are those which the research staff of NORC and the U.S. Department of Labor were able to identify as primarily attended by Negroes. The list of schools so identified appears in Table A-1.2.

This present universe compares extremely well with a universe of "colleges and universities attended predominantly by Negro students" identified by the Institute of Higher Education for a study of Negro colleges prepared by McGrath (1965, Appendix A, pp. 172-77). The McGrath universe contains one hundred twenty-three schools, including all the institutions in the NORC universe. Thirty-six of the McGrath schools are junior colleges. Two more--Atlanta University and the Interdenominational Theological Center, both in Atlanta, Ga.--produced no degrees classified by Tolliver (1963_{a,b}) as "baccalaureate or first professional" in 1960-61 or 1961-62. We have assumed that they grant no Bachelor's degrees within the meaning of our definition and are thus outside the universe. There are thus seven institutions in the McGrath universe which fall into our definition of eligibility but which are not in the NORC universe. Five of these seven are listed in the Office of Education's "Fall Enrollment" series (Huddleston, 1963). These, with their fall, 1963, enrollments, are Shorter College, North Little Rock, Ark. (216); District of Columbia Teachers' College (2,560); Lincoln University, Lincoln, Nebr. (466); Meharry Medical College, Nashville, Tenn. (342); and West Virginia State College, Institute, W.Va. (2,518). The remaining two, Selma University, Selma, Ala., and Simmons University, Louisville, Ky., are not listed in the Enrollment and Degree publications of the Office of Education or in its Education Directory, but McGrath (1965) reports their enrollments as 184 and 134, respectively.

Using the Tolliver (1963_b) data for 1961-62, and estimating the baccalaureate output of Selma and Simmons at 14 per cent of total enrollment (the average of nine institutions of similar size in the NORC universe), we concluded that the seven eligible institutions contained in the McGrath universe but not in the NORC universe graduate approximately four hundred students per year, or about 3 per cent of the 12,284 baccalaureates awarded by the institutions in the NORC universe in 1962-63.

TABLE A-1.2

NEGRO SCHOOLS IN UNIVERSE AND SAMPLE: SAMPLE STRATUM AND RESPONSE RATE

School (by State)	Sample Stratum ^a	Response Rate ^b (Per Cent)	Selection ^c
<u>Alabama:</u>			
Ala. Ag. & Mech. Coll.	-	-	-
Ala. State Coll.	C	50	S
Miles Coll.	P	58	S
Oakwood Coll.	-	-	-
Stillman Coll.	-	-	-
Talladega Coll.	-	-	-
Tuskegee Inst.	C	64	S
<u>Arkansas:</u>			
Ag., Mech., & Normal Coll.	C	35	S
Philander Smith Coll.	-	-	-
<u>Delaware:</u>			
Delaware State Coll.	1.7	45	S
<u>District of Columbia:</u>			
Howard Univ.	C	44	S
<u>Florida:</u>			
Bethune-Cookman Coll.	-	-	-
Edward Waters Coll.	-	-	-
Fla. Ag. & Mech. Univ.	-	-	-
Fla. Normal & Ind. Memorial Coll.	-	-	-
<u>Georgia:</u>			
Albany State Coll.	-	-	-
Clark Coll.	-	-	-
Fort Valley State Coll.	P	48	S
Morehouse Coll.	P	56	S
Morris Brown Coll.	P	41	S
Paine Coll.	-	-	-
Savannah State Coll.	-	-	-
Spelman Coll.	1.2	55	S

^aSample strata as follows. C--schools in sample with certainty; students sampled at rate of .718. P--schools selected by probability proportionate to size, and size 117 or greater. Sample at these schools was .117. 1.7--weight. These schools selected by probability proportionate to size, and size less than 117. All students were weighted to represent 117 as noted.

^bResponse rate is unweighted.

^cS--school selected for sample.

TABLE A-1.2--Continued

School (by State)	Sample Stratum	Response Rate (Per Cent)	Selection
<u>Kentucky:</u>			
Kentucky State Coll.	-	-	-
<u>Louisiana:</u>			
Dillard Univ.	P	53	S
Grambling Coll.	P	40	S
Southern Univ. & Ag. & Mech. Coll.	C	47	S
Xavier Univ.	P	61	S
<u>Maryland:</u>			
Coppin State Coll.	-	-	-
Morgan State Coll.	C	49	S
Bowie State Coll.	-	-	-
Univ. of Md.: State Coll. at Princess Anne	-	-	-
<u>Mississippi:</u>			
Alcorn Ag. & Mech. Coll.	C	47	S
Jackson State Coll.	C	52	S
Miss. Ind. Coll.	-	-	-
Miss. Vocational Coll.	C	49	S
Rust Coll.	P	42	S
Tougaloo Southern Christian Coll.	1.1	55	S
<u>Missouri:</u>			
Lincoln Univ.	-	-	-
<u>North Carolina:</u>			
Ag. & Tech. Coll. of N.C.	P	52	S
Barber-Scotia Coll.	2.5	41	S
Bennett Coll.	1.2	68	S
Elizabeth City State Teachers' Coll.	1.1	47	S
Fayetteville State Coll.	P	51	S
Johnson C. Smith Univ.	P	32	S
Livingstone Coll.	1.3	44	S
N.C. Coll. at Durham.	C	54	S
St. Augustine's Coll.	1.8	42	S
Shaw Univ.	-	-	-
Winston-Salem State Coll.	C	55	S
<u>Ohio:</u>			
Central State Coll.	C	41	S
Wilberforce Univ.	-	-	-
<u>Oklahoma:</u>			
Langston Univ.	1.1	53	S

TABLE A-1.2--Continued

School (by State)	Sample Stratum	Response Rate (Per Cent)	Selection
<u>Pennsylvania:</u>			
Cheyney State Coll.	P	54	S
<u>South Carolina:</u>			
Allen Univ.	1.3	37	S
Benedict Coll.	-	-	-
Claflin Coll.	-	-	-
Morris Coll.	2.2	44	S
S.C. State Coll.	C	54	S
<u>Tennessee:</u>			
Fisk Univ.	P	58	S
Knoxville Coll.	1.5	52	S
Lane Coll.	-	-	-
LeMoyne Coll.	1.6	61	S
Tenn. Ag. & Ind. State Univ.	C	43	S
<u>Texas:</u>			
Bishop Coll.	-	-	-
Huston-Tillotson Coll.	1.2	50	S
Jarvis Christian Coll.	3.2	63	S
Paul Quinn Coll.	-	-	-
Prairie View Ag. & Mech. Coll.	P	59	S
Texas Coll.	1.0	34	S
Texas Southern Univ.	P	49	S
Wiley Coll.	1.4	52	S
<u>Virginia:</u>			
Hampton Inst.	C	54	S
St. Paul's Coll.	-	-	-
Virginia State Coll.	P	55	S
Va. Theol. Sem. & Coll.	-	-	-
Va. Union Univ.	P	53	S
<u>West Virginia:</u>			
Bluefield State Coll.	1.8	43	S

While the impossibility of obtaining precise data on school enrollment by race precludes our expressing certitude about the real limits of the universe, the virtual coincidence of the NORC and McGrath lists provides us with reasonable assurance that we have identified the vast majority of "Negro" colleges.

Negro Colleges: The Sample

The sampling design was of a two stage probability type. The first stage involved drawing fifty schools (from a universe of seventy-eight) with a probability proportionate to size; the second stage involved sampling students within the selected schools, with sampling rates established to yield an equal probability of selection for each student in the universe.

The School Sample

The number of spring, 1963, graduates for each school in the universe was computed from data obtained from registrars of the universe institutions, and the schools were ranked according to this measure of "size." Considerations of reliability, cost, and time dictated a sample of approximately fifty schools which would yield approximately 7,000 respondent-cases.

From an inspection of the size-rank, we decided to include the largest fifteen schools, with a size of 167 or more spring graduates. From the remaining sixty-three schools in the universe, containing an aggregate of 5,715 spring graduates, thirty-five schools were then selected with a probability proportionate to size, according to the formula $35S/5,715$, where S equals the measure of size. The result was a sample of fifty of the seventy-eight schools. These schools, as well as weights derived as outlined below, are listed in Table A-1.2.

The Student Sample

The desired number of respondent-cases dictated that the target N for each school would be 117. Accordingly, sampling rates were set as follows. (1) For the schools selected with a probability proportionate to size: (a) The sampling rate was set to yield 117 respondents by the formula $117/S$; (b) For those schools whose spring graduates numbered less than 117, all students in the school were sampled, and the respondents were weighted up to the 117 figure according to the formula $117/S$. (2) For the

fifteen largest schools, the sampling rate was set at .718, which equals the probability of selection at these schools, since the school component of the probability formula is 1.0.

The Effect of Weighting

Of the fifty schools in the sample, eighteen required weighting.³ The range of school weights assigned is from 1.1 to 3.2. The median weight for these eighteen schools was 1.4, and the arithmetic mean was 1.35. Only eight of the eighteen schools required weights of more than 1.5, and these were schools involving approximately 6 per cent of the students in the sample. The overall ratio between weighted and unweighted cases among respondents to the study was 1.11. It is thus evident that the weighted case base as reported throughout the analysis is extremely close to the unweighted base.

Drawing the Student Sample

In the spring of 1964, lists containing the names of all students expected to receive Bachelor's degrees at the forthcoming spring commencement were obtained from the registrars of all the schools in the sample. From these lists, all the potential graduates were sampled at the appropriate school rates and then sent questionnaires. Since the sample lists reflected "anticipated" graduation, the registrars of the fifty schools were again queried in the summer of 1964, and those students in the sample lists who had not in fact graduated were deleted from the sample.

³The customary method of dealing with schools of less than sample size in a two stage design is to group such schools into clusters and draw the clusters, proportionate to size, for the first stage. But this process entails much additional calculation at the sampling stage, which did not seem to be justified by the minimal increase in confidence which would ensue.

Data Collection

Questionnaires were distributed and collected by an individual mailing process. We obtained current mailing addresses of the students who fell into the sample from the institutional registrars and mailed out the questionnaire, with a stamped, self-addressed envelope, to all sample students in late May of 1964. We continued subsequent mailings to non-responding students throughout the summer and terminated data collection on October 15, with a final take rate of 49 per cent.⁴

Data from the questionnaires were then keypunched into electronic data processing cards, and the cards were subjected to an exhaustive "cleaning" process which identified impossible punches and logical inconsistencies. All such aberrations were referred to the original questionnaires for resolution, thus significantly reducing the incidence of stray keypunch error. Finally, school weights were punched into the stored data.

Negro Colleges: Response Bias

While the respondents to the Negro college study represent one-third of all the students in the universe--an extremely high proportion of respondents to universe, as sample surveys go--the overall response rate of 49 per cent raises serious question whether the sample, however large, is adequately representative. Fortunately, we are in possession of information which enables us to test bias on a variety of fronts, and

⁴Evidence developed while analyzing the national sample indicates that protracting data collection over a twenty week period does not yield significant differences between early respondents and late respondents in their plans and aspirations. The analysis was not undertaken for the sample of Negro schools partly because there was no reason to suspect the Negro experience would be any different, partly because the field period began later (and thus was shorter) for the study of Negro schools than for the national study, and partly because some 90 per cent of the questionnaires were actually collected during the first eight weeks of fieldwork.

the conclusion from these tests, as outlined below, can best be described as a guarded affirmation of adequate representativeness.

