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ABSTRACT
              In this study, the attempt is made to isolate the
factors that make individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds become
successful. From data collected in interviews, the study concludes
that "successful" and "unsuccessful" subjects differ in their memory
of school life, self-esteem, loyalty to family, etc. The findings are
summarized separately for each of four groups: Mexican-American
A (successful), Mexican-American B (unsuccessful), Black A (successful),
Black B (unsuccessful) --under the following headings: family
background, peer associations, education, legal problems, work
experiences, current family relationships, goals and values,
aspirations, and self-image. Sharp attitudinal differences were found
between the groups concerning street life, goals, and aspirations.
(Author/CB)

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A Study of

Successful Persons

from Seriously Disadvantaged Backgrounds

FINAL REPORT
prepared for
Office of Special Manpower Programs
Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.
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Miss Molly Lewin's keen editorial talents have helped sharpen the substance as well as form of the report, and the attractive and pertinent cover design is the work of Robert W. Wheeler. Miss Jenny Terrell has been HIRI's executive secretary, research assistant, editor and chief shepherdess in getting this manuscript in shape to be shipped off; her help has been invaluable.

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E.M.G.
H.R.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Not all American citizens are able to share in the benefits of the affluent country in which they live. Despite long-held beliefs of equality of opportunity and professed equality of all men, there are many areas of this country where generations of families have subsisted in conditions of deprivation and poverty for the most part not comprehended by the rest of the nation. This poverty is not limited to any particular part of the country nor kind of society nor color of skin. It exists in urban ghettos and barrios among people with black and brown skins; it exists in the countrysides of Appalachia among people with white skins; it exists in numberless dusty government reservations among people with red skins. Not all Indian reservations are intolerably stultifying; not all of green Appalachia is untillable; not all of California's farm workers live in filth and hunger; not all black and brown residents of any ghetto or barrio depend for their lives on welfare, or are even poor. But over ten million American families are.

The recent activism of disadvantaged groups and the arousal of a sense of shame in middle America have led to the development of a public policy that now recognizes that mainstream America has an obligation to attend forcefully to the problem of disadvantagement. The federal government has increasingly responded to this obligation, an effort which in the last five years has accelerated into serious attack on the problem, sponsoring specific programs to provide or create the possibility of employment for the chronically unemployed or underemployed.

The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) of the Department of Labor is one of several major government programs directed to this problem. Over the past several years the Human Interaction Research Institute (HIRI) has had contracts with the Department of Labor to evaluate the CEP in seven cities: Birmingham, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York (South Bronx), Oakland, San Antonio, Seattle. At the termination of our first contract involving three cities, we had a relatively small amount of funds left. We suggested to the Department of Labor that it might be very useful, in connection with efforts to recruit, train, employ and retain hard-to-employ persons, if a comparative study were made between two groups: (1) unemployed or clearly underemployed persons living in poverty areas who were eligible for or in need of programs like CEP which intend to provide various kinds of assistance aimed at equipping such persons for sustained employment, and (2) individuals matched for age and ethnic background who had grown up in the same or equivalent disadvantaged environments, but had "made it" in terms of upward mobility in job or education, were not in trouble with the law, and were functioning in society without public assistance or intervention. The study would attempt to identify the differences between the disadvantaged man who had been able to begin the pull upward and the disadvantaged man who did not or could not, to study both and to find out what factors coincide with and predispose to the one outcome or the other.

The Department of Labor authorized our using the unexpended funds to carry out a pilot study or "skirmish" of this kind. It might be that the findings from such a study could be useful to other individuals in terms of personal

strategies or tactics, and to the planning of more effective assistance, education or training programs.

This report is a recount of how HIRI pursued the pilot study, and the tentative learnings or leads that have emerged.

A. Factors Inferred from the Literature

As a starting viewpoint, the balance of this chapter is concerned with a selective review of some of the extensive literature on disadvantaged people. It is selective rather than exhaustive, because it is utilized to develop a frame of reference in terms of which we have ordered our thinking about the problem. The literature surveyed primarily pertains to Blacks, because of the particularly well developed stage of this literature and because of its availability to the reviewer,* who already had some familiarity with this area. The purpose of the survey is to look for trends, for putative factors that can serve as a starting point for this study. The factors to be identified have been developed out of the reviewer's own reading, his clinical understanding, his general knowledge of psychology and the social sciences, and his sense of the general literature. It is hoped that this first effort to identify relevant factors is not race- or culture-bound; whatever factors are proposed as relevant here may also be relevant to disadvantaged groups in general.

Although the creators of Black literature are exceptional people and are in many ways not representative of the subjects of our study, they share with

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*   Thomas C. Greening, Ph.D.

our subjects the experience of having lived early lives of disadvantagement.
To these men, the term "ghetto" does not include the middle-class and affluent
persons living comfortably within the ghetto area, and refers only to the
impoverishment they knew. It is in their sense of "ghetto" that the term is
used in this chapter.

Within the literature, what are some of the trends or factors we can trace
in the lives of people who have risen successfully out of disadvantaged back-
grounds? The following list is based on abstraction from the literature. In
this preliminary chapter there is purposely no attempt to fabricate a theory;
the entire purpose of this survey is to establish some initial notions of what
might be relevant to our question: why do some make it and others not?

Within the literature, these life factors are often found to be present in
those who have risen successfully out of disadvantaged backgrounds:

1. Identity: Having a strong sense of self, pride, worth.

2. Alienation: Experiencing some degree of alienation, often externally
   imposed, from the ghetto culture.

3. Freedom from Conditioning: Escaping the routine ghetto brainwashing
   that would normally produce a sense of guilt, inferiority, limited
   perspective, absence of hope, dysfunctional standards, pacifying
   illusions about life.

4. Physical Removal: Breaking dependency ties, social norm pressure,
   and identity definition as a result of moving, imprisonment, military
   service, illness, etc.

5. <u>Luck</u>: Benefiting from chance occurrences which help him avoid trouble or find constructive outlets and relationships.

6. <u>Supportive, Inspiring Relationships</u>: Receiving help from special people who believe in him, guide him, and stand for a new set of standards.

7. <u>Identification Models</u>: Identifying with "folk heroes," "big shots," and even ordinary people who symbolize identities other than disadvantaged.

8. <u>Questioning Orientation</u>: Asking at critical points in formative years, "Who am I?" or "Where am I going?"

9. <u>Awareness of Alternative Paths</u>: Discovering that there are other routes than being a slave or hustler. Such goals as self-determination, money, creativity, or status must come to seem attractive to him, and actions such as hard work or studying must be seen as steps which pay off.

10. <u>New Perception of Self</u>: Seeing himself as someone not locked into one fixed negative or limited identity; envisioning himself as having potential for being a person different from what he is now.

11. <u>Existential Crisis</u>: Dramatic encountering of clear-cut choices and new ways. There must be a build-up of tension, a conflict escalation, in which the person openly faces the cost of his old ways, the high stakes involved, and the attractiveness of gambling on a new way of life. An existential crisis must be confronted head-on and resolved through a higher form of self-and-world-affirmation.

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12. <u>Risk-taking Capacity</u>: Being willing and able to endure the anxiety, suspense, disappointment, and humiliation of experimenting with new behavior.

13. <u>Channeling of Rage</u>: Learning to direct the rage over being disadvantaged into strategic actions effectively designed to fight one's way out of the ghetto; avoiding burying one's anger beneath defenses of passivity and self-deprecation, or firing it out at the world impulsively in ways that merely provoke punishment.

14. <u>Rewards for Change</u>: Receiving support and acceptance for new behavior and identity from key individuals, new peer group, or internalized ideal images.

