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In "Y" the appearance of higher status students did not result in higher images of others. School tracking seemed to perpetuate differences.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN AN UPWARDLY MOBILE COMMUNITY

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In a recent article, Clark (1988) deals with one direction of the reciprocal relationship between school and housing—the effect of school desegregation on residential integration. His conclusion about the lack of such an effect emphasizes the social significance of the opposite direction of that relationship—the effect of residential integration on school desegregation. Our study relates to this issue by analyzing attitudes of students experiencing school integration in an Israeli upwardly mobile community undergoing a process of status enhancement.

School desegregation, extensively documented in sociological literature in general (St. John 1975; Yogev and Tomlinson 1989), receives particular attention in Israel (Blass and Amir 1984). This stems mainly from the preoccupation with the large and persistent educational gap between Jewish students of European or American origin and those of Asian or North African origin. The common pattern of school desegregation in Israel follows the model estab-

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lished in the United States and elsewhere: members of the minority ethnic group (Asian or African students) attend the better schools of the dominant group (European or American students), the distribution being determined by the educational authorities. This desegregative strategy (called "school integration" in Israel) usually encounters severe difficulties. It appears that intergroup interaction does not necessarily enhance social integration among the students. This is due mainly to the unequal status of the participants and to the isolation of the school situation from the wider segregative reality (Glaser 1975). The Israeli experience of school integration has not escaped these common difficulties.

School desegregation in an upwardly mobile community follows, almost necessarily, a different pattern. The status of a community is often defined by either mean (or median) educational level or income level of its inhabitants (Logan and Schneider 1981) or by both coupled with occupation (Stahura 1987). Hence the major device for improving community status is in-migration of a population with higher socioeconomic characteristics. This implies that school desegregation in communities experiencing status enhancement brings children of the higher-status newcomers to the schools of the lower-status veterans. Does this different pattern produce different outcomes than the usual desegregative strategy? In order to discuss this question, on which our study focuses, a brief description of the mobile community we studied and of its educational system is required.

THE STATUS ENHANCEMENT OF Y AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Since its establishment in 1949, Y, a small urban settlement, has been known as an extremely backward community. Its original inhabitants were mainly new immigrants of Asian or African origin, characterized by low levels of education, income, and occupational prestige.

Toward the end of the 1970s, the political elite of Y initiated a "settle with us" project. Allocating undeveloped areas to new residential neighborhoods, it offered for sale individual lots for

detached and semidetached houses. The project was especially aimed at attracting new residents of higher socioeconomic strata European or American and Asian or African alike, by offering them a high standard of housing at relatively low cost. Some of the new residents arrived individually; others — especially families of military personnel — came on a group basis. A group of veteran citizens of Y who could afford it joined the new neighborhoods. By the mid-1980s, the residents of the new neighborhoods amounted to a third of Y's population.

The newcomers are concentrated in two newly established neighborhoods: the military quarter and the new civilian quarter. The population of the new civilian neighborhood is composed of both newcomers and veteran residents. Most veteran inhabitants of Y reside in its old districts, which comprise two poor neighborhoods, and the more established areas of moderate-level housing.

These changes in the composition of Y's population led to nearly complete school integration, since the children of the new and old inhabitants attend the same schools. Two of the elementary schools and the junior high school are completely integrated and, hence, constitute a most appropriate arena for our study.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN UPWARDLY MOBILE COMMUNITIES

The notion that the different pattern of school integration experienced in Y, and probably in other upwardly mobile communities, may produce unique outcomes is based on the model developed by Mercer, Iadicola, and Moore (1986). This model assumes that the social outcomes of school desegregation may depend on the degree of egalitarianism of the circumstances of the encounter. More egalitarian circumstances of the encounter between students of different social groups weakens intergroup prejudices and increases the chances of equitable intergroup relations.

Among the various factors that may effect this egalitarianism, two are most relevant to school integration in Y: equality of socioeconomic status and the treatment of members of the disadvantaged social group as "insiders," rather than intruders from the outside.