School Rates and "Gap"

Table A-1.3 displays the distribution of response rates by school. The median school response rate is 53 per cent, and the distribution generally follows a normal curve, with a compact cluster around the mode. We found that 60 per cent of the schools manifested response rates within ± 7 per cent of the median, and 90 per cent of the schools within ± 12 per cent of the median.

TABLE A-1.3

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL RESPONSE RATE

Response Rate (Per Cent)	Number of Schools	Per Cent of Schools
68	1	2
60-64	4	8
55-59	8	16
50-54	14	28
45-49	8	16
40-44	11	22
35-39	2	4
30-34	2	4
Total	50	100

Median, 53 per cent; Mean, 49 per cent.

Since--for a variety of reasons related to the late conception of the instant study--questionnaires were not fielded until late May, the questionnaires undoubtedly reached some campus addresses after commencement. In order to measure the extent of this effect, we computed a "gap index," which measures the distance for each school, in days,

between the time questionnaires were mailed to its students from NORC and the date of that school's commencement. The distribution of this gap index is presented on Table A-1.4. The vast bulk--nearly 80 per cent--of the sample were sent questionnaires which were mailed at NORC no earlier than seven days before the date of their school commencement. A similar analysis conducted for the companion national sample study revealed a sharp but not large (7 per cent) break in response rates between those schools mailed questionnaires earlier than seven days before commencement and those receiving them later than that. The relatively few students receiving questionnaires before the seven day mark in the present study offers a meager base for measuring this precise effect. On the other hand, the relative homogeneity of the gap index for this study simplified the remainder of the bias analysis.

TABLE A-1.4
DISTRIBUTION OF GAP

Time between Date NORC Mailed Questionnaire and Date of Commencement	Number of Schools	Per Cent of Schools
7 days or more	6	12
1-6 days	18	36
0 days ^a	21	42
Gap not computed	5	10
Total	50	100

^aIncludes schools whose commencement occurred before mailing of questionnaire.

School Characteristics

As an initial test for a wide variety of biases, we arrayed the schools at either end of the range of response rates against four measures: school size, gap, a measure of the school's quality, and type of institution controlling the school. Table A-1.5 displays this analysis. We will

see later that, without exception, the proportion of all four characteristics as shown by the schools at either end of the range of response rates is virtually identical with the distributions of these characteristics throughout all the schools in the study.

TABLE A-1.5
SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS, BY EXTREMES OF RESPONSE RATE

School Characteristic	Schools with Highest Response Rate ^a		School with Lowest Response Rate ^b	
	Expected Number ^c	Actual Number ^d	Expected Number ^c	Actual Number ^d
<u>Size:</u>				
More than 163 spring graduates	5	5	6	5
117-163 spring graduates . . .	6	7	7	5
Less than 117 spring graduates	6	5	6	9
<u>Gap (time after questionnaire mailed):</u>				
7 days or more before graduation	2	2	2	3
1-6 days before graduation . .	6	7	7	6
On or after graduation	7	7	8	8
Not computed	2	1	2	2
<u>College talent index:^e</u>				
Class C	8	7	9	9
Class D	9	10	10	10
<u>Control:</u>				
State controlled	8	6	9	9
Controlled by religious sect .	7	7	7	9
Private nonsectarian	2	4	3	1
Total number of schools.	17	17	19	19

^aResponse rate of 54 per cent or more.

^bResponse rate of 48 per cent or less.

^cNumber of schools expected to have a given characteristic if the characteristic were random with respect to response rate, i.e., the distribution of the characteristic for all schools in the sample, applied to the schools in the given response range.

^dActual number of schools with given category of characteristics.

^eAn index of school quality based upon National Merit Scholarship qualification tests and a four component measure of quality-related school characteristics. For details, consult Schiltz (1966, Appendix 2).

Sex

Table A-1.6 reports two distributions of response rates by sex.⁵ The first is an estimate based on NORC's classification by inspecting the first names of students--both respondents and nonrespondents. The second reports an estimate for which the base is the distribution by sex of four-year Bachelor's and first professional degrees awarded at universe institutions during the entire 1961-62 academic year. The former suffers from coding error; the latter, from the fact that it presumes a similar distribution by sex between the spring graduates and all the graduates and between the 1961-62 and 1963-64 academic years. However, both sets of sex bias estimates run in the same direction and at about the same magnitude: some 45 per cent of the men and 53 per cent of the women in the sample responded to the study. It is worth noting that the sex bias discussed here compares neatly with the 68 per cent male and 76 per cent female response rates to the 1964 national study.

TABLE A-1.6
RESPONSE RATES, BY SEX

Sex of Respondents	NORC Classification		Universe Estimate	
	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N
Men	46	907	44	2,940
Women	51	1,483	55	4,147
Unclassified	43	29	-	-
Total N	--	2,419	--	7,087

⁵The NORC-coded sex bias analysis was run on schools containing 34 per cent of the students in the sample. Coders were instructed to classify sex on the basis of the first name of each student and to classify as NA if any doubt existed. Source for the second analysis is Tolliver (1963b). The total number of degrees, by sex, was obtained for each of seventy-seven of the seventy-eight institutions in the universe, and the sex ratio thus derived was applied to the sample N for the study of Negro schools. Both sex bias estimates are based on un-weighted responses.

Grade Point Average

Data were obtained from nineteen of the sample schools on the cumulative grade point average of responding and nonresponding sample students. Table A-1.7, reporting this distribution, shows a marked difference in response rate between the upper and lower ends of the grade point average spectrum, with 71 per cent of the "A" and "B+" students responding, in contrast to 39 per cent of the "C" and "C-" students. This GPA bias is in the same direction as the GPA bias for the national study but is somewhat larger. Table A-1.8 compares the response rate distributions by GPA quartiles for both studies. Table A-1.9 shows the distribution of selected school characteristics in the entire sample and in the schools upon which the GPA bias analysis was based. From Table A-1.9 we may conclude with comfort that the GPA analysis here, while not based on a random subsample, is truly representative.

TABLE A-1.7

RESPONSE RATE, BY GRADE POINT AVERAGE

Final Grade Point Average	Per Cent Responding	N
B+ or higher	71	150
B	50	383
B-	50	568
C+	42	695
C, C-	39	379
Total N	--	2,175

TABLE A-1.8

RESPONSE RATE BY GRADE POINT AVERAGE QUANTILES, NEGRO SCHOOL STUDY AND NATIONAL STUDY

Grade Point Average Quartile	Negro Study	National Study
	Per Cent	Per Cent
I (high)	56	75
II	50	73
III	43	68
IV (low)	40	66
N	2,175	12,709

TABLE A-1.9

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS FOR ANALYSIS OF GRADE POINT AVERAGE AND FULL SAMPLE

School Characteristic	Students In:	
	GPA Bias Analysis	Entire Sample
	Per Cent	Per Cent
<u>Size:</u>		
Large	37	31
Medium	26	27
Small	37	42
<u>Control:</u>		
Public	52	55
Private	48	45
<u>Subregion:</u>		
Deep South	22	27
Atlantic South	28	34
Other South	40	20
Border	9	15
North	0	4
N	2,175	9,825

Undergraduate Major

One of the most sensitive measures of response bias among college seniors is the undergraduate major--a dimension which taps a network of ability and personality factors. The first two columns of Table A-1.10 report the distribution of response rates by eleven categories of undergraduate major and, for comparative purposes, a similar distribution for the national study. Because we did not obtain data on undergraduate major from the registrars of all the schools in the sample, the response rates for our study are based on something less than the total number of eligible students. However, as the last two columns of the table illustrate, the distribution of undergraduate majors among all the respondents and among those respondents from schools for which these bias data are available is almost identical, suggesting that the bias data on undergraduate major are quite representative. The range is not impressively wide--from a low of 42 per cent among engineers to a high of 56 per cent among physical scientists. Four fields--the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences--are above the mean response rate of 49 per cent.

Representation Rates: Size, Control, Region

In order to obtain some picture of the combined effect of sample error and response bias, we computed a "representation rate," controlled for the school's size and the type of governing body controlling it. The representation rate is obtained by dividing the total weighted respondents by the total number of May-June 1963 graduates in the universe. It is thus a crude measure of the ratio of respondents to universe for a given characteristic. Table A-1.11 displays the representation rate for three gradations of school size and for control by public or private funds. Taken independently, the measures for both size and type of control cluster closely around the mean--within 4 per cent of it. Somewhat larger variations are evident when the two sets of measures are cross-tabulated: the small public school is underrepresented and the small private and middle size public schools are overrepresented. But the magnitude is slight and suggests no coherent pattern.

TABLE A-1.10

RESPONSE RATE BY UNDERGRADUATE MAJOR: NEGRO SCHOOL STUDY AND NATIONAL STUDY

Undergraduate Major	Per Cent Responding In:		Per Cent in Each Field	
	Negro School Study	National Sample Study	Undergraduate Major Bias Subsample	All Respondents (Weighted)
Biological sciences . . .	53 (379)	75 (1,554)	} 17	20
Physical sciences	56 (413)	79 (2,889)		
Humanities	50 (686)	71 (6,663)	14	14
Social sciences	52 (732)	73 (4,754)	15	15
Engineering	43 (89)	75 (2,868)	2	2
Health	43 (105)	77 (1,475)	2	3
Other professions	43 (196)	75 (1,214)	3	1
Agriculture	44 (23)	73 (646)	1	1
Business	46 (295)	69 (1,298)	5	5
Education	45 (1,916)	70 (1,936)	35	39
Not elsewhere classified	44 (362)	72 (1,142)	6	1
Total	49 (5,196)	74 (26,439)	100	100

TABLE A-1.11

WEIGHTED RESPONDENTS AND SAMPLING UNIVERSE, BY SCHOOL SIZE
AND TYPE OF INSTITUTIONAL CONTROL

Type of Control	Size of School (Number of Spring Graduates)			
	Under 117	117-163	164 or Over	All Sizes
<u>Public:</u>				
Universe	1,056	1,240	3,093	5,389
Weighted respondents	264	517	990	1,771
Per cent	25	42	32	33
<u>Private:</u>				
Universe	1,979	1,440	1,017	4,436
Weighted respondents	871	524	379	1,774
Per cent	44	36	37	40
<u>All types:</u>				
Universe	3,035	2,680	4,110	9,825
Weighted respondents	1,135	1,041	1,369	3,545
Per cent	37	40	33	36

Table A-1.12 analyzes the same phenomenon--the universe compared with the weighted respondents--by geographical subregion. But it presents the data in terms of regional distribution for universe and respondents, rather than in terms of a representation rate. The geographical subregions have been chosen in terms of their Negro history and demography: the three groups of southern states all formed part of the Confederacy; the three "Deep South" states all had 1960 Negro populations in excess of 30 per cent of the whole; the "Other South" states were never part of the cotton economy, etc. As the table illustrates, respondents to this study are very closely representative of the discrete subregions.