1. IDENTITY

The need for identity, reputation, sense of self, pride, and the feeling of being <u>somebody</u> appear to be powerful forces in almost all men. The despair of being a nobody is virtually intolerable. Ghetto youth are notorious for their obsession with "rep," meaning reputation, status, and visible standing in their peer group.

Claude Brown (2) stressed the importance of establishing a reputation as someone who would fight and never run. James Baldwin (discussed by Eckman [4]) felt a deep sense of inferiority and shame because he was kept from earning a "rep" in the life of the streets. At home he was taught by his paranoid step-father to hate and to have the identity of an oppressed Black man. Because he felt ugly, guilty, and rejected by his peers, he had to turn

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to unusual solutions such as being a preacher and a writer. In his search for self-esteem and identity Claude Brown was more successful than Baldwin in discovering the expectations of others in the street life and learning how to fulfill them. One must fight to defend one's reputation as a fighter, even if it meant killing or being killed. Brown developed a pride in his ability to live up to that code. In reform school he had to continue to fight for his rep. Because of his rep he was able to give up selling marijuana and go to school without being labeled a "lame." As Piri Thomas puts it in Down These Mean Streets (14), "In Harlem you always lived on the edge of losing rep. All it takes is a one-time loss of heart." If you worked at a menial job, you were a "chump" or "boy." In prison he learned about the Black Muslims and always remembered what Muhammad Elijah said, "No matter what a man's color or race, he has a need of dignity, and he'll go anywhere, become anything or do anything to get it -- anything."

In a ghetto, the lowest form of identity clearly is that of the "lame," "chump," or "boy." Some are able to rise above that to the identity of a family or peer group member with fairly benign norms emphasizing loyalty, good times, and even hard work as a means of earning shared pleasures. The aggressive identity of the street fighter and hustler certainly has higher appeal than that of the "lame," "chump," or "boy" and will predominate when the conditions supportive of a benign identity are lacking. The fourth choice, that of a unique and successful identity which transcends the ghetto world, is made only under very special conditions which will be examined below. Each

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ghetto resident must work out some kind of identity for himself or he will

become a schizoid drifter, unsuccessful even according to the most minimal

of ghetto standards. This basic, starting identity can then serve as a basis

for further development, within limits. If it is too precarious an identity,

requiring constant effort to maintain, the ghetto youth will have no surplus

resources for further development. If it is too negative an identity he will

get in serious trouble with the law and have his developmental options dras-

tically reduced. If it is too successful an identity, he will become addicted

to it and be unwilling to risk losing it in order to reach for unfamiliar alter-

natives. Thus, while the search for identity is a general human problem, not

limited to ghetto dwellers, the ghetto offers more limited choices for resolution

than a more open environment.

2. ALIENATION

Closely related to the need for a sense of identity, most young men of

average ability and mental health have a strong desire to "belong." Alienation

from one's associates entails a sense of loneliness and self-doubt. The dis-

advantaged youth who makes a successful, integrated adaptation to the ghetto

subculture is likely to become dependent to the point of addiction upon the

sources of self-esteem and satisfaction available from that subculture.

Earning a rep and enjoying the money to be had from stealing and drug pushing

may seem like the best deal one could hope for.

Probably no one voluntarily chooses to be alienated; such a condition is

always forced on "the stranger" by idiosyncracies in his own nature and/or in

his environment. James Baldwin is a clear example of a young man who was severely alienated from his own family and subculture, and for whom that alienation served as a prod to make him create a new identity based on developing his assets. He was seen as "ugly" and that externally imposed condition contributed strongly to his alienation. He was rejected by his step-father, teased by his schoolmates, and prevented from learning the life of the streets by being kept home to care for other children. When he was 14 he saw his peers beginning to accept the idea that they could not achieve anything more in life than their fathers had. He felt different enough to be compelled to rebel against such a fate. At high school he made friends with Whites, although he had been taught they were the enemy. Later, he turned to the church and became a preacher. Again he felt alienated, and left. God was White, and in spite of Baldwin's attempts at virtue, he was still Black. Now he did not belong at home, in the church, with Blacks, or with Whites. Finally he went to Paris, where so many alienated Americans have gone in search of a new identity free of unwanted, externally imposed dimensions, and began to discover and develop his talents as a writer.

Claude Brown's parents came to New York from the South and tried to re-create "down home" life in Harlem. They were content to work hard and aspired only to some liquor and sex on Saturday night. When Brown returned to school they could not understand why he would give up a good job at Hamburger Heaven, making 45 dollars a week. They put it down as a mere search for novelty, as though such a search was pointless. Brown's mother

said she would be satisfied if his younger brother were to become a janitor. Brown felt alienated from this stifling approach to life and, like Baldwin, began searching for alternatives.

Gordon Parks in A Choice of Weapons (12) was cut off from the identity of a southern Negro and a family member by circumstances. At 16 when his mother died and his family was broken up, he went to Minnesota to live with a married sister. After a fight with his brother-in-law, he was pushed out on his own. Parks could accept the developmental challenge in this. "Early manhood, after all, was my inheritance; the sooner I began it the better."

Piri Thomas was alienated from his family as the result of being darker than his siblings and feeling rejected by his father. In addition, after a move to Long Island he found his dark color caused him to be treated as a Negro, not a Puerto Rican, thus further aggravating his sense of being different from his peers and family. He was stuck between the Negroes and the Whites, both of whom he hated.

The experiences of each of these writers illustrates the important role played by alienation at an early phase in the life of an eventually successful person from a disadvantaged background. Alienation doesn't solve anything. It may even destroy the person. But it can also be a special challenge which contributes to a growth process.

David Riesman (13) believes that certain kinds of alienation and marginality can be distinct assets in freeing oneself from a stifling family or subculture. One of the examples he uses is Richard Wright, who was brought up in a rigid,

doctrinaire home and who found a way out of that home and the South. Wright

was a minority of one in his family before he discovered he was a member of a

disadvantaged minority group. Riesman presents an analysis of Wright (and also

of Edmund Gosse) to demonstrate "that a minority position can be a blessing

as well as a curse, and particularly that a marginal position -- not quite in

the minority, not quite outside it -- may be a superior vantage point for under-

standing and self-development." (p. 166)

3. FREEDOM FROM CONDITIONING

Learning to see one's self as good and capable, and the world as providing

opportunities and rewards depends upon a long series of positive experiences

beginning at birth. Unfortunately, when parents are having negative experiences

they are not likely to be able to provide positive, supportive reinforcements for

their children. The heritage of disadvantaged children is a kind of brainwashing

which teaches them to know their "place" in society and to stay in it. Such

brainwashing includes the instilling of a sense of guilt and inferiority, a limited

perspective about life's possibilities, a feeling of hopelessness about change in

the future, dysfunctional and inappropriate high and low standards for evaluating

oneself, and pacifying illusions about life which dull the pain but preclude

action. Freedom from that kind of conditioning is rare.

In some cases an unusual adult has achieved a different perspective on

ghetto life and can pass it on. For Gordon Parks his mother was such a person:

"My mother had freed me from the curse of inferiority long before she died by

not allowing me to take refuge in the excuse that I had been born Black. She had given me ambition and purpose and set the course I had since traveled."

James Baldwin was conditioned by his step-father to believe that he was sinful, ugly and unlovable, and that all Whites were to be hated. It took new experiences of self-expression and friendship for him to break that conditioning. One crucial event was when he discovered he had come close to committing murder and thus realized that his very life was in danger "... not from anything other people might do but from the hatred I carried in my own heart." When he went to Paris to free himself from external conditioning he discovered how much of it he had already internalized. "The question of who I was, was not solved because I had removed myself from the social forces which menaced me -- anyway, these forces had become interior, and I had dragged them across the ocean with me." The longer the conditioning lasts, the harder it is to break.