While there are large socioeconomic differences (usually accompanied by disparities in academic achievement, see, for example, Yogev 1981) between new and veteran students in Y, the veteran students, who constitute the lower-status group, cannot be treated as “outsiders” by the new and higher-status students. Their longer residence in the community may serve as a status resource and, hence, facilitate their contacts with the new students despite their socioeconomic differences.

The circumstances of the encounter of students of different social groups in an upwardly mobile community appear quite different from those found in regular situations of school desegregation. To examine whether this particular setting indeed weakens intergroup prejudices and enhances the chance of equable relations, we concentrate on perceptions of the students involved in the process. How do the students perceive the integration of new and veteran students? Are they aware of socioeconomic and academic differences between new and veteran students? Does the situation influence their self-image?

Ideally, successful school integration would be accompanied both by lessened group differences in perceptions on the merit of integration and by symmetrical group perceptions and self-perceptions. Following that notion, our study concentrates on the differences in perceptions between students of the new and veteran neighborhoods and the extent to which this affiliation directly influences the perceptions.

Our study focuses on three sets of perceptions related to the stated issues: (a) perceptions on the integration of new and veteran students, (b) perceptions on the groups involved in the process, and (c) the self-image of the students. In the following section we discuss each set and its underlying rationale, as well as the sample and additional variables used in the analysis.

SAMPLE, DATA, AND VARIABLES

The empirical analysis is based on a sample that includes all students (498) in four grade levels: the last year of elementary school (sixth grade) and all three grades of junior high school. These

grade levels were chosen since they were composed of both new and veteran students.

The data were obtained by a questionnaire consisting mostly of structured items, which was administered to the students during class hours. Data were collected when the new neighborhoods were almost completed — three years after their initial settling.

As noted, our analysis concentrates on three sets: (a) integration perception, (b) group perception, and (c) self-perception. The items that compose each set and the descriptive statistics are presented in Table 1. Each set and its underlying rationale are elaborated below.

Integrational perception (I). This set is composed of four items, measuring the perceived effects of mixing new and veteran students on classroom studying, on the relationships among classmates and with teachers, and on the respondent personally. Previous studies indicate the strong influence of adult community members on students' perceptions of school desegregation (Mercer, Iadicola, and Moore 1986; Gerrard and Miller 1975). Israeli studies on school integration reveal that both parents and teachers tend to express positive attitudes. However, it appears that the Israeli students themselves tend to express a certain amount of ambivalence. This is especially true for members of the disadvantaged group, who feel that integration yields better educational opportunities but also causes a decline in their popularity (Rash and Dar 1988). In Y the disadvantaged group is composed of veterans students, who are the "insiders." Hence these students may view integration as less threatening and reveal a higher tendency to support it. The distribution of the four items in Table 1 indicates that most students endorse school integration. The question is whether students vary in their views of school integration according to their seniority in Y.

Group perception (G). This set pertains to the stereotypes of new and veteran students in four domains: academic success, socioeconomic status, social relationships, and chances of life success. Most studies on group perception in desegregated settings reveal an asymmetrical pattern: both higher- and lower-status groups perceive the former as superior (see Mercer, Iadicola, and Moore 1986