TABLE A-1.12

DISTRIBUTION BY GEOGRAPHICAL AREA: UNIVERSE AND RESPONDENTS

Geographical Area	Universe ^a	Respondents ^b
	Per Cent	Per Cent
Deep South (Ala., La., Miss.)	27	23
Atlantic South (Ga., N.C., S.C., Va.) . .	34	37
Other South (Tex., Fla., Ark., Tenn.) . .	20	23
Border (Del., D.C., Ky., Md., Mo., Okla., W.Va.)	15	13
North (Ohio, Pa.)	4	3
Total	100	99
N	9,825	3,545

^a May-June graduates, 1962-63.

^b Weighted cases.

Length of Questionnaire

Of all the factors which might serve to explain the relatively high degree of nonresponse or to identify a resultant bias among respondents, none offers as clear and simple a correlation as the length of the questionnaire. We used three measures of questionnaire length--number of pages, number of questions, and number of precoded response items--as correlates of the response rate for the Negro school study, the 1964 national sample study, and a predecessor to both, NORC's survey of the national senior class of 1961. The predecessor was similar in universe, design, and objectives to the 1964 national sample study.⁶ Table A-1.13 displays an inverse relationship between length of questionnaire and response rate which, if plotted, would yield nearly a straight-line curve on each of the three measures of questionnaire length.

⁶ For a detailed description of the construction of the 1961 study, see Davis (1964, Appendix 5).

TABLE A-1.13

COMPARATIVE RESPONSE RATE AND SIZE OF QUESTIONNAIRE: 1961
AND 1964 COLLEGE SENIOR STUDIES

Measure	1961 National Study	1964 National Study	1964 Negro School Study
Number of pages	20	26	38
Number of questions	62	83	114
Number of precoded columns	104	166	327
Response rate (per cent responding)	85	74	50

The correlation of questionnaire length and response is consistent with the moderate biases toward women, high ability students, and students whose undergraduate majors are highly related to graduate training--a pattern of biases common to both the Negro school study and the national sample study. We may presume from this pattern that the basic mechanism of nonresponse involves a resistance to filling out the questionnaire which increases as a function of its length and which is offset by a higher level of motivation among those students with a commitment toward future graduate training--the primary focus of the questionnaire.

The Telephone Survey

In the latter weeks of the data collection stage, NORC conducted an experiment in response resuscitation, in which a random one thousand nonrespondents--five hundred from the national study and five hundred from the Negro schools study--were selected for a telephone contact effort. We contacted 52 per cent of the national sample nonrespondents and 39 per cent of the Negro school nonrespondents--a difference largely attributable to the sharp variance in economic levels between the two samples. We need not be concerned here with the somewhat ambivalent results from the point of view of response stimulation, for the records of the telephone survey

enable us to compare the hostility and cooperation manifested by nonrespondents to the two studies. Keeping in mind that the Negro school questionnaire was substantially longer than the national sample questionnaire, and that both groups of nonrespondents may be presumed to have reached the same level of resistance by late September, the matter in Table A-1.14 is instructive. More Negro school nonrespondents than national sample nonrespondents (94 per cent and 82 per cent) indicated a willingness to fill out the questionnaires when contacted by NORC's telephoners. The proportion of contacted nonrespondents who actually did submit completed questionnaires was very slightly higher for the national sample (48 per cent) than for the Negro school sample (46 per cent), and while none of the Negro school nonrespondents refused even to discuss the matter over the telephone, 2 per cent of the national sample nonrespondents were hostile to this degree.

TABLE A-1.14

SELECTED RESULTS OF TELEPHONE FOLLOW-UP ON NONRESPONDENTS:
NATIONAL STUDY AND NEGRO SCHOOL STUDY

Results of Follow-Up	National Study	Negro School Study
Per cent of original subsample actually contacted by telephone	52 (493) ^a	39 (499) ^a
<u>Per cent of those contacted who:</u>		
Reported willingness to fill out questionnaire	82 (254)	94 (196)
Actually returned questionnaire	48 (254)	46 (196)
Refused to discuss on telephone	2 (254)	0 (196)

^aAlthough the original subsample in each study--randomly drawn from nonrespondents as of August 15, 1964--was five hundred, seven respondents from the national study and one from the Negro school study were dropped from the subsample when we discovered that their present address was overseas.

Is There a Race-related Bias?

One of the earliest and most persistent concerns the NORC staff had regarding the low response rate for the study of Negro schools was that some form of race-related resistance, with unknown and perhaps seriously damaging attendant biases, was operating. The concern was instinctive, rather than conceptual, and was difficult even to articulate in a form which could be subjected to testing. Without attempting to shade all the various nuances of speculation, it may be described generally as the possibility that Negro college students, in the summer of the Civil Rights Act might have exchanged a century of incredible patience for an attitude of downright hostility toward "another study, another survey." In a year of mounting action, NORC's survey might have seemed a manifest anachronism.

However, in retrospect, four distinct sets of data lead us to assert rather confidently that no such race-related mechanism of nonresponse exists in the study.

1. The sex, GPA, and undergraduate major biases are quite similar for both the Negro school and the national sample studies. The fact that all three biases are apparently slightly greater for the Negro schools study is an expected consequence of its questionnaire's added length and the mechanism of resistance connected with length.

2. A race-related response bias might be expected to show marked differences among subregions with sharply variant concentrations of Negroes and with different (if only different to a degree) histories of race relations. In fact, the subregional analysis shows no such evidence.

3. Among respondents reached in the telephone survey--an adequate sample for the following purpose--there is no evidence of a special hostility among Negro school respondents, either in the interview transcriptions of NORC telephone interviewers (who were instructed to record evidences of hostility) or in the manifest noncooperation item in Table A-1.14, and the cooperation indices displayed in Table A-1.14 present evidence running counter to a case for Negro hostility.

4. The length-of-questionnaire correlation, together with a manifestly lower rate of realistic aspiration for graduate training (which leads to a generally weaker motivation to overcome questionnaire length) on the part of Negro school respondents as opposed to national sample respondents, intensified by the shorter mean "gap" between questionnaire mailing and commencement date for Negro sample schools as opposed to national sample schools--these factors together are adequate to explain the markedly lower response rate of Negro school students without resorting to a hypothesis about racial bias.

The National Sample Study: A Brief Résumé of Design

The second and third populations utilized in the textual analyses of our study are derived from a companion NORC survey of the entire national college graduating class of 1964. With the exception that the national sample study was designed to represent all institutions in the United States granting Bachelor's degrees, the definitions and concepts of the study universe for the national sample study are virtually identical to the Negro school study, differing only in minor details not germane to comparisons with our study.

The sample design itself, while also a two stage probability type, was somewhat more complex, drawing 186 schools and 27,890 students, with undergraduate majors in business and education fields undersampled and subsequently weighted. The final weighted N of the respondents to the national sample study was 29,379, representing a response rate of 74 per cent. A bias analysis revealed substantially the same biases of sex, grade point average, and undergraduate major that are evident in the Negro school study. Two of the schools which fell into the national sample also fell into the universe for the Negro school study. These two schools, together with their 177 weighted respondents, were omitted from the tabulations of the "Southern White" and "All Other" components of the national sample study as used throughout the text of this volume.

The "Southern White" Component

The component includes all students in the national sample from schools in the southern region of the United States as defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, except those students at schools lying within the universe of Negro schools. To simplify analytic procedures, students from these schools were not processed to eliminate the less than 0.5 per cent who indicated on the questionnaire that they were Negro.

The "All Other" Component

The component includes all students in the national sample from schools outside the southern region of the United States, but it too excludes those students at schools lying within the universe of Negro schools. While it thus includes Negro students attending nonsouthern schools which are not primarily Negro schools, such Negroes make up only 0.6 per cent of the "All Other" component, and for all practical purposes it may be treated as a "white" component.

The "Nonsouthern Negro"

Used in select places in the text, the "Nonsouthern Negro" population is a subgroup of the "All Other" component identified in the following manner. In the late fall of 1964, respondents to the national sample from nonsouthern schools who either had identified themselves on their questionnaires as "Negro" or had not answered the racial background question were sent the questionnaire supplement containing questions which had been asked of the Negro school students but not previously of the national sample students. Respondents to that supplementary questionnaire, representing 175 weighted cases, were then classified as "Nonsouthern Negroes."

The "Nonsouthern Negro" population is thus made up of students in nonsouthern schools who identified themselves as Negroes and who responded to both the initial questionnaire and the supplementary questionnaire. While the unweighted response for the supplementary questionnaire was

118 completed questionnaires, some 222 of the 317 students to whom the supplementary questionnaire was mailed had not responded to the question on race in the original questionnaire. There is no way of determining how many of these 222 NA cases were actually Negroes, and thus there is no way of precisely determining the response rate applicable to the "Non-southern Negro population," except to note that it is no less than 37 per cent. Since none of the nonsouthern schools which fell into the national study sample were predominantly Negro schools, this population also possesses the attribute of attending a nonsegregated institution.

APPENDIX 2

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

5720 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois

Plaza 2-6444 Area Code 312

PETER H. ROSSI, Director

April, 1964

Dear Student:

Our Center has been asked by three Federal agencies, the National Institutes of Health, The National Science Foundation, and the Department of Labor, to survey the career plans of seniors in American colleges and universities.

You are one of the 40,000 students in 250 schools who have been chosen by scientific probability sampling methods to participate in this study.

The research is designed to yield information on the college experiences, career aspirations and future educational plans of this year's college graduates. These facts will be of considerable use to the Federal agencies sponsoring the study. We urge you to answer the questions as frankly and accurately as you can. Your answers will be absolutely confidential, and no individual student's answers will be revealed in the reports, which will be based on statistical tabulations.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,



Peter H. Rossi
Director

P.S. Pages 2, 3, and 4 of this covering letter contain instructions for filling out the questionnaire. Please read them before answering the questions.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

5720 Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago 37, Illinois

Plaza 2-6444 Area Code 312

PETER H. ROSSI, Director

April, 1964

Dear Student:

Our Center is conducting a survey of the career plans of college seniors on behalf of three Federal agencies, The National Institutes of Health, The National Science Foundation and the Department of Labor.

You, along with other seniors at your school, have been selected as part of a sample of 40,000 seniors drawn from 250 colleges and universities.

A special portion of this questionnaire has been designed for persons like yourself who are attending "Negro Colleges." I am sure that you will find this section of particular interest. It is being collected on behalf of the Department of Labor which hopes that this information will be of value in furthering the spread of equal employment opportunities for graduates of Negro colleges.

The survey is designed to yield information concerning college graduates in general which would be of considerable use to the Federal agencies sponsoring the study. We urge you to answer the questions as frankly and as accurately as you can. Your answers will be absolutely confidential and no individual student's answers will be revealed in the reports, which will be based on statistical tabulations.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,



Peter H. Rossi

Director

P.S. Pages 2, 3 and 4 of this covering letter contain instructions for filling out the questionnaire. Please read them before answering the questions.

STIPEND INFORMATION

Questions 9 - 13 refer to source and types of stipends. This includes any scholarship, fellowship, assistantship or other stipend.