The early or sustained use of drugs as a means to escape and achieve pseudo-power is clearly one of the most powerful forms of conditioning which can trap the disadvantaged. Drugs can reduce the pain and depression of experiencing one's predicament, just as accepting a defeatist view of one's self can avoid the anxiety aroused by attempting new ventures. Although Claude Brown used pot and cocaine, he never became hooked on heroin. Malcolm X (9) and Piri Thomas both were drug addicts for a while but managed to escape the escalation of conditioning which would have destroyed them.

Vivid experiences of counter-conditioning may be necessary to blot out the deep set patterns instilled by the ghetto. But to experience such counter-

conditioning may require a drastic change in environment, a factor discussed in the following section.

4. PHYSICAL REMOVAL

Alienation, escape from conditioning, and opportunities for developing new relationships and a new identity often are furthered by actual physical separation from one's original reference group. James Baldwin achieved partial separation from his roots by going to high school outside Harlem and later working in New Jersey, but he finally found it necessary to go to Paris to continue his struggle toward psychological freedom.

Claude Brown's record of delinquency got him sent off to various detention centers. That in itself was certainly no path to success, but it did put him in contact with several people who inspired him and whom he would not have met in his back home environment. At the age of 17 he moved out of Harlem, gave his gun away, and held a job.

Physical moves were important for Gordon Parks, too, as described in the above section on alienation. Moving from the South to Minnesota, and then being thrown out of his brother-in-law's home, made it impossible for him to cling to the limited but conveniently available life styles he would have known in those places.

Malcolm X also made several involuntary and voluntary geographical moves before he ended up in Harlem at 17. By then he was on the prowl, looking for a more exciting way of life than he would have known if he had settled in one of his previous locales with a mixture of comfort and resignation. When he was

sent to jail, he was physically removed from his presumably downhill pattern and exposed to new influences. In fact he met Bimbi, the first man he had seen command respect with work and words. And in jail, Malcolm X had time to do a great amount of reading.

Piri Thomas also made many geographical moves before he was 20. He achieved some sense of independence, but no really basic change in his orientation toward drugs and crime. Finally in prison he encountered the Muslims, and through their influence began to read and question.

Obviously, the physical removal of being sent to jail has no inherent constructive influence by itself, but it is seen to be a factor which sometimes contributes to freeing a person from one life pattern and putting him in a position where he is susceptible to new influences.

Entering military service is another way of becoming physically removed from the ghetto without being overwhelmed by the new tasks of finding a job and providing for one's self. Young men who are drafted are relieved of having to make choices and take initiative to get out of the ghetto. Whatever guilt they may fear about "deserting" their folks, or fear of the wider world and its confrontation with White power, can often be suppressed because an external force is requiring this move of them. Volunteering may be acceptable to self and family because of the approved aspects of "serving one's country" or perhaps learning a trade, or at least keeping off the streets. The masculine image of a soldier is sufficiently established for many ghetto youths to provide an acceptable alternative to building a rep in the streets

or in jail. However, many ghetto youths are not qualified for military service, and others may view it as a sell-out to the White establishment or to a racist war.

5. LUCK

Many successful people modestly or superstitiously give credit to luck. It is hard to assess the degree to which a person makes his own luck or responds to the opportunities of chance occurrences. But in spite of a certain skepticism about the role of luck, we certainly must take note of what seems like good fortune at critical junctures in the lives of successful disadvantaged people. One of many examples is Claude Brown, who twice set out to get revenge on junkies, and twice was saved from crime because the police beat him to his intended victim. Later he attributed his ability to leave the street life of Harlem to the fact that the crimes he did commit occurred before he was old enough to get a police record.

6. SUPPORTIVE, INSPIRING RELATIONSHIPS

A book could be written on the special relationships which helped disadvantaged people become successful. Probably no other single factor is as important. For example, this was the conclusion drawn by Michie (10) in his study of disadvantaged youths with successful employment records. He found that they had been greatly influenced by teachers who were outstanding in their capacity to show warm, personal interest in their students. The control group did not report such relationships. Of course, all relationships are a two-way

street, and youths on their way to success may seek out and bring more to a relationship than their less fortunate peers. Nevertheless, it is important that the older person be there with support, love, faith, guidance, standards, and modeling of new behavior and attitudes when the youth is open to help. Ralph Bunche (7) put it this way: "You couldn't develop ambition in that atmosphere, because where the hell were you going -- where could you go? You could see nothing ahead for you in life. Nothing open to you. I escaped... I escaped for only one reason: Nana, my maternal grandmother. She was the greatest woman I have ever known. She made me go to college... I know where I would have been and what I would have become if it hadn't been for her."

For Claude Brown, meeting Mr. Papanek at Wiltwyck, a detention home, was a turning point in his life. Papanek was a different kind of person. He could handle life without lying, hitting, or getting mad. Brown felt Papanek's deep understanding of people and his caring. "He was the first person I ever wanted to do anything for. I wanted to stay out there so Papanek would be right." He was also moved to take a few creative steps by his wish to do something for Mrs. Meitner, an older White woman on the staff at Wiltwyck. Later, he began to read books out of a sense of obligation to a Mrs. Cohen who had been kind to him at another detention center.

Malcolm X began to study after meeting Bimbi, the man who commanded respect in prison with his words. Malcolm was also influenced and helped by his brothers who had become Muslims, and by writing to Muhammed Elijah every day.

Sometimes the influence can be from a younger person who does not give support and guidance, but who asks for it and thus confronts a youth with issues in his own life. Even a brief encounter of this kind may have an impact. Once when Claude Brown was on the way to a party a boy stopped him and asked him what he did; the boy wanted to do it too. Brown reacted to this incident with the determination to do something so he would have an answer for the next little boy who looked to him as a model.

7. IDENTIFICATION MODELS

In contrast to supportive friends, who may also serve as identification models, there are those figures in one's life whom one may never meet but who symbolize a way of being in the world toward which we aspire. They may be found in books, in the news, or in the folk culture. For instance, Claude Brown admired Einstein as an example of a man who had control over his life and could do what he wanted yet still get people to accept him. In contrast to mainstream society, the variety of ways of being that are available to Black disadvantaged youth is limited. Which is to say that the range of models with which it is feasible for him to identify, and which could provide him with at least some pattern for escape from a disadvantaged condition is limited. Some examples of these identification models are Post Office Clerk, Teacher, Entertainer, Athlete, Hustler, Maitre d', Political Opportunist, Minister, Political Militant and Social Critic.

8. QUESTIONING ORIENTATION

In addition to the other factors mentioned thus far, some graduates of the ghetto go through a conscious, explicit question-asking phase. For example, Piri Thomas became a Muslim in prison and as a result was introduced to reading and discussion. He began to ask questions about what he had been, how he had become that way, what he could be, and how he could make it. He was aided in this new approach to life by reading psychology books, and finally decided to aim in a new direction when he got out of jail.

At critical junctures during formative years, the individual who asks, "Who am I?", "Where am I going?", and "What do I really want in life?" is taking a look at himself and his life pattern which could lead to a radical re-orientation. Many people, in the ghetto and outside it, never ask these questions and resign themselves to a sense of fate. They see their personalities and life styles as pre-determined by forces outside their control, and focus their efforts on adjusting to their destinies as they unfold. Accepting their "place" in the world, they alternate between complaining futilely and grabbing what fleeting pleasures are available. To question the inevitability of one's lot in life and to envision one's self as something still to be created are courageous, innovative steps which some might label presumptuous, arrogant, and foolhardy.