TABLE 1
Description and Distribution of Perceptions of the Students

	Mean	SD
<i>Self-perception (S)</i>		
S1: Are you popular among your classmates? (1 = not so much; 2 = quite; 3 = very much)	2.16	.56
S2: How would you define your academic success? (1 = a very weak student . . . 6 = excellent)	4.02	.94
S3: Upon completion of junior high school I intend to study . . . (0 = in the vocational track; 1 = in the academic track)	.48	.50
S4: Do you have the same chances of life success as others of your age? (1 = a lesser chance; 2 = the same; 3 = better)	.54	.50
<i>Integration perception (I)</i>		
Students at your school are both veterans and new in Y. Does this fact influence the following?		
I1: Studying in the classroom (1 = bad influence; 2 = no influence; 3 = good influence)	2.23	.61
I2: Relationship among classmates (1 = bad influence; 2 = no influence; 3 = good influence)	2.04	.72
I3: Relationships with teachers (1 = bad influence; 2 = no influence; 3 = good influence)	2.08	.56
I4: You personally (1 = bad influence; 2 = no influence; 3 = good influence)	2.24	.59
<i>Group perception (G)</i>		
Do the new and veteran students differ in:		
G1: Academic success (1 = veterans more successful; 2 = same; 3 = the new)	2.48	.54
G2: Relationships with other students (1 = veterans more sociable; 2 = same; 3 = the new)	2.17	.63
G3: Parents' economic level (1 = veterans more affluent; 2 = same; 3 = the new)	2.44	.53
G4: Life success chances (1 = veterans have higher chances; 2 = same; 3 = the new)	2.29	.50

and also Schwarzwald and Amir 1984 for Israeli findings). The question is whether a similar asymmetry will be found among students of the new and veteran groups or whether each group will use its own status resources (socioeconomic level or length of residence) to form more symmetrical group perceptions.

Self-perception (S). The academic and social self-image of the students was measured by five items. School desegregation research has shown that lower-status students in heterogeneous settings have a lower self-image than do students of a similar status in homogeneous settings (St. John 1975). This is due to their tendency to use the higher-status students as a reference group. Similar results were obtained in Israel (Arzi and Amir 1976; Chen, Levy, and Kfir 1977). In our context, the question is whether new students have a higher self-image than veterans, and to what extent their differences in self-perception are independently explained by their seniority in the community.

Explanatory variables. The central explanatory variable is neighborhood group. The neighborhood groups are defined according to a combination of neighborhood (according to the formal definition of the local authorities) and length of residence. As noted, we are interested in discriminating between newcomers and veterans. However, since both the new and old neighborhoods are internally differentiated, we define the respondents by the above combination. This yields five units: (1) inhabitants of the new military neighborhood (MILIT); (2) newcomers in the new civilian neighborhood (NEWCIV); (3) long-term residents in this neighborhood (OLDCIV); (4) long-term residents in the poor neighborhoods (POOR); (5) veterans in the average level "old" neighborhoods (AVERAGE). The additional independent variables, which serve mainly as controls, are as follows: father's occupational prestige, according to Hartman's (1979) prestige scale of Israel (ranging from 1, lowest prestige, to 99, highest prestige); sex (coded 1 for males and 0 for females); grade level (ranging from sixth grade to ninth grade); ethnicity (coded 1 for European or American students and 0 for Asian or African students).

The analysis consists of one mediating variable — ability grouping. An analysis of perceptions of students in the Israeli junior high school is incomplete without reference to this organizational feature. Ability grouping is the main predictor of students' track location in high school (Yogev 1981). As such it molds students' self-perception (Bashi 1978) as well as their educational and even occupational aspirations (Ayalon and Yuchtman-Yaar 1989). In Y's junior high school, as in the entire Israeli educational system, ability grouping is a central factor in the structure of the school program. Since ability grouping is statistically linked to socioeconomic background and ethnic origin (Yogev 1981), we expect it to mediate between students' background characteristics and their perceptions. Ability grouping is defined according to students' grouping level in mathematics and English (ranging from 1, lowest level, to 3, highest level).

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

COMPARISON AMONG THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

The first analyses examine variations in students' perceptions according to neighborhood-group affiliation. Discriminant function analysis (Klecka 1980) is utilized for the depiction of the differentiation between the groups.

Discriminant analysis yields the linear combination of a set of discriminatory variables (the function) that provides the best discrimination among definite nominal categories (in our study, the five neighborhood groups). The differences among the neighborhood groups are examined along three separate analyses, each pertaining to one set of students' perceptions. The results for the functions that have reached statistical significance are presented in Table 2. The table indicates that the neighborhood groups were highly differentiated according to both their self-perceptions and group perceptions. (The canonical correlations [R_c] are .50 and .41, respectively.) When attitudes toward integration are considered, the discrimination among the groups is comparatively marginal ($R_c = .19$).