EXCLUDE loans and gifts from parents, relatives or any other source; exclude work performed as an instructor or assistant professor

INCLUDE waiver or reduction in tuition and fees even if you do not receive the money directly

include waiver or reduction of tuition and fees under cost of education allowances received by the university

INCLUDE income from teaching or research in your field of study if paid as a graduate assistant by the school where you are enrolled or an affiliated organization

include payment in kind, e.g., room and board

IF the funds are administered by the school you are attending but come from another source, e.g., a Federal agency such as the National Institutes of Health or the National Science Foundation, be sure to enter the code number for the Federal agency providing the funds (do not enter the code number for the school you are attending).

FOR EXAMPLE If the stipend is a research assistantship from your school, write the code number (52) in the boxes provided, such as:

5	2
---	---

Source of Stipend		Type of Stipend					
		Duty Free Stipend		Stipend Requiring Duties			
		Equal to or less than my tuition bill	For tuition plus cash grant	Research Assistantship	Teaching Assistantship	Laboratory Assistantship	
U.S. Federal Government (directly or through your school)	Atomic Energy Commission	00	20	40	60	80	
	Department of Defense	01	21	41	61	81	
	National Science Foundation	02	22	42	62	82	
	National Aeronautics and Space Administration	03	23	43	63	83	
	Office of Education	National Defense Education Act	04	24	44	64	84
		Other Office of Education	05	25	45	65	85
	Public Health Service	National Institutes of Health Fellowship Program	06	26	46	66	86
		National Institutes of Health Training Grant and Traineeship Program	07	27	47	67	87
		National Institutes of Health Research Grants and Contracts	08	28	48	68	88
		Other PHS	09	29	49	69	89
		Other Federal Government	0X	2X	4X	6X	8X
		Private Foundation, Philanthropic Organization, etc.	10	30	50	70	90
	Industrial or Business Corporation or Firm	11	31	51	71	91	
	Directly from the school that I am now attending	12	32	52	72	92	
	The school I am attending, but I do not know the primary source	13	33	53	73	93	
	State or local government (U.S.)	14	34	54	74	94	
	Foreign government and other foreign sources	15	35	55	75	95	
	Other	16	36	56	76	96	

I. PLANS FOR 1964-1965

BEGIN DECK 1

1. In what month will your bachelor's degree be awarded? (Circle one)

- May, 1964..... 1 10/0
- June, 1964..... 2
- July, 1964..... 3
- August, 1964..... 4
- After August, 1964..... 5

2. What will you be doing between September, 1964 and June, 1965? (Circle all the numbers which describe what you will be doing.)

- Working full-time at a type of job which I expect to be my long-run career field..... 0 11/X
- Working full-time at a type of job which probably will not be my long-run career field..... 1
- Working part-time..... 2
- Working as a teaching or research assistant in conjunction with my postgraduate degree program..... 3
- Going to graduate or professional school for a postgraduate degree..... 4
- Taking courses, but not toward a postgraduate degree..... 5
- In the military service (full-time active duty)..... 6
- Being a housewife, mother..... 7
- Peace Corps..... 8
- Other (Circle and Specify)..... 9

3. How definite are your plans for the period September, 1964 to June 1965? (Circle one)

- Quite definite..... 7 12/6
- Fairly definite..... 8
- Quite indefinite..... 9

4. At the time you entered college, what were your plans for study beyond the bachelor's degree? (Circle one)

- I planned to go on for graduate or professional training..... X 13/y
- I planned to stop at the bachelor's degree..... 0
- I didn't have any definite plans..... 1

5. During the past twelve months have you considered going to graduate or professional school (on either a full-time or part-time basis) in the academic year 1964-65? (Circle one)

- Yes..... 3 14/2
- No..... 4

Skip to Q. 8

6. Have you applied for admission to any graduate or professional school for the academic year 1964-1965? (Circle one)

- Yes (Circle and go on to Q.7)..... 6 15/R
- No, because no application is necessary..... 7
- No, but I'm planning to apply..... 8
- No, but I've decided not to go to school next year..... 9

Skip to Q. 8

7. What is the status of these applications? (Circle one in each row)

	None	One School	Two Schools	Three Schools	Four or More	
A. How many schools did you apply to?	0	1	2	3	4	16/R
B. How many schools accepted you?	0	1	2	3	4	17/R
C. How many rejected your application?	0	1	2	3	4	18/R
D. How many applications are pending?	0	1	2	3	4	19/R

8. Did you apply (or were you nominated) for a stipend (scholarship, fellowship, assistantship, etc.) to attend a graduate or professional school in the academic year 1964-1965? (Circle one)

Yes..... X 20/y
No..... 0

A. Why didn't you apply for a stipend? (Circle as many as apply)

- I have no intention of going to school next year..... 2
- I did not plan on going to school at the time applications were due..... 3
- I won't need any support of this type..... 4
- The amount I could get would be too little..... 5
- The duties attached would be unsatisfactory..... 6
- I didn't think I could get any..... 7
- It didn't occur to me to apply..... 8
- Other (Specify and circle)..... 9

21/R

Skip to
Q. 14
on P. 3

ON THE BACK OF THE COVERING LETTER IS A SET OF CODE NUMBERS THAT DESCRIBE STIPENDS BY SOURCE AND TYPE. Use the code numbers to answer the following questions.

9. Have you accepted any stipend for the academic year 1964-65?

IF NO: Write "yy" in boxes and skip to Q. 11.

IF YES: A. Describe your stipend. (If you have two or more, describe the one that has the highest value.)

--	--

22-23/RR

B. Do you have a second stipend?

IF YES: Describe it.

IF NO: Write "yy" in the boxes.

--	--

24-25/RR

10. What is the total amount of the stipend(s) you have for the academic year (1964-65)? Include tuition, board, and other costs covered by the stipend(s). (Circle one)

- Under \$500..... 5 26/R
- \$ 500 - \$ 999..... 6
- \$1,000 - \$1,999..... 7
- \$2,000 - \$2,999..... 8
- \$3,000 and over..... 9

11. Did you apply for the academic year 1964-1965 for any stipend that is still pending?

IF NO: Write "yy" in the boxes.

IF YES: Describe the stipend. (If more than one is pending, describe the one you most prefer.)

--	--

27-28/RR

12. Did you apply for any stipend for the academic year 1964-1965 for which you were rejected?

IF NO: Write "yy" in the boxes.

IF YES: Describe the stipend. (If more than one rejection, describe the stipend you would have preferred.)

--	--

29-30/RR

13. Did you decline any stipend that you were offered for the academic year 1964-1965?

IF NO: Write "yy" in the boxes and skip to Q. 14.

IF YES: Describe the stipend you declined. (If you declined more than one, describe the one that was most attractive to you.)

--	--

31-32/RR

A. What were your reasons for declining the stipend? (*Circle as many as apply*)

- The amount of the stipend was not great enough..... 3 33/R
- I had already accepted another one:..... 4
- I did not want to study in the field in which the stipend was offered..... 5
- I did not want to study at the school at which the stipend was offered..... 6
- I did not like the duties attached to the stipend..... 7
- I decided not to go to school next year..... 8
- Other (*Specify and Circle*)..... 9

EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER

14. Everything considered -- (*Circle one*)

I probably will attend a graduate or professional school during the academic year 1964-1965 X

34/y

I probably will not attend a graduate or professional school during the academic year 1964-1965..... 0

Skip to Q. 20 on P. 5

15. Have you decided upon the specific school you will attend? (*Circle one*)

Yes..... 5 35/R

No..... 6

16. Write below the name of the school that you will most probably attend.

Name	City	State
------	------	-------

A. Is the above school the one that you are now attending? (Circle one)

Yes..... 8 36/R
 No..... 9

B. Was this school your first choice? (Circle one)

First choice..... 1 37/R
 Second choice..... 2
 Third choice..... 3
 Fourth choice..... 4

(1) Which of the following prevented you from going to the school that was your first choice? (Circle all that apply)

Was refused admission..... 4 38/R
 Didn't apply because I thought I would be refused..... 5
 Wasn't offered any financial support (scholarship, fellowship, assistantship)..... 6
 Financial obstacles other than getting scholarship, assistantship, etc. 7
 School is too far away..... 8
 Other (Specify and Circle)..... 9

17. Please indicate whether you will be enrolled (and if so, whether full-time or part-time) for each term in the following chart. (Circle one in each column that applies for the school you expect to attend.)

	For Schools on.....						
	Semester or Trimester System			Quarter System			
	Summer 1964	Fall 1964	Spring 1965	Summer 1964	Fall 1964	Winter 1965	Spring 1965
Full-time student	X	3	7	X	3	7	X
Part-time student	0	4	8	0	4	8	0
Will not be enrolled	1	5	9	1	5	9	1
	39/R	40/R	41/R	42/R	43/R	44/R	45/R

18. Which of the following kinds of degrees do you ever expect to earn? (Circle all that apply.)

Master's degree (MA, MS, MPH, etc.)..... 5 46/R
 Professional degree (LLB, MD, DDS, BD, etc.)..... 6
 Ph.D degree or equivalent (DSc, EdD, etc.)..... 7
 Do not plan to get graduate or professional degree..... 8
 Undecided..... 9

19. Apart from stipends, from which of the following sources do you expect to receive \$200 or more during the coming academic year when you are in graduate or professional school? (Circle any which apply)

- Full-time job..... X
- Part-time job other than teaching or research assistantship 0
- Withdrawals from savings..... 1
- Income from spouse's employment..... 2
- Parents or relatives..... 3
- National Defense Education Act Loan..... 4
- Health Professions Assistance Act Loan..... 5
- A.M.A. Loan..... 6
- Other loan (Specify and Circle)..... 7
- Other (Specify and Circle)..... 8
- None of the above..... 9

47/R

Skip to
Q. 29
on P. 7

THOSE NOT PLANNING TO ATTEND SCHOOL NEXT YEAR, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 20 - 28.

20. Since you've been in college, have you at any time considered going on for graduate study or considered an occupation which would require professional training beyond a bachelor's degree? (Circle one)

- I never thought of it..... 1 48/R
- I thought about it, but I never considered it seriously..... 2
- I considered it seriously, but decided against it..... 3
- I do plan to go on, but not next year..... 4

21. If there were no obstacles of any kind, would you like to go on for graduate or professional study? (Circle one)

- Yes, I would like to go this coming academic year..... 6 49/R
- Yes, I would like to go sometime within the next five years but not this coming year..... 7
- Yes, sometime after the next five years..... 8
- No, I would not like to go on to graduate or professional school in the future..... 9

22. To what extent did immediate financial obstacles (not doubts about the long-run economic value of further study) affect your decision regarding graduate or professional school next year? (Circle one)

- Financial obstacles had nothing to do with it (Circle and go on to Q. 23) 1 50/R
- Financial obstacles played some part in my decision..... 2
- Financial obstacles are the major reason I am not going on for further study next year 3

A. How much money, besides what you have, would you have needed to go on to graduate or professional school next year? (Circle one)

- \$500 or less..... 5 51/R
- Between \$500 and \$1,000..... 6
- Between \$1,000 and \$2,000..... 7
- Between \$2,000 and \$3,000..... 8
- More than \$3,000..... 9

23. Which of the following explains why you do not anticipate going to graduate or professional school next year? (Circle any that apply)

- 01. No desire to do so..... 1 52/R
- 02. Graduate school not essential to my chosen career..... 2
- 03. Financial obstacles..... 3
- 04. Received a job offer that was too attractive to turn down..... 4
- 05. Low grades in college..... 5
- 06. I would rather get married..... 6
- 07. Family responsibilities other than the desire to get married..... 7
- 08. I want to get practical experience first..... 8
- 09. Vocational counselor advised against it..... 9
- 10. Faculty advised against it..... 0 53/R
- 11. I don't think I have the ability..... 1
- 12. I lack the necessary undergraduate course prerequisites..... 2
- 13. I'm tired of being a student..... 3
- 14. Military service..... 4
- 15. I don't expect to work long enough to make graduate study worthwhile..... 5
- 16. I will be in a company training program that provides the equivalent..... 6
- 17. Other (Specify and Circle)..... 7

↑
Using these code numbers, describe in the boxes at the right the single most important reason.