A dramatic example occurred in the life of Sammy Davis (3). He was already a fairly successful entertainer with Will Mastin and his father in a

trio when he began to take a second look at his own act and those of other

Black entertainers. He realized they were docilely accepting the standard

song and dance approach expected of Black performers, making no personal

contact with the audiences. He asked himself if it had to stay that way, and

he asked Will Mastin for permission to experiment. Later, his innovative

drive led to a clash with Mastin, when Sammy Davis wanted to hire a White

conductor who could give them more flexibility. Mastin was against having

a conductor at all, and especially against using a White man to assist what

he insisted should remain a "colored act." Finally, instead of coming on

stage dancing as Black performers conventionally did in their frantic efforts

to please, Davis decided to try walking on "like a gentleman." He could have

continued using the moderately successful style he had already developed, but

his ambition and intelligence led him to test and challenge his existing self-

definition and social role, asking the crucial questions: "Why is it that way?",

"Does it have to stay that way?", "What if I tried something new?"

9. AWARENESS OF ALTERNATIVE PATHS

Closely related to the questioning orientation, to physical removal, and

to new relationships as aids in forging a non-ghetto existence is the process

by which a person becomes aware of alternative ways of life. Someone who

has never known anything but life in the ghetto may have difficulty grasping

that there really are other ways to live which could be open to him. Regrettably

too few ghetto youths have opportunities for direct contact with alternative paths

that really lead anywhere. They are confronted with dead ends, or routes that demand great sacrifices for remote and uncertain pay-offs. The ghetto youth must become aware of alternative paths which might be pursued before he can even consider whether he wants to take the necessary risks. These paths can come to his attention fortuitously, or he may discover them as the result of exploratory, questioning behavior of his own.

10. NEW PERCEPTION OF SELF

In the section on questioning orientation we have already referred to the important step of questioning the immutability of one's fate and envisioning one's self as something still to be created. Experiences or fantasies which provide a new self-concept can free the ghetto dweller from a defeatist self-fulfilling prophecy and enable him to work constructively to become the person he believes he has the potential to be. Grier and Cobbs (6) describe an adopted Black girl who held on to a perception of herself as having potential beyond her current level: "As an orphan, knowing from her earliest years that she had no blood relationship to her adoptive mother, she was able psychologically to separate herself. She could imagine that her real parents were grand glorious lovers who because of some tragic turn of fate had to abandon their beloved child. She literally thought of herself as a princess whom circumstance had decreed must be reared in unfortunate circumstances." Other young people may develop faith in a new vision of themselves from other sources: from an unusual event in which they suddenly glimpse hidden

talent or character strength, from a relationship in which they are treated as worthwhile by someone whose judgment they respect, or from reading books which help them see that others like them have successfully overcome disadvantages and made themselves over into effective people.

Sometimes gaining an awareness of how one's self-concept is the result of past conditioning, rather than a final irrevocable fact, helps a person view his identity as still in the process of being formed, and as something he can have an active role in creating. Perhaps one of the most influential functions of teachers and other mentors is to convey to the ghetto youth that he does have untapped potential and unused powers to shape his own destiny. Even then, however, the individual must truly integrate a revised, positive concept of himself, or his success will be short-lived. What would be an ordinary defeat for someone else would become for him proof that he was really destined to fail and had only temporarily allowed himself to be deluded by the optimism of others.

Grier and Cobbs describe the case of Roy, a successful painter and husband. A fall from a scaffold set off a chain of anxiety, psychosomatic pain, impotence, and suicidal thoughts. Grier and Cobbs argue that the normal and neurotic anxiety in this case, which could have occurred to some degree in a middle-class White man, were disastrously intensified by Roy's deeper feeling that as a Black man from the South, "He seemed to feel that he had no right to do well.... He said finally that, coming as he did from the squalor of the black ghetto, he had done well to stay up as long as he had.

He expected to end up crushed, down and out. It was as if the proper place in life for him was as an ineffectual, defenseless, castrated man, and that his brief period of competence was but a temporary violation of the natural order of things. Roy's illness revolved in large measure around his conception of his place in the world." (p. 5)

In cases like this we see that changes in the exterior aspects of a person's social position do not necessarily reflect durable changes in his concept of himself. Only a fundamentally revised perception of his own worth and place could enable Roy to get out of the ghetto and stay out. Unfortunately, as Grier and Cobbs point out in describing a group of Black day laborers waiting for work, "...the psychic structure of the black man being selected has altered little since slavery."

11. EXISTENTIAL CRISIS

Change is often slow and gradual. Growth may proceed almost imperceptibly, so that a person passes uneventfully from one orientation toward life to another. A series of small, undramatic choices may lead to giving up old behaviors and attitudes and venturing into new ones. Some people may make it out of the ghetto this way, but it doesn't seem likely. Attitudes and actions which are functional in the ghetto are often incompatible with success outside the ghetto. Painful, either-or choices must be made.

In the life stories of many people who made it out of the ghetto we read of vivid, dramatic incidents in which they had to make choices between two actions

with radically opposite consequences. It is through these concrete choices that new self-concepts are formed and new paths cut through the jungle which traps men in the ghetto.

Such choices are not made spontaneously and without preparation, even though they may seem like sudden departures from an old pattern. There is a build-up of tension, a cumulative escalation of inner conflict, a mounting sense of pressure to take a stand one way or the other. Through a series of confrontations with divided aspects of himself and his environment, the person is faced with an unavoidable awareness of the destructive cost of his old life style and the possible advantages of a leap into a new kind of existence.

Many people try to stall or to minimize the high stakes involved. The anxiety of making such monumental choices is excruciating and potentially paralyzing, so that the person will often become immobilized or plunge backward into self-defeat if he is not yet ready to move forward. Frequently there is no second chance in ghetto life. Drugs certainly present this kind of all-or-none choice, and many autobiographies describe the crucial moment when the author saw the writing on the wall and decided to go clean.

Major criminal offenses and convictions dig a grave for a man's ambitions from which he can probably never escape. James Baldwin nearly put himself in that grave in 1943 when he let down his rigid restraints against physical violence and found himself "willing and even eager to commit murder." At the last moment he fled from the restaurant where his homicidal violence had erupted, and realized that his choice of what to do with his rage would

determine whether he lived or died. Similarly, Claude Brown realized at one point that his crimes thus far had not given him a police record because of his age, but that from then on the game would be played for higher stakes. His move out of Harlem and his giving away of his gun were basic life choices which moved him significantly in new directions.

Piri Thomas faced his first major crisis of choice in prison. He was within six months of parole when a prison riot broke out. If he joined in, he would lose his good behavior record and have to serve the nine remaining years of his sentence. But if he held back he would lose his rep with the other prisoners. Wavering, he started to join the riot, was pulled back in line, and chose not to resist. He had made his first real break with his past.

12. RISK-TAKING CAPACITY

People vary in their ability to endure suspense, tension, and ambiguity. This ability is probably a mixture of innate capacity, learned tolerance, and willingness to suffer when motivated by a hope for anticipated reward. As described above, the anxiety inherent in an existential crisis is severe, and there is great temptation to seek relief by avoiding the confrontation of choice altogether or by impulsively choosing the familiar, ghetto-conditioned response. Delaying gratification and choosing to remain in suspense is difficult for anyone, and even more so for a ghetto resident who has little enough gratification as it is, a dim view of what the future may bring, and an excess of suspense just from everyday living.

Grier and Cobbs describe the way Black men are frequently brought up to
renounce risk-taking self-assertiveness because of the lethal dangers entailed.
Referring to a typical case, they observe, "He was held back by some inner
command not to excel, not to achieve, not to become outstanding, not to draw
attention to himself. Even at the price of achievement, he felt bound to follow
a command to remain anonymous." (p. 61)

The stress involved in "exploring" new ways of living is so great, therefore,
that such behavior will only occur if there is deep voluntary motivation, a des-
perate awareness of the gloomy alternatives, and a capacity to endure the stress
and find meaning and purpose in it.