TABLE 2
Discriminant Analyses of Students Grouped
by Neighborhood: Results for the First Function

	<i>Integration Perception</i>	<i>Group Perception</i>	<i>Self- Perception</i>
Variables and standardized discriminant function coefficients ^a	(I1) .23 (I2) .99 (I3) .05 (I4) -.25	(G1) .45 (G2) .56 (G3) .36 (G4) .22	(S1) .02 (S2) .77 (S3) -.06 (S4) .37
Wilks's lambda	.94	.81	.72
p (χ^2 test)	< .05	< .001	< .001
Canonical correlation	.19	.41	.50
Group centroids			
MILIT	-.24	.54	.63
NEW CIV	-.10	.37	.48
OLD CIV	-.03	-.45	.07
POOR	.18	-.50	-.66
AVERAGE	.21	-.29	-.50

a. For detailed description of the variables see Table 1.

In the most significant dimension—self-perception—we can trace an obvious disparity between veterans and newcomers, with the latter exhibiting higher self-image.¹ However, both veterans and newcomers are further differentiated according to neighborhood affiliation. New military community students are found at the positive end of the self-image continuum, while long-term poor neighborhood students constitute the negative extreme. Long-term civilian neighborhood students react as an intermediate group—their self-image is higher than other veterans' but lower than newcomers'.

The findings pertaining to the group-perception function show a similar picture at the extremes—students of the military quarters have the highest scores, and those of the poor neighborhoods the lowest. However, the newcomers from the civilian quarter are closer to the new military community, whereas the long-term civilian students are surprisingly near to long-term poor students. In this domain, the neighborhood groups exhibit a symmetrical perception—the newcomers assign to their group higher academic

success, better relationships with classmates, and higher economic level. The long-term residents say the very same thing about their own group. Interestingly, according to their group perception, students from the old civilian neighborhood appear to identify with other veterans and not with their neighbors in the newly established quarter.

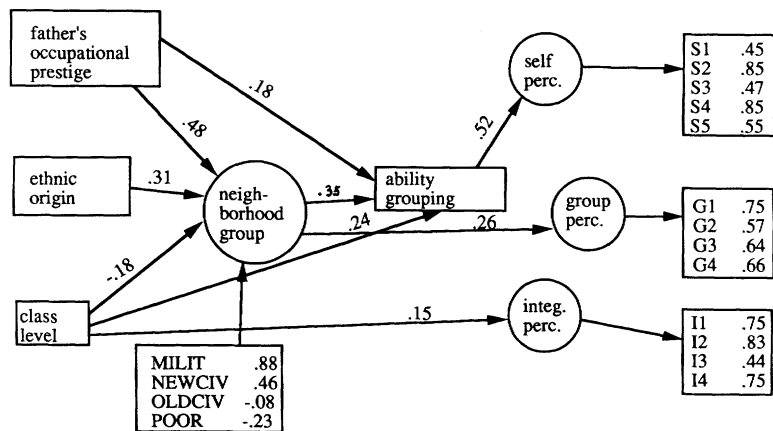
The integration-perception function is the least discriminating. Yet residents in the old neighborhoods score higher than newcomers, indicating their tendency to regard integration more favorably. Long-term civilians' attitude is less favorable compared to other veterans, but they still appreciate integration more than the newcomers.

Several conclusions may be drawn from the comparison among the neighborhood groups: (a) The newcomers are different from the old-time residents in all three analyzed aspects. The inner differentiation according to neighborhoods is marginal compared to the length of residence variation. (b) The long-term residents express lower self-image than the newcomers and a more favorable attitude toward integration. Members of each category view their own group as superior. (c) "Old" residents in the new civilian district react mostly as an intermediate group. However, as regards their group perception, they identify with the long-term residents.

NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS AND STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS IN THE FORMATION OF PERCEPTIONS

The differences among the perceptions of the student groups may indeed stem from their neighborhood-group affiliation. They may also, however, result from individual differences among the students in status of origin and in academic standing. In order to assess the extent to which group affiliation (and hence seniority in Y) is the source of the students' perceptions, we reanalyze the three perception sets within the linear structural relation model (Wold 1975).

The linear structural relation model incorporates unmeasured constructs (or latent variables) in a path analytical model. The path coefficients are estimated by partial least square solution (PLS). PLS estimates simultaneously the relationships between the latent



Correlations among the exogeneous variables and among the dependent variables, and path coefficients lower than .15 are omitted from the figure. Percent of explained variance (R²):

neighborhood group	.52
ability grouping	.27
self perception	.44
group perception	.19
integration perception	.07

Figure 1. Factors affecting students' perceptions: The linear structural relation model.

variables (the path coefficients) and these between each latent variable and its indicators. We use this model since (a) we prefer to represent our main explanatory variable — neighborhood groups — by a single construct; and (b) each of our dependent variables has multiple indicators.

The measurement model (pertaining to the relationship between each construct and its indicators), the path model, and the results of the analysis are presented in Figure 1. Four latent variables (represented in the figure by encircled names), each composed of its set of items (represented by names in rectangles), are included in the analysis.²

The model starts with four exogenous variables: father's occupational prestige, ethnic origin, gender, and class level. The neighborhood-group construct follows the exogenous variables. A set of dummy variables, each representing one group (AVERAGE

TABLE 3
Product-Moment Correlation Coefficients among the Variables

	Ethnic Origin	Gender	Grade Level	Neighborhood Group	Ability Grouping	Perceptions		
						Integration	Group	Self
Father's occupational prestige	.40	-.01	-.16	.63	.40	-.18	.28	.41
Ethnic origin	—	.03	-.13	-.29	.31	-.14	.29	.32
Gender	—	—	-.03	.03	-.02	.07	.14	.00
Grade level	—	—	—	-.29	.09	.18	-.16	-.05
Neighborhood group	—	—	—	—	.44	-.16	.39	.46
Ability grouping	—	—	—	—	—	-.05	.23	.62
Integration perception	—	—	—	—	—	—	.30	-.07
Group perception	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	.30

serves as the baseline group, and the respective dummy variable is omitted from the analysis), serve as the indicators of the neighborhood-group construct. This latent variable appears to be loaded mainly by MILIT and CIVILNEW. The next stage of the model consists of the mediating variable, ability grouping, which represents the students' academic standing. The three dependent variables in the last stage of the model are the constructs representing the three perception sets.

The path coefficients pertaining to the effect of the exogenous variables on the neighborhood-group construct demonstrate the acute distinction between the groups in terms of social composition. Socioeconomic status (as indicated by father's occupational prestige) and ethnic origin account for 52% of the construct's variance. The higher social status and the European or American origin of the inhabitants of the new districts is straightforward.

As noted, our main purpose in the present analysis is the partitioning of the net effect of neighborhood group from that of socioeconomic status and ethnic origin on the formation of students' perceptions. It appears that only in one domain, group perception, does the neighborhood-group variable retain its dominance after controlling for the remaining explanatory variables. The pattern of neighborhood-group effect sustains our earlier finding that the students hold symmetrical group perception: both the new and the veteran students believe that their group is superior. Group perception is related to no other variable.

Neighborhood lacks any effect on the formation of attitude toward integration. As the overall effect of the explanatory variables is marginal, we can conclude that the positive attitude toward integration is common to Y's students regardless of either neighborhood-group affiliation, background characteristics, or ability grouping.

The model reaches its maximal explanatory power in the self-perception construct ($R^2 = .40$). This high degree of explained variance stems mainly from the effect of ability grouping, the path coefficient of which is as high as .52. The direction of the influence is not surprising—students in higher ability groupings develop a higher self-image.