--	--

54-55/RR

24. Do you expect to go on for graduate or professional study sometime in the future? (Circle one)

- Yes..... 0 56/R
 - Probably yes..... 1
 - Probably no..... 2
 - No..... 3
- Skip to Q. 28

25. When do you think you will start your graduate or professional studies? Make your single best prediction. (Circle one)

- Academic Year
- '65 - '66..... 5 57/R
 - '66 - '67..... 6
 - '67 - '68..... 7
 - '68 - '69..... 8
 - No specific date in mind..... 9

26. When you do start graduate or professional school, do you think you will attend on a full-time or part-time basis? (Circle one)

- Full-time..... 1 58/R
- Part-time..... 2
- Uncertain..... 3

27. Which of the following kinds of degrees do you eventually expect to earn? (Circle all that apply)

- Master's degree (MA, MS, MPH, etc.)..... 5 59/R
- Professional degree (MD, DDS, LLB, BD, etc.)..... 6
- PhD or equivalent (EdD, DSc, etc.)..... 7
- Do not plan to get graduate or professional degree..... 8
- Undecided..... 9

28. Do you have a definite job (including military service) lined up after graduation? (Circle one)

- Yes..... 1 60/R
- No, but I intend to be working..... 2
- No, and I do not intend to be working..... 3

II. FIELDS AND CAREERS

BEGIN DECK 2

(EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER)

On pages 2 - 3 of the covering letter is a list of fields of study and employment. Each one can be used to describe a field of study or a type of job. When you have chosen the field or occupation from the list which is your answer to one of the questions below, please write the two numbers or letters of that field in the double box at the end of that question.

29. Official major field of study during last year in college.

If you have a joint major, give the one with the most course credits.

--	--

10-11/XX

30. Graduate or professional field of study.

If you do not plan ever to go to graduate or professional school, write "yy" in the boxes.

--	--

12-13/XX

If you plan to study in several major fields, give the main one.

31. What was your career preference when you first started college?

Give your single strongest preference at that time even if it was vague or if there were several alternatives.

--	--

14-15/XX

If you had absolutely no preference whatsoever, write "yy" in the boxes.

32. What career field do you now anticipate entering?

Please give what you expect to be your long-run career and ignore any school, stop-gap job, or temporary military service which might precede it.

--	--

16-17/XX

If you are a woman, use "Housewife" (99) only if you do not anticipate ever having a career. If you do anticipate a career enter its number in the boxes.

IF YOU ENTERED THE CODE FOR HOUSEWIFE (99) OR IF YOU DO NOT EXPECT TO HAVE A CAREER (CODE XI) THEN SKIP TO QUESTION 41 ON PAGE 10.

33. Which of the following were important influences in your choice of career when you first came to college and which were important influences in choosing the career that you now anticipate entering?

Even if you now have the same career choice that you had when you came to college, the important influences may have changed, so please circle as many as apply in each column.

Influences	Career Choice When Started College	Career Choice Now
	18/R	20/R
01) Wishes of parents.....	1	1
02) Encouragement of teachers in high school.....	2	2
03) Encouragement of faculty members in college.....	3	3
04) Having a member of my family in this occupation.....	4	4
05) Admiration for someone in this occupation.....	5	5
06) My friends thought it was a good field.....	6	6
07) Availability of financial support for study in this field.....	7	7
08) Work experience in this field.....	8	8
09) Felt that I had a talent in this field.....	9	9
10) I liked the work in this field very much.....	0	0
11) Advice of vocational counselors in high school.....	1	1
12) Advice of vocational counselors in college.....	2	2
13) The prestige of this occupation.....	3	3
14) The amount of money that can be made in this field.....	4	4
15) Other (<i>Specify and Circle</i>)	5	5
16) No preference at this time.....	6	6
	19/R	21/R

Use these code numbers to answer A and B below.

A. Which one of these influences do you believe was the single most important in determining your career choice when you started college? (*Enter the code in the boxes to the right*)

		22-23/RR
--	--	----------

B. Which of these influences is the most important one now? (*Enter the code in the boxes to the right*)

		24-25/RR
--	--	----------

34. Is the occupation you now anticipate entering the same as your father's or mother's occupation?

(If you were raised by a parent substitute, then answer in terms of his or her occupation.) (*Circle one*)

- Yes, same as father's occupation..... 1 26/R
- Yes, same as mother's occupation..... 2
- Yes, same as both father's and mother's occupation..... 3
- No..... 4

35. When did you first consider this career?

When did you definitely decide upon this career?

(*Circle one in each column*)

	First Considered	Definitely Decided
Before I entered high school.....	1	1
While I was in high school.....	2	2
After high school but before I entered college.....	3	3
During my freshman year in college.....	4	4
During my sophomore year in college.....	5	5
During my junior year in college.....	6	6
During my senior year in college.....	7	7
During time I dropped out of college.....	8	8
During military service.....	9	9
	27/R	28/R

36. How easy or difficult has it been for you to choose a career? (Circle one)

- It was very easy..... 5 29/R
- It was fairly easy..... 6
- It was somewhat difficult..... 7
- It was very difficult..... 8
- I still have not made the choice..... 9

37. How do you feel about the career that you now anticipate entering? (Circle one)

- I feel strongly committed to it..... 1 30/R
- I feel moderately committed to it..... 2
- I don't feel too committed to it..... 3

38. Is there any other career that you would actually prefer to the one that you now anticipate entering?

IF NO, Write "yy" in the boxes and go on to Q. 39.

IF YES, enter in the boxes to the right the code from the list in the cover letter of the career you would prefer, and answer A. below.

--	--

31-32/RR

A. Which of the following help explain why you are not planning on the career you prefer to the one you anticipate entering? (Circle as many as apply)

- Wishes of parents..... 2 33/R
- Low grades in college..... 3
- Family responsibilities..... 4
- Discovery that my ability does not lie in that direction..... 5
- Financial obstacles..... 6
- I lack the necessary undergraduate courses..... 7
- I could not get accepted to the kind of graduate or professional school necessary for this work..... 8
- My teachers discouraged me from entering this field..... 2 34/R
- The long range pay or career opportunity in this field are not adequate..... 3
- It takes too long to complete training in this field..... 4
- This field is likely to be overcrowded..... 5
- Lack of financial support for advanced study in this field..... 6
- Opportunity for financial support in the field I'm now planning to enter..... 7
- Other (Specify and circle)..... 8

39. Which of the following will be your most likely employer when you begin full-time work in your anticipated career? (Circle one)

- In business for myself or in business owned by my family..... X 35/R
- Business or industry not owned by my family..... 0
- Independent professional practice or professional partnership..... 1
- College or university..... 2
- Junior college..... 3
- Elementary or secondary school or school system..... 4
- Research organization or institute (Non-governmental)..... 5
- Federal Government..... 6
- State or Local Government..... 7
- Health or welfare organization (Non-governmental)..... 8
- Other (Specify and circle)..... 9

40. A. The following activities cut across a number of specific jobs. Which ones do you anticipate will be an important part of your long-run career work? (Circle as many as apply in Column A)

B. Which one of these will be the most important? (Circle one in Column B)

C. Which one will be the next most important? (Circle one in Column C)

	A All the important ones	B The first most important	C The next most important
Teaching.....	0	0	0
Research and development.....	1	1	1
Administration or management.....	2	2	2
Professional service to patients or clients....	3	3	3
Selling.....	4	4	4
Clerical Work.....	5	5	5
Writing.....	6	6	6
Designing.....	7	7	7
Production and operations.....	8	8	8
None of these.....	9	9	9

36/R 37/R 38/R

EVERYONE ANSWER, EVEN THOSE NOT PLANNING ON A CAREER

41. How important to you is each of the following characteristics in picking a job or a career? (Circle one in each row.)

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not too Important	Not at all Important	
A. Making a lot of money	1	2	3	4	39/0
B. Opportunities to be original and creative	6	7	8	9	40/5
C. Opportunities to be helpful to others or useful to society	1	2	3	4	41/0
D. Avoiding a high pressure job which takes too much out of you	6	7	8	9	42/5
E. Living and working in the world of ideas	1	2	3	4	43/0
F. Freedom from supervision in my work	6	7	8	9	44/5
G. Opportunities for moderate but steady progress rather than the chance of extreme success or failure	1	2	3	4	45/0
H. A chance to exercise leadership	6	7	8	9	46/5
I. Opportunity to work with people rather than things	1	2	3	4	47/0

42. Please circle all the statements which describe your feelings about these specific occupations. (Circle as many or as few as apply in each column.)

	Research Scientist	College Professor	High School Teacher	Physician	Engineer	Business Executive	Lawyer	Musician
This sort of work would be very interesting.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
I don't have the ability to do this kind of work.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
I probably couldn't make as much money at this type of work as I'd like to make.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
One would have to devote too much time and energy to this work.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
One would have to invest more time and money in preparing for this occupation than I feel I could afford.....	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
My personality isn't suitable for work in this field.....	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
I wouldn't like the life I'd have to lead outside the job.....	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
People who are important to me would not like my having this job.....	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
	48/1	49/1	50/1	51/1	52/1	53/1	54/1	55/1

43. Here are some ways in which marriage might affect a person's career plans. Circle all those that you feel would apply to you personally. If you are not yet married, answer in terms of how you think being married would affect your plans. If you are married, indicate how your plans have been affected.

Being married would.....

- Make it difficult for me to ever go to graduate or professional school..... 0 56/X
- Probably lead me to shift to a field that takes less training than the field I prefer to enter..... 1
- Make it difficult for me to have the kind of career I would really prefer..... 2
- Make it difficult for me to have any kind of a career at all..... 3
- Make me take longer to complete graduate training..... 4
- Make it easier for me to do graduate work in the field I really prefer..... 5
- Make it easier for me to have the occupational career (other than housewife) that I really want 6
- Have no effect one way or the other on my chances for postgraduate study..... 7
- Have no effect on my chances for a career in the field of my choice..... 8
- Enable me to be the homemaker I really want to be instead of working..... 9

WOMEN, PLEASE ANSWER Q. 44; MEN Q.45

WOMEN ONLY

44. A. Which of the following situations do you really prefer and which do you realistically expect? Also indicate your second preference and second expectation (Circle one in each of the four columns under A)
- B. Which of the following do you think most men you know prefer for their wives? If you are married or engaged, also indicate what your husband or fiance prefers for you. (Circle one in each of the four columns under B)

	A				B			
	I really prefer		I realistically expect		Most men I know prefer their wives to be		My husband or fiance prefers me to be	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Housewife only.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Employed <u>only before</u> children are born, then housewife.....	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Employed before children born and <u>only after</u> children are grown.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Occasionally employed throughout marriage and child-rearing.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Combining marriage and child-rearing with a professional career.....	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Combining marriage and child-rearing with steady employment.....	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Marriage and career, without children.....	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Not married; career only.....	9	9	9	9				
	57/R	58/R	59/R	60/R	61/R	62/R	63/R	64/R

MEN ONLY

45. Which of the following situations do you think most women you know prefer? Which would you prefer for your own wife? (Answer even if you are not yet married.) Please indicate first and second preference in each instance. (Circle one in each of the four columns.)