13. CHANNELING OF RAGE

Being disadvantaged is an infuriating predicament. James Baldwin has
written of how his stark collisions with White racism generated his murderous
anger. He describes it as "...a kind of blind fever, a pounding in the skull
and a fire in the bowels," and compares it to "some dread, chronic disease."
"There is not a Negro alive who does not have this rage in his blood."
Grier and Cobbs' psychiatric study of Black character, Black Rage, is very
aptly titled, for one of their major contributions is to show how this rage is
provoked and then stifled by the social system as a whole and by certain Black
child-rearing practices.

Many minority group members are unable to cope with their own rage in ways

that are anything other than self-destructive. Suppressing the hostility beneath

defenses such as reaction-formation and turning-against-the-self, they become

passive and self-deprecating. Or, unable to tolerate the inner pressure and

unskilled in making anger work for them, they shoot it out at the world blindly

and bring crushing retaliation down on their heads. Successful escapees from

the ghetto have learned how to put their rage to effective use in strategically

battling for what they want.

Grier and Cobbs cite numerous examples of Black men who became blocked in

their efforts to transform rage-based aggression into socially acceptable asser-

tiveness. John was an ambitious young professional man who entered psycho-

therapy because he had injured a fellow worker in an outburst of temper and his

career was threatened. While in treatment he was accepted into a high-powered

executive training program. He performed brilliantly and innovatively, but grad-

ually lost confidence. He became fearful that his ambition and greed might be

too apparent, and that he was pushing too hard in classroom discussions. He

had difficulty being firm with subordinates. If he was assertive in his supervision

of Whites, he was afraid they would see him as acting out his anti-White anger.

And with Blacks, he feared they would think he was deserting them for the White

establishment. In addition to his neurotic conflicts left over from his relationship

with his father, "...he was troubled by a realistic concern having to do with the

uneasy position of a black man wielding power in a hostile white society. To

do so brought him into direct competition with white man in a frankly open en-

counter." (p. 16) In the end, the conflict was too much for John, and he lost

his job.

Since the days of slavery, aggressiveness in Blacks has been curbed not only by Whites but by Blacks themselves, especially mothers. If a Black mother wants her son to survive, Grier and Cobbs point out, "She must intuitively cut off and blunt his masculine assertiveness and aggression lest these put the boy's life in jeopardy." (p. 52) As a result, there has developed the negative identity of the "bad nigger" whose defiance and angry rejection of White middle-class restraints make him a feared and secretly admired reminder of what powerful manhood could be. To keep him from becoming a "bad nigger" and thus a danger to himself and his family, "Throughout his life, at each crucial point of development the black boy is told to hold back, to constrict, to subvert and camouflage his normal masculinity. Male assertiveness becomes a forbidden fruit, and if it is attained, it must be savored privately." (p. 50)

The complex mixture of aggressiveness and submissiveness necessary to fight and bribe and earn one's way out of the ghetto is more than most young men can muster. There are endless tests and pitfalls, so that those who finally make it must demonstrate an unusual combination of stubborn aggressiveness and disciplined channeling of energy.

14. REWARDS FOR CHANGE

All of the questioning, awareness of alternative paths, risk-taking capacity, etc. in the world is not going to keep a man going into new territory unless he receives some rewards that make it all worthwhile. Hopes, promises, and pay-offs which other people think are rewards can not be substituted for the rewards each individual needs for himself. Material rewards are especially emphasized by many

people, but probably because they symbolically provide concrete, measurable indices of more intangible psychological rewards. Freedom of movement, self-expression, and a sense of personal and public worth are probably the most sought-after rewards which can motivate a man to change his life style.

The reward of self-esteem may be the most influential of all rewards, and is closely dependent on winning the esteem of significant others who constitute the individual's reference group. Section 6 described the importance of supportive, inspiring people who give the ghetto youth a new set of standards and an encouraging faith in his potential. These same people can then become a major source of interpersonal acceptance and reward when the individual resolves an existential crisis and risks new, self-affirming behavior.

Short-range as well as long-range rewards are essential to keep a person motivated, and perhaps the best kind of immediate reward comes from having a supportive relationship with someone who is caring and guiding, who provides acceptance, practical assistance, and realistic goals. Within the context of such relationships, sufficient rewards may be found for being what one is so that the strength can be found to become what one could be.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. Introduction

As the preceding chapter suggests, the existing literature is descriptive and anecdotal rather than systematic; and the overwhelming majority of previous studies have focused on individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds who have <u>not</u> "made it" or who are "giving trouble;" while HIRI's purpose was to identify systematically those characteristics of background, character, family, education, intelligence, attitude, style of life, recent history, etc., that might in some way be related to the overcoming of being disadvantaged. From no previous source, then was it possible to state specific hypotheses that would have been more than inferences, or shots in the dark. Thus, this study has had to be prefatory -- an introductory scientific skirmish with the data to establish an empirical foundation for more systematic study. That task could best be done by gathering as much information as possible over as wide a range as practical and by sorting out that data in order to identify existing trends. Metaphorically, we were like fishermen wishing to work some new and previously unknown body of water. What better way to start than to cast out as big a net as possible, simply in order to haul in, albeit indiscriminately, whatever might be found?

Our methodological position, then, could be described as naive empiricism. Starting from a few hunches supplied by the anecdotal literature and adopting as simple a conceptual scheme as possible, we made some basic inferences

about where significant variables might lie. Those inferences are, in general, reviewed in the first chapter. Using those inferences we then developed an interview method that would elicit information relevant to the potentially significant variables and defined the populations from which informants would be drawn. The following sections discuss these several steps.

B. The Population

The target population had all grown up in a large city ghetto under disadvantaged circumstances. Half had continued to live the life of the disadvantaged and the other half had managed to change their lives for the better in some significant manner.

More specifically, the basic criteria for inclusion in the sample (which is to say, our definition of "disadvantagement") were:

1. The subject must have been disadvantaged during childhood (or at least for most of the time between his ninth and sixteenth years) as indicated by his family's having been on public assistance and/or having lived in a public housing project. If he remembered being inadequately clothed and sometimes not having enough to eat, he was described as having been "poor." If he almost always had had enough to eat, but had been inadequately clothed and housed, he was classified "marginal." If he almost always had had enough to eat and had

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* From this point, the term "ghetto" is used generically to mean both ghetto and/or barrio. In certain cases the terms "ghetto" and "barrio" are used to refer to one or the other specifically, and we believe these instances are clear and self-explanatory.

been adequately clothed and adequately housed, his childhood

economic status was described as "adequate" and he did not

qualify for the sample.

2. The subjects were male, either Mexican-American or Black, and

were between 21 and 30 years old.

3. The subjects had lived in a ghetto section of some large city

while growing up. When interviewers had difficulty recruiting

respondents who grew up in Los Angeles, former residents of other

similar and known urban ghettos were utilized.

The criteria restricted sample membership (to 21- to 30-year-old males)

because group differences related to our research questions could then be

more easily identified in relatively small sample groups if those groups were

otherwise made as homogeneous as possible. The particular age range was

chosen to select a group of working age which had also grown up since 1964,

when the greatest pressures for social changes in the realm of racial and

economic inequities began.

There were four sub-groups in the sample. Two were designated "success-

ful": a Mexican-American "successful" group which had been disadvantaged

but which was now "making it" and a comparable Black group. The criteria for

the "successful" group were as follows:

1. The subject had worked more or less steadily during the past two years,

or had been going to school. When not working, he had been on unem-

ployment insurance and actively looking for work.

2. The subject had not been on welfare during the past two years.

3. The subject did not require DOL agency intervention (or the involve-
ment of some analagous agency) to get training or to get a job.

4. The subject had not been in serious trouble with the law; i.e., con-
victed of a criminal offense during his recent adulthood. ("Protest"
arrests and convictions were not counted.)

These criteria for "success" did not specify any particular level of income.
They implied, only, that in spite of previous disadvantagement the subject had
succeeded in achieving upward mobility at work or in schooling, and was not
financially dependent on public agencies or illegal activities.