Ability grouping, which is central in the formation of self-perception, is strongly affected by the neighborhood-group construct, indicating the latter's independent influence on the students' branching within the school. Moreover, this latent variable has the strongest effect on ability grouping, clearly surpassing the effects of ethnicity and status of origin. This means that the new students of MILIT and NEWCIV have an advantage in school placement, beyond that accorded by their parents' status. This may, of course, stem only from their higher academic achievements, which we did not measure. However, the fact remains that the internal school stratification of Y's students is strongly related to the distinction between newcomers and veterans. The newcomers constitute the school elite and as such value themselves more highly. The opposite occurs to the long-term residents who are dominant in the lower groupings. Apparently, the organization of the educational process, largely differentiating between newcomers and long-term residents, plays a central part in the enhancement of the self-image of the former, and its deterioration among the latter.

DISCUSSION

Our analysis concentrated on school integration in a community experiencing status enhancement. In that particular setting, higher-status newcomers are expected to integrate with lower-status long-term inhabitants. This produces a unique pattern of integration. Our investigation of the perceptions of students in the junior high school was governed by the conception that the unique pattern would produce unusual outcomes, namely, general support of integration, and symmetrical perceptions at both the group level and the individual level.

Most students do endorse integration, at least on the declarative level. However, the strongest evidence of unusual outcomes has been provided by students' group perception. Contrary to most findings obtained in more common situations of school desegregation, the new and veteran students of Y have developed symmetrical group perceptions. This pattern means that all students, newcomers and veterans alike, take pride in their group. It seems that being a

veteran in the community indeed serves as a resource that provides some compensation for socioeconomic inferiority. The best demonstration of the significance of seniority in the community is provided by OLD CIV's group perceptions, which indicate their identification with the long-term residents rather than with their neighbors in the new civilian quarter.

The symmetrical perception at the group level is not reproduced at the individual level. Here we witness the familiar pattern, with the self-image of the lower-status veterans being lower than that of the higher-status newcomers. The cause of that discrepancy is clear. The organization of schooling, which places the veterans in the inferior ability groupings, decreases their confidence both in themselves and in their educational opportunities.

In sum, the symmetry of the group perceptions of the students suggests that school integration in the framework of an upwardly mobile community does yield some unusual consequences. However, the correspondence between the self-image of the students and their social status (indicated in our study by neighborhood-group affiliation) reflects the pattern found in the more common desegregation situations. The link between the self-image of the students and their social status is completely mediated by ability grouping, indicating the centrality of the latter in shaping students' self-perceptions. The coupling of the group perceptions of the students with their self-perceptions indicates that desegregation strategy that follows residential integration and brings higher-status students to the schools of their disadvantaged counterparts may bear some merit. However, as long as school stratification corresponds to the social stratification of the students, the achievement of a successful social integration may be at most limited.

NOTES

1. The qualitative aspects of the differentiation among the groups in each set is obtained by their centroids — the mean function scores of each neighborhood group. The standardized discriminant function coefficients exhibit the relative weight of each item in the construction of the function. The coupling of the direction of the centroids with the corresponding function coefficients yields the pattern of the relationship between the discriminating variables, on the one hand, and the neighborhood groups, on the other.

2. The weights of each item composing the perceptions constructs are estimated by a factor-analytical procedure (an outward directed model, in PLS terminology). It is assumed that the latent variable, the factor, is a predictor of its indicators. Consequently, the coefficients of the outward model are parallel to factor loadings. The relationships between the neighborhood-group construct and its indicators are estimated differently — the factor is regressed on its indicators (an inwardly directed model). Hence this construct is a transformed composite variable of a set of indicator variables, and the coefficients can be interpreted as regression betas. We use here the less common inwardly directed model, since we see no point in assuming that the neighborhood-group construct is a factor that predicts its indicators (namely, the various neighborhood groups). For this same reason we preferred not to use the better known technique for path analysis with latent variables, LISREL, which does not enable the incorporation of an inwardly directed model.

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