	Most women I know prefer to be		I would prefer my wife to be	
	1st	2nd	1st	2nd
Housewife only.....	2	2	2	2
Employed <u>only before</u> children are born, then housewife.....	3	3	3	3
Employed before children are born and <u>only after</u> children are grown.....	4	4	4	4
Occasionally employed throughout marriage and child-rearing.....	5	5	5	5
Combining marriage and child-rearing with a professional career.....	6	6	6	6
Combining marriage and child-rearing with steady employment.....	7	7	7	7
Marriage and career, without children.....	8	8	8	8
Not married; career only.....	9	9		
	65/R	66/R	67/R	68/R

EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER

BEGIN DECK 3

46. Indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about women by circling one of the numbers to the right of the statement.

	Agree	Disagree	No Opinion	
A. Volunteer work in the community is a better use of womanpower than paid employment.	X	0	1	10/y
B. A woman should not seek advanced degrees unless she expects to work in her field almost all of her adult life.	3	4	5	11/2
C. A single woman who gets an advanced degree will have a hard time finding a husband.	7	8	9	12/6
D. Women in such "masculine" fields as engineering and architecture seldom get jobs their training entitles them to because of discrimination against women.	X	0	1	13/y
E. A woman who enters a field made up mostly of men will be seen as masculine.	3	4	5	14/2
F. A young woman who wants to be popular will be careful not to sound too intelligent on a date.	7	8	9	15/6
G. It's more realistic for a woman to think about and plan a career <u>after</u> she marries than <u>before</u> .	X	0	1	16/y
H. Even if a woman has the ability and the interest she should not choose an occupation that would be difficult to combine with child-rearing.	3	4	5	17/2
I. A man can make long range plans for his life but a woman has to take things as they come.	7	8	9	18/6

III. EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

47. Write below the name and location of the high school from which you were graduated.

Name of High School	City	State
---------------------	------	-------

48. What kind of a high school was that? (Circle one)

- Public high school (Circle and go on to Q.49) 3 19/2
- Private, sectarian high school..... 4
- Private, non-sectarian high school 5

A. Was that a boarding school? (Circle one)

- Yes..... 8 20/R
- No..... 9

49. Which of the following comes closest to describing the curriculum in which you were enrolled in high school? (Circle one)

- College preparatory..... 5 21/4
- General, without special emphasis on college preparation..... 6
- Commercial..... 7
- Vocational..... 8
- Other (Specify and Circle)..... 9

50. Were the students taking your curriculum in high school divided into sections according to intelligence or achievement tests? (Circle one)

- Yes 1 22/0
- No 2

A. Were you generally in the high sections or the low ones? (Circle one)

- High..... 6 23/R
- Low..... 7

51. During high school (grades 9-12) how many years of study did you have in each of the following areas? (Circle one in each column)

	Mathematics	Physical Sciences	Biological Sciences	Social Sciences	English	Foreign Languages
None.....	0	0	0	0	0	0
One year.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Two years.....	2	2	2	2	2	2
Three years.....	3	3	3	3	3	3
Four years.....	4	4	4	4	4	4
	24/X	25/X	26/X	27/X	28/X	29/X

52. Did your high school have any honors program? (Circle one)

- Yes X 30/y
- No 0 → Go on to Q. 53

A. Were you in any honors program in any of the following fields during your years in high school? (Circle all that apply in each column)

	9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade	12th Grade
No.....	2	2	2	2
Yes, general honors program.....	3	3	3	3
Yes, mathematics.....	4	4	4	4
Yes, physical sciences.....	5	5	5	5
Yes, biological sciences.....	6	6	6	6
Yes, social sciences.....	7	7	7	7
Yes, English.....	8	8	8	8
Yes, foreign languages.....	9	9	9	9

31/R 32/R 33/R 34/R

53. How large was your high school-graduating class? (Circle one)

Fewer than 25 students.....	3	35/2
25 - 49 students.....	4	
50 - 99 students.....	5	
100 - 199 students.....	6	
200 - 499 students.....	7	
500 - 999 students.....	8	
1,000 and over.....	9	

54. About what proportion of the students in your graduating class went on to college? (Circle one)

Almost all.....	X	36/y
The great majority.....	0	
About half.....	1	
About a third.....	2	
A small minority.....	3	
Hardly any.....	4	

55. Below are some experiences that students might have had in high school. Which of these did you have? (Circle all those that apply)

Won an award in a science fair.....	2	37/R
A paper, story or poem I wrote was published.....	3	
Was a finalist in a Science Talent Search.....	4	
Was a finalist in a Mathematics Contest.....	5	
Repeated one or more courses in high school.....	6	
Was placed with a below average class for one or more of my high school subjects.....	7	
Was allowed to take more than the normal number of courses during one or more years of high school.....	8	
Was placed with an advanced class for one or more of my high school subjects.....	9	
Participated in a summer science training program for secondary school students sponsored by the National Science Foundation.....	2	38/R
Was a member of a science club.....	3	
Won an award for farm production during high school.....	4	
Won a high school "letter" for athletic participation.....	5	
Worked on the high school newspaper.....	6	
Was an officer of my senior class.....	7	
National honor society.....	8	
None of these apply to me.....	1	

56. In terms of your rank in your high school class, were you -- (Circle one)

Valedictorian or salutatorian.....	5	39/4
In the top 10 per cent.....	6	
In the top quarter.....	7	
In the top half.....	8	
In the bottom half of your high school class.....	9	

57. What was your over-all grade point average in high school? If letter grades were not given, translate into letter grades as best you can and circle the corresponding code.

A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D+	D or lower
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(Circle one)

40/X

58. How many years elapsed between the time you left high school and the time you started college? (Circle one)

None, went directly on to college.....	0	41/X
6 months to a year.....	1	
2 years.....	2	
3 years.....	3	
4 or 5 years.....	4	
More than 5 years.....	6	

59. When did you first start college? (Circle one)

1961 or later.....	1	42/y
1960.....	0	
1959.....	9	
1958.....	8	
1957.....	7	
1956.....	6	
1955 or earlier.....	5	

60. Have you gone straight through college or did you interrupt your studies for a term or more? (Do not count summer vacations as an interruption.) (Circle one)

Went straight through college.....	5	43/4
Stayed out less than one year.....	6	
Stayed out one year.....	7	
Stayed out two years.....	8	
Stayed out three or more years.....	9	

61. During your college career have you been a full-time student exclusively, part-time student, or have you attended both full-time and part-time? (Circle one)

Full-time during entire college career.....	1	44/0
Part-time during entire college career.....	2	
Both full-time and part-time.....	3	

62. Did you do all your college work at this school? (Circle one)

Yes.....	5	45/4
No, transferred after freshman year.....	6	
No, transferred after sophomore year.....	7	
No, transferred after junior year.....	8	
No, started here, attended a term or more elsewhere and then returned.....	9	

63. In which of the following have you been an active participant in college? (Circle any which apply)

- Editorial staff of campus publication..... X 46/y
- Musical or dramatic group..... 0
- Business staff of campus publication or other campus group..... 1
- Campus group concerned with national or world issues..... 2
- Inter-collegiate athletics..... 3
- Fraternity, Sorority (or equivalent)..... 4
- Special interest group (e.g., Psychology Club, Religious Club)..... 5
- Student government..... 6
- Movements for civil rights for minorities 7
- Other (Specify and Circle) _____ 8
- None of the above 9

64. Listed below are some fields in which you may have taken courses in college. Please circle the numbers of any statements which describe your reactions to each field. (Circle as many as apply in each column)

	Physics or Chemistry	Mathematics	Biological Sciences	Social Sciences	English
I didn't take any courses in this field.....	0	0	0	0	0
I took one or more courses in this field.....	1	1	1	1	1
I found this field very interesting	2	2	2	2	2
I found this field very dull.....	3	3	3	3	3
I have a flair for work in this area	4	4	4	4	4
I found this area rough going academically.....	5	5	5	5	5
Teachers in this area encouraged me to go on in this field.....	6	6	6	6	6
I admire many of the teachers in this area as persons, not just as professors.....	7	7	7	7	7
By and large, the teachers in this area are not the kind of person I'd like to be.....	8	8	8	8	8
One or more of my close friends is majoring in this area.....	9	9	9	9	9
	47/X	48/X	49/X	50/X	51/X

65. Listed below are a number of awards and honors. Which of these have you received during college or which are you fairly sure you will receive by the time you graduate? (Circle any which apply)

- Dean's List..... 4 52/R
- Honor society based on academic achievement (e.g., Phi Kappa Phi; Phi Beta Kappa; Sigma Xi)..... 5
- Graduation with honors (cum) (Magna) (Summa)..... 6
- National Merit Scholarship holder, Finalist, or Semi-finalist..... 7
- Other scholarship awarded on basis of academic ability..... 8
- Participation in "honors program" at this school..... 9
- Started college after only three years of high school..... 4 53/R
- Prize or award for scholarship or research work (e.g., "Smith prize for best biology experiment")..... 5
- Prize or award for literary, musical or artistic work..... 6
- Author or co-author of an article published in a professional journal..... 7
- Took one or more graduate level courses as an undergraduate..... 8
- Other award or honor..... 9
- No special honors..... 3

66. Did you participate in the National Science Foundation Undergraduate Research Program? (Circle one)

- Yes..... X 54/y
- No..... 0

A. How long were you in the program? (Circle one in each column)

	Summers	Academic Years
None.....	0	0
One.....	1	1
Two or more...	2	2
	55/R	56/R

67. Indicate, in the first column below, how much personal indebtedness you will have for your college education (money owed for tuition and living costs while at college) by the time you graduate. In the second column indicate your total indebtedness (money owed for such things as a car, appliances, doctor's bills, etc., including your college education.) (Circle one in each column)

	Debt for Education	Total Debt
None.....	3	3
Some, but less than \$200..	4	4
\$200 - \$499.....	5	5
\$500 - \$999.....	6	6
\$1,000 - \$1,999.....	7	7
\$2,000 - \$2,999.....	8	8
\$3,000 and over.....	9	9
	57/2	58/2

68. What is your over-all (cumulative) grade point average for undergraduate work at your present college? If letter grades are not given, translate into letter grades as best you can and then circle the appropriate code number.