Two groups were designated "unsuccessful": a Black group and a Mexican-
American group, both of which had been disadvantaged during childhood and
were still not "making it." The criteria for this group were related to criteria
for eligibility for the CEP program:

1. The subject must have been unemployed or underemployed during
the preceding two years.

2. Because of educational and/or other deficiencies it was likely that
he would need the intervention of some agency to prepare him for
regular employment.

Initially, our intention was to study up to 160 Mexican-American and Black
subjects, approximately 25% in each of the above groups. However, as it
turned out, satisfactory interviews could not be conducted with that many

individuals if the interviews were to be in sufficient depth to gather the kinds

of data that were likely to be significant. A less ambitious number, 80, was

chosen as a goal. In effect, therefore, this study aimed at gathering informa-

tion from 20 "successful" Black subjects (Group BA), 20 "unsuccessful" Black

subjects (Group BB), 20 "successful" Mexican-Americans (Group MA), and 20

"unsuccessful" Mexican-Americans (Group MB). However, because of diffi-

culties in identifying and engaging qualified respondents, 15 BA's, 18 BB's,

17 MA's and 20 MB's made up the final samples.

Contacting and soliciting the participation of subjects who met the criteria

was a particularly difficult problem. At first, interviewers attempted to track

down suitable subjects by using lists of former students at two Los Angeles

ghetto high schools. Students from the same schools would have been prefer-

able as subjects, because their backgrounds would have been more nearly alike

and differences more easily identified. However, hours of fruitless effort

revealed that the young men we sought were so geographically mobile that they

could not be found. That sampling plan had to be abandoned. The interviewers

were forced to resort to other sources for their respondent samples: social

clubs, business organizations, friends of friends, local CEP's and adult voca-

tional schools were all used. Having to recruit samples in this haphazard

manner may have introduced bias and error that would have been controlled if

we had been able to find enough "successful" and "unsuccessful" informants

who had lived in the same areas and gone to the same schools. For example,

the interviewers of the Mexican-American group were forced to turn to local CEP's for candidates. Might the fact that those respondents had self-selected themselves for CEP training made them more like the "successful" group with regard to motivation and attitude? Unfortunately, we can only speculate about the consequences of these procedural compromises.

We have not been satisfied with the designations "successful" and "unsuccessful." Although we have attempted to denote, rather carefully, exactly what we mean in terms of the above criteria, the terms "successful" and "unsuccessful" unfortunately connote rather complex notions many of which are quite judgmental. The idioms "making it" and "not making it" appear to fit our denoted criteria much better than "successful" and "unsuccessful." The idiomatic expressions imply more simple economic, work-related or schooling-related and non-judgmental realities. In this report we will prefer to refer to the groups as group A (those who are "making it") and group B (those who are not "making it") in order to avoid, as much as possible, evoking the value-laden connotations. Where "successful" and "unsuccessful" are used it should be clear that they are meant in the more limited sense.

C. Methodological Considerations

The most basic problem was to develop an interview method that would elicit material illuminating historical, attitudinal and current differences between the groups. Because the hunches with which we began (and which are reviewed in the first chapter) were based on anecdotal sources and were,

therefore, rather vague, it was difficult to construct a questionnaire that

would call forth a sufficiently wide range of significant information (as

contrasted with instruments designed to explore circumscribed areas or elicit

simple facts) related to all of the complex variables that might predispose

either to "making it" or to "not making it."

Our first attempt was to design a questionnaire, the items of which were

implied by the fourteen factors adduced in the first chapter: identity; aliena-

tion; freedom from conditioning; physical removal; luck; supportive, inspiring

relationships; identification models; questioning orientation; awareness of

alternative paths; new perception of self; existential crisis; risk-taking

capacity; channeling of rage; and reward for change. The factors were not

treated as formal hypotheses; that is, the questionnaire was not designed to

test formal hypotheses. Rather, the factors were used only to suggest areas

in which differences between the A's and B's might be identified. Assuming

that the criteria that differentiated group A from group B by definition also

implied other, as yet undiscovered differences, the questionnaire was

designed to determine what other variables might also differentiate them.

The putative factors identified in Chapter I were used only to suggest

where to look for the additional differentiating correlates. They were,

of course, operationalized, in the creation of items that would express

them in terms of differentiable categories. For example, the factor

Identity was operationalized in terms of items referring to objects of admira-

tion, language spoken, work identity, a comparison of the nature of ties with

mainstream and street representatives, attitudes towards the law, life goals,

ideals, etc. In addition, a number of items were added which, on a

speculative and a priori basis, seemed related to the question "What enables

some people to make it out of disadvantaged circumstances and what makes

others stay disadvantaged?": family relationships, the nature of discipline

during childhood and the relationship to the disciplining person, source of

self-esteem, legal history, work history, use of language (as an indication

of identity), values, etc. (Appendix A).

As potentially significant areas were adduced and items added, however,

the questionnaire became longer and longer. By the time it had grown to some

200 items, it was clear that for our purposes a questionnaire would be too

unwieldy. A very lengthy series of questions could not fail to be experienced

by a subject as boring, intrusive, arduous and, finally, as alienating. Yet,

we did not know enough about which areas would indeed prove to be the

significant ones to edit the questionnaire with any confidence.

During the course of development of the questionnaire and before any

actual interviewing took place, there were lengthy exploratory discussions

with a number of individuals who had grown up under disadvantaged circum-

stances, some of whom were now making it and others of whom were not. We

were attempting to get more hints about what might and might not be significant

in their backgrounds. Our procedure was to meet as a group with our inter-

viewers (two of whom were Black and two Mexican-American) and a respondent

in order to discuss his life, what he felt was significant in relation to his

having made it or not, and to try out parts of the questionnaire that were in

process of development.

The discussions were largely unstructured. They would begin, simply,

with the suggestion that the respondent tell us about his life. If any

potentially significant area was overlooked, he would be asked "What was

school like when you were a kid?" or "What about your family when you were

a kid?" On the basis of these discussions, it became apparent that most of

the information for which the developing questionnaire was designed to probe

could be elicited rather simply by asking a respondent unstructured questions.

About 90% of the desired information appeared to be produced relatively

spontaneously in that manner. Also, since the respondent was giving a rather

coherent account of his life in which the parts were inter-related into a

meaningful whole, the interviewers appeared to have relatively little difficulty

in remembering details until the end of an interview. It seemed to be

unnecessary to classify and record responses to specific questions immediately,

as interviewers ordinarily do. Perhaps ordinary questionnaires, because they

are arbitrarily broken up into discrete questions, impede the development of

an organized conception of a person; under those circumstances an interviewer

may be forced to record as he goes along in order to avoid forgetting individual,

rather disconnected facts. And to the degree to which he must concentrate on

writing during an interview, he is distracted from his subject and is less likely

to understand him as a whole person.

Our solution to the over-long questionnaire was to develop a new procedure using our questionnaire (Appendix A) primarily as a means for preserving information produced spontaneously by a respondent in response to relatively unstructured and general questions. Secondarily, the (former) questionnaire was used as a general outline of topics that should be covered during the course of the interview. The method adopted was first to ask a subject the most general questions possible, like "Tell me about your life." When his responses to these more general questions were exhausted, the interviewer would proceed to go through the questionnaire form, classifying the responses that had been given and asking whatever specific questions necessary in order to cover all of the topics on the form. Presumably, by that time all of the general topics had been covered in response to general questions.