	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D+	D or lower	
(Circle one)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	59/X

IV. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

BEGIN DECK 4

69. What was your age at your last birthday? (Circle one)

19 or younger	20	21	22	23	24	25-29	30-39	40 or older	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10/0

70. What is your sex?

Male..... 1 11/0

Female..... 2 → Skip to Q. 73

71. Do you expect to be on active duty in the armed forces for a period of at least six months during the next two or three years? (Circle one)

- Definitely yes..... 5 12/R
- Probably yes..... 6
- Probably no..... 7
- Definitely no..... 8
- Already have been on active duty..... 9

72. Has your military status affected your plans for further education? (Circle one)

- Not at all..... X 13/R
- An influence toward.....
- postponing entry into my graduate studies..... 0
- beginning my graduate studies sooner..... 1
- going to graduate school when I didn't intend to..... 2

73. What is your current marital status? (Circle one)

- Single, no definite plans to be married at present..... X 14/y
- Single, have definite plans to be married before Sept. 1, 1964..... 0
- Single, have definite plans to be married after Sept. 1, 1964..... 1
- Widowed, divorced, or separated..... 2
- Married..... 3

A. What will your spouse be doing next year? (Circle any which apply)

- Working full-time..... 4 15/R
- Working part-time..... 5
- Military service (full-time active duty)..... 6
- Housewife, mother..... 7
- Attending college..... 8
- Going to graduate or professional school..... 9

B. How many children do you have now? (Count a current pregnancy as one child) (Circle one)

- None..... 0 16/R
- One..... 1
- Two..... 2
- Three..... 3
- Four or more..... 4

74. Please indicate both the religion in which you were reared and your present religious preference.
(Circle one in each row)

	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Jewish	Other	None	
A. Religion in which you were reared	5	6	7	8	9	17/4
B. Present religious preference	X	0	1	2	3	18/y

75. What is your racial background? (Circle one)

- White 6 19/5
- Negro..... 7
- Oriental..... 8
- Other (Circle and Specify)..... 9

76. Please indicate your parents' (or parent substitutes') highest educational attainment. (Circle one in each column)

	Father	Mother
8th grade or less.....	2	2
Some high school.....	3	3
High school graduate.....	4	4
Some college.....	5	5
College graduate.....	6	6
Graduate or professional degree <u>beyond</u> the bachelor's.....	7	7
Graduate or professional degree <u>without</u> undergraduate degree.....	8	8
Don't know.....	9	9

20/1 21/1

77. A. Which of the following categories best describes the current occupation of the head of the household in your parental family? If retired or deceased, what was usual occupation of household head. (Circle one)

- Professional..... 1 22/y
- Proprietor, manager, executive, official..... 2
- Sales (other than Sales Manager or Administrator)..... 3
- Clerical..... 4
- Skilled worker..... 5
- Semi-skilled worker..... 6
- Service worker..... 7
- Unskilled worker..... 8
- Farmer or farm worker..... 9

B. If the head of the household is a woman, also circle here..... X 23/R

C. If the head of the household has retired or died also circle here..... 0

D. What, precisely, is the kind of work that the head of the household does (or did)—e.g., high school physics teacher, assistant sales engineer, wheat farmer, clothing buyer for a department store?

78. Which of the following is the appropriate income category for your parental family? Consider annual income from all sources before taxes. (Circle one)

- Less than \$3,000 per year..... 2 24/1
- \$3,000 - \$4,999..... 3
- \$5,000 - \$7,499..... 4
- \$7,500 - \$9,999..... 5
- \$10,000 - \$14,999..... 6
- \$15,000 - \$19,999..... 7
- \$20,000 - \$29,999..... 8
- \$30,000 and over..... 9

79. Did any of the following happen in your family before you were 16 years of age? (Circle all that apply.)

	Parents separated.....	X	25/y
	Parents divorced.....	0	
	Mother died.....	1	
	Father died.....	2	
	Did not live with parents.....	3	
	None of the above.....	4	

80. In what size and type of community were you living when you graduated from high school? (Circle one)

Farm or Open Country	NON-SUBURBAN city of		SUBURB in a metropolitan area with an area population of				CENTRAL CITY in a metropolitan area with an area population of				
	Less than 10,000	10,000 to 49,999	Less than 100,000	100,000 to 499,999	500,000 to 2 million	More than 2 million	50,000 to 99,999	100,000 to 499,999	500,000 to 2 million	More than 2 million	
X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	26/y

81. Where were you living when you graduated from high school and where do you live now? (Circle one in each column)

	Home State at High School Graduation	Home State Now
NEW ENGLAND: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island.....	X	X
MIDDLE ATLANTIC: New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania....	0	0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin.....	1	1
WEST NORTH CENTRAL: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.....	2	2
SOUTH ATLANTIC: Delaware, D.C., Maryland, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.....	3	3
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL: Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee.....	4	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas.....	5	5
MOUNTAIN: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming.....	6	6
WEST: California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, Hawaii.....	7	7
CANADA.....	8	8
OTHER (Circle and specify).....	9	9

27/y 28/y

82. In which state (or country if not U.S.A.) did you live when you were graduated from elementary school?
(Write the name in the box)

State or Country

83. Are you a U.S. citizen? (Circle one)

Yes..... 8 29/7

No..... 9

(CONTINUE ON NEXT PAGE)

SUPPLEMENT FOR GRADUATES OF NEGRO COLLEGES

BEGIN DECK 5

1. Are you attending the same school now that you started in as a freshman? (Circle one)

Same school now as freshman..... X 10/y
Different school..... 0

A. Since you first started on your college studies, how many different schools altogether have you attended? (Circle one)

Two..... 2 11/R
Three..... 3
Four or more..... 4

B. What were your reasons for changing schools? (Circle as many as apply)

Had to drop out for financial reasons..... 3 12/R
Changed to get different curriculum or courses..... 4
Schooling interrupted because of military service..... 5
Family moved from one community to another..... 6
School work too difficult..... 7
School work not challenging enough..... 8
Other (Circle and write in the reason)..... 9

Skip to Q. 8

2. Thinking back to when you were about to start your college work, did you give any serious thought to enrolling in some other school besides the one in which you ended up? (Circle one)

I considered other schools..... 1 13/R
I did not consider any other school..... 2

Skip to Q. 8

3. Was there another school which you would have preferred to attend? (Circle one)

Yes..... 4 14/R
No..... 5

Skip to Q. 8

4. Did you apply for admission to that school? (Circle one)

Yes, I applied and was accepted..... 7 15/R
Yes, I applied but was not accepted..... 8
No, I did not apply..... 9

Skip to Q. 8

5. Why didn't you attend your preferred school? (Circle as many as apply)

Tuition and expenses too high..... 0 16/R
Needed to be closer to home..... 1
Couldn't get a scholarship..... 2
Would feel more uncomfortable socially..... 3
Family or friends advised me not to go..... 4
Other (Circle and write in below)..... 5

EVERYONE PLEASE ANSWER

8. Every school has its strong points and its weak ones. Assume your present school were to change in the ways shown below. Indicate how each change would make you feel about the school. (Circle one in each row)

If my school made this change I would like it.....

	A Lot More	A Little More	A Little Less	A Lot Less	Would Make No Difference	
Fewer students of opposite sex	5	6	7	8	9	28/4
More emphasis on civil rights movement	X	0	1	2	3	29/y
Larger percentage of white students	5	6	7	8	9	30/4
More intelligent students	X	0	1	2	3	31/y
Less demanding professors	5	6	7	8	9	32/4
Better athletic programs	X	0	1	2	3	33/y
Less emphasis on civil rights movement	5	6	7	8	9	34/4
Better prepared professors	X	0	1	2	3	35/y
Students who were less serious about their work	5	6	7	8	9	36/4
More of a social life for students	X	0	1	2	3	37/y
Less emphasis on athletics	5	6	7	8	9	38/4
Fewer really smart students	X	0	1	2	3	39/y
Smaller percentage of white students	5	6	7	8	9	40/4
Wider variety of courses	X	0	1	2	3	41/y
Better social acceptance of Negroes on the campus	5	6	7	8	9	42/4
Better library and laboratory facilities	X	0	1	2	3	43/y
A more urban location	5	6	7	8	9	44/4
Better relations with the surrounding community	X	0	1	2	3	45/y
A more rural location	5	6	7	8	9	46/4

9. A. In which of the following types of colleges does the school you are now attending belong? (Circle one)

- Negro college (Fisk, Howard, etc.)..... X 47/y
- Ivy League college (Harvard, Yale, etc.)..... 0
- Large state university not in the South (Ohio State, Michigan, etc.)..... 1
- Southern university (Georgia, Mississippi, etc.)..... 2
- None of these..... 3

B. Suppose you had attended a school of each of these types. Which of the following statements would probably have been true for you personally? Answer only for the types of schools that you are not now attending. (Circle as many as apply in each column)

If I had attended this type of college:	Ivy League School	Large State University	Southern University	Negro College
I would have been much happier.....	y	y	y	y
Better jobs would be open to me later on.....	X	X	X	X
I would have gained more social polish.....	0	0	0	0
I would have associated with higher status people.....	1	1	1	1
I would have received a better education	2	2	2	2
I would have failed to graduate	3	3	3	3
I would have been lonely	4	4	4	4
People would respect me more.....	5	5	5	5
I would have had less opportunity to be on the inside of things.....	6	6	6	6
I would have received a worse education.....	7	7	7	7
I would have had a better opportunity to realize my potentialities.....	8	8	8	8
I would be better prepared for graduate study.....	9	9	9	9
	48/R	49/R	50/R	51/R

10. College students have played an important role in the civil rights movement throughout the country. Compared to other colleges that you know about, how would you compare your campus with respect to participation in the civil rights movement? (Circle one)

- A great deal more active 5 52/4
- Somewhat more active..... 6
- About the same..... 7
- Somewhat less active..... 8
- A great deal less active..... 9

11. What were the main activities of the movement on your campus? (Circle as many as apply)

- Holding rallies..... 0 53/X
- Public addresses by civil rights leaders..... 1
- Participation in freedom rides..... 2
- Participation in boycott moves against segregated businesses..... 3
- Sit-ins in segregated public places..... 4
- Fund raising for civil rights movements..... 5
- Voter registration campaigns..... 6
- Marches on city hall or state capital..... 7
- Participation in March on Washington movement..... 8
- None of the above..... 9

12. What was your personal role in the activities? (Circle one)

- I was a leader..... 1 54/0
 - I was a very active participant... 2
 - I was a participant, but not a very active one..... 3
 - I was a non-participant..... 4
- Skip to Q. 14

13. How enthusiastic were you about your participation? (Circle one)

- Very enthusiastic..... 7 55/R
- Somewhat enthusiastic..... 8
- Not enthusiastic..... 9

14. How successful do you consider the civil rights movement to be? (Circle one in each column)

	On your campus	In the South	Nationally
Very much of a success.....	1	6	1
Somewhat of a success.....	2	7	2
Somewhat of a failure.....	3	8	3
Very much of a failure.....	4	9	4
	56/0	57/5	58/0

15. Here are some of the goals of the civil rights movement. How important to you is each of the goals?
(Circle one in each row)

	Extremely Important	Fairly Important	Somewhat Important	Not too Important	
1. Desegregation of public facilities	6	7	8	9	59/5
2. Equal employment opportunities	6	7	8	9	60/5
3. Desegregation of housing	6	7	8	9	61/5
4. Desegregation of educational institutions	6	7	8	9	62/5
5. Equal voting rights	6	7	8	9	63/5

Using these code numbers, select the single most important goal and write its code number in the box below.