Where the interviewer found that specific items either had not been answered or had been answered ambiguously, he would ask specific questions to elicit the desired information. In addition, there were a number of items -- particularly under the section dealing with "respondent's attitudes" -- that required direct questioning. If the interviewer felt that a particular respondent would experience certain questions as provocative or alienating and if, therefore he felt it advisable to skip specific questions for the sake of preserving rapport, he checked the "na" column to indicate that the item was not over-

looked, but was not answered "intentionally." Thus, our questionnaire be-
came what we called a "data form," since it functioned primarily as a means
to preserve information rather than as a set of stimulus questions to elicit
information.

Our procedure took advantage of the fact that most people enjoy talking
about themselves, particularly when they can be the active and uninhibited
creators of their own narratives. It enabled the interviewers to gather
relevant information without subjecting respondents to a barrage of questions
that they might very well have come to resent and to which, as a consequence,
they might have become highly resistant. The interviewers were spared the
feeling of harassing their respondents and could also avoid the embarrassment
of asking personal questions directly. In general, the respondents participated
in the process actively, revealed a good deal of personal information spontane-
ously and did not appear to resent the interview as an intrusive assault. Also,
since the interviewers' attention was on their subjects during the first part of
the interview and not on the items on the questionnaire or on recording re-
sponses, as the project progressed they developed intuitive hunches about
what might be significant in relation to who made it and who didn't. They,
themselves, became a valuable source of hypotheses that were used during
the later stage of data collection (as described below). Experience dispelled
whatever apprehensions existed about their being able to remember data if they
did not record it as they went along. They reported no difficulty on that score.

In general, the interviewers found that a completed interview required about an hour and a half.

The data form, then, became simply a device to preserve data until it could be recorded on a tabulation form. The interviewers were responsible for tabulating the responses of their own subjects on that form.

Each respondent was also given an easily administered ten-minute paper and pencil intelligence test (the SRA non-verbal form) in order to determine whether differences in intellectual ability accounted for differences between the A's and the B's. The non-verbal form was used to minimize cultural effects.

D. Treatment of the Data

Two kinds of data were collected. The first was responses that could be subsumed and categorized under existing items on the data forms. These items were subjected to tabulation and to direct statistical analysis. The second kind of data was other more qualitative observations for which the existing form had made no provision. Interviewers were asked to record and preserve statements and facts about subjects that seemed striking or intuitively meaningful, even though relevant categories did not exist on the data form. In this regard, our intention was to preserve any new notions about relevant factors that might develop in the course of the interviews. An additional effort to profit as much as possible from the interviewers' direct contact with the respondents was a request that they invent or propose a theory about why each particular person stayed in ghetto life or managed to get out of it.

The advantages of formal questionnaires lie in the area of reliability: room for stimulus variation is limited and categories into which responses are sorted are clear-cut. By contrast, the relatively informal manner with which our interviewers collected data presumably increased variations among them both in the way they asked questions and the way they recorded answers. Thus, unreliability and error variance were probably increased, causing us to pay in reliability for what we got in scope and depth of information. However, given the limited amount of knowledge available when the project started, we felt that the game was well worth the candle.

A strategy was developed to minimize the effects of these methodological limitations. When the interviewers were through tabulating their responses, they met with one of the staff associates to review the entire data form and ways they recorded information. Despite the fact that there initially had been a number of training sessions to develop consensus regarding the meaning of the items and the way of scoring responses, numbers of residual inter-interviewer discrepancies were now uncovered. We attempted to identify those items which had not been dealt with reliably by the interviewers. At that point, as a result of those discussions, a number of items were discarded. Only the apparently more reliable items were subjected to statistical analysis. A fair amount of redundancy in the data form prevented the losses from being too great.

When the responses recorded on the data forms were tabulated, they were

analyzed using procedures of descriptive statistics: after frequencies were
calculated (in relation to each group and each category of response), items
were either selected as significant or rejected as non-significant on the
basis of the difference between frequencies that would be necessary for
significance as established by a Chi square probability level of .10 or less.
In this manner, 103 findings spanning 53 items that appeared to represent
significant differences between groups were identified (Appendix B). These
findings will be discussed in the next chapter.

A second series of findings regarding probable differences between the
groups were based upon interviewers' intuitive impressions from individual
interviews; they were generated during about twenty hours of discussions in
a group consisting of the interviewers, several Black and Mexican-American
consultants familiar with life in the Mexican-American and Black ghetto
communities* and HIRI associates.

The two sets of findings were then incorporated into sets of alternative
statements and combined into a multiple-choice check list (Appendix C).
The alternate statements in the multiple-choice check list were created by
representing the dimensions implied by data form items in sets of alternative
statements. For example, statistically significant (for the Blacks) item 12,
Appendix B (the respondent was expected to get ahead by (1) study or hard

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*   Mr. Frank Macias, (Mexican-American), CEP, East Los Angeles.
     Mr. Vermont McKinney, (Black), Neighborhood Youth Association,
          Venice, California
     Mr. Don Porter, (Black), American Friends Service Committee,
          Pasadena, California

work, (2) hustling or (3) luck) was translated into the set of multiple-choice
alternatives (Appendix C, item 8):

> His parents expected him to get ahead by achieving some
>
> occupational position or level of education.
>
> His parents expected him to get ahead by achieving stability,
>
> having a family and fulfilling his obligations toward them.
>
> His family did not seem really concerned about whether he got
>
> ahead or not.
>
> His family didn't expect him to get anywhere. He was seen a
>
> loser or a black sheep.
>
> His family expected him to get ahead by hustling or in street
>
> life.

Each interviewer, referring to the data form on each of his subjects, filled

out a check list in relation to that subject. In this manner, we both double-

checked the statistical findings and ordered the qualitative data in a manner

that made them yield to statistical analysis. The multiple-choice check list

thus served to confirm the differences found in the data form analysis

(Appendix B). The multiple-choice check list results were then tabulated

and analyzed statistically (Appendix C). Those results will be discussed in

the following chapter, but, indeed, they overwhelmingly confirmed that items

identified as significant in the data form analysis represented areas in which

real differences probably exist between the population groups.

E. The Research Team

Like many other contemporary studies, this study utilized members of
the target minority groups as interviewers.* The interviewers participated
almost from the beginning in developing the data form and a satisfactory
method of interviewing, in analyzing the results of the interviews and in
generating conclusions based upon the results. From the beginning, the
entire group -- HIRI associates, interviewers, consultants from minority
communities -- shared ideas and discussed every aspect of the study from
methodological and technical questions to problems about the possible social
implications of the report. It was our mutual understanding that insofar as
possible, the results and conclusions would be developed on the basis of
consensus; disagreement on the part of any of the participants would be
included in the final report.

Although some of the interviewers had participated in at least one previ-
ous study which utilized a questionnaire, none had had experience with the
kind of unstructured interview that came to be used in this study. They
developed their familiarity with that sort of procedure both during trial
interviews at which all the interviewers and the professional staff were
present, and during a number of trial interviews in the field when the inter-
viewers worked as teams of two, helping each other to improve their interview
techniques. This study has been a team effort.

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*   Mr. Marty Graffell (Black)
      Mr. Fernando Icaza (Mexican-American)
      Mr. Roberto Moreno (Mexican-American)
      Mr. Fred Sherrard (Black)

III. THE FINDINGS

A. Introduction

The findings presented in this chapter summarize a list of the items which differentiated statistically the successful from the non-successful group. The findings will be summarized separately for each of our four groups -- Mexican-American A (successful), Mexican-American B (unsuccessful), Black A (success-ful), Black B (unsuccessful) -- under the following headings: family background, peer associations, education, legal problems, work experiences, current family relationships, goals and values, aspirations, and self-image.

The SRA non-verbal intelligence test failed to differentiate between the suc-cessful and the non-successful groups for both the ethnic samples.

That the variables represented by these items did, indeed, differentiate the groups was confirmed by analysis of the related multiple-choice statements (Appendix C). That analysis led very substantially to the same conclusions indicated by the analysis of the data form. The multiple-choice check list also enabled us to more sharply distinguish attitudinal differences between the groups particularly concerning street life, goals and aspirations.