64/0

16. Some Negroes have been able to rise to positions of responsibility and status despite discrimination. What do you think accounts for the success such Negroes achieve in the United States today? (Circle one in each row)

BEGIN DECK 6

	This characteristic.....				
	Helps A great deal	Helps A little	Makes No difference	Does More harm than good	
Having very high intelligence, special talents, or ability	1	2	3	4	10/0
Sticking up for one's rights	6	7	8	9	11/5
Being an "Uncle Tom"	1	2	3	4	12/0
Working much harder than anyone else	6	7	8	9	13/5
Having a light skin color	1	2	3	4	14/0
Being ruthlessly ambitious	6	7	8	9	15/5
Being more moral than anyone else	1	2	3	4	16/0
Following all the rules closely	6	7	8	9	17/5
Having a powerful white person as a sponsor	1	2	3	4	18/0
Having the right friends	6	7	8	9	19/5
Feeling natural and at ease in dealing with whites	1	2	3	4	20/0
Sticking to skills and services needed by the Negro community (for example, medicine and insurance)	6	7	8	9	21/5
Having been educated at the "right schools"	1	2	3	4	22/0
Being a natural leader	6	7	8	9	23/5

17. Below are some reasons for preferring to work in a mainly Negro organization (such as a business, school, hospital, etc.) Which would be true and which would not be true for you? (Circle one in each row)

	True for me	Not true for me	
I would feel less tension being among Negroes	X	0	24/y
I would be treated more fairly	2	3	25/1
The competition wouldn't be so tough	5	6	26/4
Better opportunity to make close friends	8	9	27/7
I could rise further faster	X	0	28/y
It would be better generally for Negroes to have their own successful organizations	2	3	29/1
I don't want to be a show piece	5	6	30/4

18. Below are some reasons for preferring to work in a mainly white organization. Which would be true and which would not be true for you? (Circle one in each row)

	True for me	Not true for me	
I could go much further in a white organization	8	9	31/7
There is less backbiting among whites	X	0	32/y
I enjoy the company of whites more	2	3	33/1
I would learn more about how to succeed	5	6	34/4
I would be in contact with a larger world	8	9	35/7
A segregated organization is a second class one	X	0	36/y
It is important generally for Negroes to succeed on the same basis as whites	2	3	37/1

19. If you were faced with a choice between the same job in a mainly Negro organization (business, school, hospital, etc.) and a mainly white organization of the same sort, which would you be most likely to choose? (Circle one)

Mainly white organization..... 5 38/4
 Mainly Negro organization..... 6

20. Negroes meet discrimination more often in some career fields than in others. Here are some questions about discrimination in employment and advancement in some occupations. Please answer each question (A, B, and C) for each field.

	A. Do you think this field is open to Negroes....(Circle one for each field)				B. Do you know personally any Negroes in this field?(Circle one for each field)		C. Are opportunities changing for Negroes in this field? (Circle one for each field)					
	On the same basis as to whites	Open only to exceptional Negroes	Open only to Negroes on a segregated basis	Not open to Negroes	Yes	No	For the Better	For the Worse	No Change			
Medicine	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{10}{R}$	$\frac{11}{R}$	$\frac{12}{R}$
College teaching	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{13}{R}$	$\frac{14}{R}$	$\frac{15}{R}$
Research in physical or biological sciences	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{16}{R}$	$\frac{17}{R}$	$\frac{18}{R}$
Social work	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{19}{R}$	$\frac{20}{R}$	$\frac{21}{R}$
High school teacher	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{22}{R}$	$\frac{23}{R}$	$\frac{24}{R}$
Research in social sciences	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{25}{R}$	$\frac{26}{R}$	$\frac{27}{R}$
Law	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{28}{R}$	$\frac{29}{R}$	$\frac{30}{R}$
Creative artist or writer	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{31}{R}$	$\frac{32}{R}$	$\frac{33}{R}$
Business executive	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{34}{R}$	$\frac{35}{R}$	$\frac{36}{R}$
Accountant	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{37}{R}$	$\frac{38}{R}$	$\frac{39}{R}$
Engineering	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{40}{R}$	$\frac{41}{R}$	$\frac{42}{R}$
Elementary school teacher	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{43}{R}$	$\frac{44}{R}$	$\frac{45}{R}$
Executive in federal government	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{46}{R}$	$\frac{47}{R}$	$\frac{48}{R}$
Salesman	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{49}{R}$	$\frac{50}{R}$	$\frac{51}{R}$
Career in military service	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{52}{R}$	$\frac{53}{R}$	$\frac{54}{R}$
Advertising and marketing	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{55}{R}$	$\frac{56}{R}$	$\frac{57}{R}$
Executive in a state government	X	0	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	$\frac{58}{R}$	$\frac{59}{R}$	$\frac{60}{R}$

21. Many people consider a number of careers before they make firm decisions. Did you consider seriously any careers which you decided not to try for?

IF NO: Write "yy" in the boxes below and go on to Q.22.

IF YES: A. Write in the boxes the code number from the list in the cover letter for each career considered. If no second career, write "yy" in the second pair of boxes.

Careers Considered
But Not Entered

First		Second	
61-62/XX		63-64/RR	

B. What were your reasons for deciding against these careers? (Circle as many as apply in each column)

	First	Second
I did not have the talent.....	4	4
I felt that Negroes could not get anywhere in this career.....	5	5
I did not have the financial resources to pursue studies.....	6	6
I lost interest in the subject matter.....	7	7
It would take too long to get ahead in this career.....	8	8
Other (Circle and write in below)	9	9
	65/R	66/R

22. For many career fields, postgraduate or professional training is necessary. Is the career field which you are now planning to enter one in which such training is necessary? (Circle one)

- Absolutely necessary..... X 67/y
- Usually necessary..... 0
- Useful but not necessary..... 1
- Not necessary at all..... 2 → Skip to Q. 23

A. Do qualified Negroes have opportunities equal to whites to get such postgraduate training? (Circle one)

- Better opportunities than whites..... 6 68/R
- Equal opportunity..... 7
- Less opportunity..... 8
- No opportunity at all..... 9

23. Has the civil rights movement affected your view of your opportunities? (Circle one in each row)

	Now have more opportunities	Still have about the same	Have less opportunity	Don't Know	
Employment opportunities	1	2	3	4	10/0
Opportunity for equal education	6	7	8	9	11/5
Opportunity to live the kind of personal life I want	1	2	3	4	12/0
Opportunity to live where I want	6	7	8	9	13/5

24. In your view, when will Negroes have equal job opportunities as compared with whites of the same educational level? (Circle one in each column)

	In the nation as a whole	In the South	In Northern large cities
Negroes have equal opportunities right now.....	0	0	0
It will take ten years.....	1	1	1
It will take twenty years.....	2	2	2
It will take thirty years.....	3	3	3
Forty to fifty years.....	4	4	4
Sixty or more years.....	6	6	6
	14/X	15/X	16/X

25. Suppose you were asked advice by a young Negro just now entering college concerning whether he should try to enter a career field which up to this point has not been very open to Negroes. What would your advice be? (Circle one)

- He should try for the field and be one of the pioneers in opening it up..... 6 17/5
- He should try it because the situation may very well change by the time he graduates..... 7
- He should try it but be prepared to lose out..... 8
- He is wasting his time because things won't change that much in the next decade 9

26. In what state (or country) were you born?

Name of State or Country

27. Where were you living when you graduated from high school and where do you live now? (Circle one in each column)

	High school Graduation	Now living
NEW ENGLAND: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island	X	X
MIDDLE ATLANTIC: New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania.....	0	0
EAST NORTH CENTRAL: Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin.....	1	1
WEST NORTH CENTRAL: Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota.....	2	2
SOUTH ATLANTIC: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia.....	3	3
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL: Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee.....	4	4
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas.....	5	5
MOUNTAIN: Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming.....	6	6
WEST: California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, Hawaii.....	7	7
CANADA.....	8	8
OTHER (Specify and circle).....	9	9

18/y 19/y

28. What size and kind of community do you A. expect to settle in and B. prefer to live in? (Circle one in each row)

	Farm or Open Country	NON-SUBURBAN city of		SUBURB in a metropolitan area with an area population of				CENTRAL CITY in a metropolitan area with an area population of				
		Less than 10,000	10,000 to 49,999	Less than 100,000	100,000 to 499,999	500,000 to 2 million	More than 2 million	50,000 to 99,999	100,000 to 499,999	500,000 to 2 million	More than 2 million	
A. Expect to settle in	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	20/y
B. Prefer to live in	X	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	21/y

29. What was the racial composition of the high school you attended? (Circle one)

- 90 to 100 per cent Negro..... 9 22/X
- 70 to 89 per cent Negro..... 7
- 50 to 69 per cent Negro..... 5
- 30 to 49 per cent Negro..... 3
- 10 to 29 per cent Negro..... 1
- 0 to 9 per cent Negro..... 0

30. In deciding which college to attend and which career field to choose, did you have the help of any of the sources listed below?

A. Deciding on college

(Circle one in each row)

	Yes	No	
High school guidance counselor	X	0	23/y
Regular high school teacher	5	6	24/4
College instructor	X	0	25/y
A prominent adult whom you knew well	5	6	26/4
Aptitude tests	X	0	27/y

B. Deciding on career

(Circle one in each row)

	Yes	No	
High school guidance counselor	2	3	28/1
Regular high school teacher	8	9	29/7
College instructor	2	3	30/1
A prominent adult whom you knew well	8	9	31/7
Aptitude tests	2	3	32/1

31. Here is a list of some of the good and bad things that have occurred to people in the course of their lives. Did any of them happen to you? (Circle one in each row)

	Happened to You		
	Yes	No	
Received a prize or reward which meant a great deal to me	X	0	33/y
Went through a period of poverty in which I was hungry a great deal of the time	2	3	34/1
Was deserted by one or both of my parents	5	6	35/4
Had a really close and intimate friendship	8	9	36/7
Was unfairly accused of breaking the law or was unfairly arrested	X	0	37/y
Went through a period of prosperity in which I could have had almost everything I wanted	2	3	38/1
Was crushed by the criticism of someone whose opinion I respected	5	6	39/4
Was praised by someone whose opinion I valued very much	8	9	40/7

PLEASE TURN TO THE BACK PAGE AND SUPPLY THE INFORMATION REQUESTED

[Empty rectangular box for name correction]

Your replies to this questionnaire are completely confidential, and absolutely no information of any kind about specific persons will be released to your school or anyone else. Your questionnaire will be read only by the researchers. However, in order to assess the statistical representativeness of the students in the sample, and because we hope to follow up some of the students in the sample next year to determine the outcome of their plans, we must ask you the following:

PLEASE PRINT

A. Your most likely address one year from now

Name of residence hall, department, company, etc., if any

Street Address

City or Town

State or Country

Zip Code

B. Name and address of someone who will know where you are or could forward a letter to you if you were not at the address you listed above.

Last Name

First Name

Middle Initial

Street Address

City or Town

State or Country

Zip Code

C. If your name is misspelled in the box at the top of the page, please correct it.

You have now completed the questionnaire. Please put it in the enclosed postage paid envelope and return it to us.

Thank you very much, and good luck.

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