In this chapter the findings for both instruments are reorganized and com-bined in such a fashion as to give the reader a more coherent picture of each group.

A list of the differentiating items from the data form, percentage differences
and level of statistical significance is presented in Appendix B. The same infor-
mation for the multiple-choice check list is presented in Appendix C.

The differences reported are aggregate (rather than general), characterizing
group tendencies: each difference is not true of all individual group members.
In fact, because some items did not apply to all group members and because for
other items there were three or more response categories, occasionally a statis-
tically significant item reported in the findings as differentiating between the A's
and the B's applied only to a minority of group members. For example, only a
minority (45%) of the families of Mexican-American B's accepted welfare, but
this was a significantly greater number than the percentage of Mexican-American
A's families (6%) which accepted welfare. This finding is reported as "Many
families in this group accepted the aid of welfare."

A criterion of $p \leqslant .10$ was used as the minimal basis for choosing significant
items: an item was identified as significant -- that is, thought to reflect a (real)
difference between the A and B <u>populations</u> -- if, for that item, the difference
between the <u>sample</u> groups could have occurred by chance only one time in ten
(or less) -- if, indeed, there were no real population difference. Now, for any
single item $p \leqslant .10$ does not inspire much confidence about population differences.*
According to contemporary practice $p \leqslant .10$ is neither stringent nor impressive as a
criterion. However, we did not expect to identify individual items which would
have general significance: differences in terms of such items would have had

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* Although for a small sample (like ours) a $p \leqslant .10$ implies that differences
between populations, where they exist, will be highly <u>meaningful</u>.

to characterize every person in a group. Human variability and time and chance being what they are, it seemed unlikely that population differences would occur in terms of such simple relationships. Rather, we expected differences to be aggregate -- tendencies characteristic of groups but not necessarily of any particular individual. In addition, we hoped (and anticipated) that groups of significant items would, in some manner, be consistent in terms of an existing frame of reference and interrelated in meaning. That is, we hoped to find an understandable patterning of numbers of factors that predisposed to being an A or B. Viewed in that manner, then, no one item was expected to be critical; rather, a group of relevant and meaningful items would be identified using the somewhat less rigorous criteria of descriptive statistics. Thus, the $p \leqslant .10$ criterion.

As it turned out, relatively few of the 103 differences were significant in the $.05 \leqslant p \leqslant .10$ range. Most were significant at the $p \leqslant .05$ level (see table Appendix B). Fully 52% were $p \leqslant .01$, 90% were $p \leqslant .05$, while only 10% lay between $p \leqslant .05$ and $p \leqslant .10$ indicating that the items differentiating the groups were highly discriminatory.

An inspection of the content of all items that met the $p \leqslant .01$ criterion reveals an impressive (even surprising) degree of inter-item consistency in terms of at least one existing frame of reference (which will be discussed, in detail, in the next chapter). The items appear meaningfully related to one another in terms of a recognizable denominator.

There were so many items in the data form that an argument could be made that a certain number would turn out to be significant by chance: for each 100 items, making certain assumptions about the distribution of the traits referred to in the population, five should turn out to show statistically significant differences at the .05 level by chance. However, the fact that the items seemed meaningfully interrelated occurred in the same direction for both ethnic groups and were not mutually contradictory in meaning counters the validity of this argument. Further, items that were significant in the data form were substantially reconfirmed as significant in the multiple-choice check list, indicating that their significance was not a chance occurrence.*

B. Family Background

Mexican-American A

The typical Mexican-American A family was warm and supportive. Although quite poor, these families did not accept nor require the aid of welfare. The father dominated the household; he was the household decision-maker and the main disciplinarian. This group remembers that their fathers were able to effectively set standards and control their behavior. He was the most influential person in shaping their values and life styles.

The Mexican-American A's family had high expectations for their son's success in the world and they encouraged him to speak "good" English.

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* Really decisive evidence in this regard could probably result only from another cross-validating study.

Mexican-American B

The typical Mexican-American B family provided an atmosphere which was full of conflict and not always supportive. Many families in this group accepted the aid of welfare.

The Mexican-American B's homes lacked a father or father surrogate much of the time during which these boys were growing up. The mother became the main disciplinarian as well as the most crucial person in the formation of her son's values and life style.

However, this group remembers that their parents were unable to control their behavior. They felt that they could "get away with whatever they liked." Approximately one-third of the group said that their parents had no discernible standards which were consistently applied to their behavior.

These parents expected less and demanded less of their sons. Accordingly, they did not encourage their children to speak "good" English.

Black A

The typical Black A family provided a warm and supportive atmosphere. This study confirms observations in the literature concerning the dominant role of the mother in Black ghetto family life. The mother was the most influential person in the shaping of present values and life styles for this group. Discipline was consistent and rather effective. Although the fathers were of lesser importance in transmitting values, they worked consistently during their sons' youth.

The parents of the Black A group expected their sons to succeed both academically and occupationally. Further, they encouraged their children to speak "good" English.

Black B

The typical Black B family existed in an atmosphere pervaded by conflict; it was neither warm nor supportive. One out of four of this group was raised in a family other than that of his biological parents.

Two-thirds of the Black B's felt that there had been no effective parent in their home who was either the decision-maker or who was able to set standards and control his behavior. The parents did not seem to have any clear standards for behavior and the discipline administered was inconsistent. Further, they mentioned their own peers (boys their own age) as being most influential in shaping their values and life styles.

Black B parents did not expect their sons to succeed either academically or occupationally. Many parents considered these sons to be "black sheep" and several expected their sons to get ahead through illegal activities. This group doesn't remember parental encouragement to speak "good" English.

C. Peer Associations

Mexican-American A

Approximately 42% of this group talked about membership in a gang. They were also well liked by non-delinquently oriented peers.

Mexican-American B

While nearly the same percentage of this group said that they had joined a gang, these boys joined earlier and stayed later than those in the Mexican-American A group. The Mexican-American B's felt that they too were successful with non-delinquently oriented peers.

Black A

Approximately a fourth of this group reported a gang membership. The Black A group remembered feeling comfortable with non-delinquent peers but felt somewhat less successful with the kids "on the streets:"

Black B

Nearly three-fifths of the Black B's belonged to a gang. This group felt notably unsuccessful in their relationships with non-delinquent peers and quite comfortable with the kids "on the streets."

D. Education

Mexican-American A

In general, this group found school a pleasant experience. They did not feel that school was difficult and they remembered achieving some academic success. They frequently participated in school activities and developed important relationships with teachers and coaches. Sports were important for this group either because of the relationships which developed with coaches or recognition among peers. Eighty percent of this group had attended some college.

Mexican-American B

While the majority of this group said that they did not find school difficult, they occasionally to frequently had failing grades. Seventy-five percent dropped out of high school at least temporarily. Their participation in school activities was very limited and while they may have enjoyed sports, these activities did not play an important role in their lives.

Black A

This group enjoyed school, participated in school activities and enjoyed sports as well as having had good relationships with coaches and teachers. They remembered achieving some academic success and 27% attended college.

Black B

This group did not enjoy school, occasionally or even frequently got failing grades and remembered being a discipline problem. Three-fourths of these respondents said school was difficult and half dropped out before graduating from high school. They rarely participated in school activities and didn't develop good relationships with teachers or coaches who in fact were discouraging to them.

E. Legal Problems

Mexican-American A

Fifty-nine percent of this group said that they had trouble with the law. About 30% were arrested as juveniles and 47% as adults. However, offenses were generally misdemeanors.

Mexican-American B

Eighty-five percent of this group said they had trouble with the law, 50% as juveniles, 75% as adults. Fifty-five percent of them felt they had been jailed unjustly. Many of the offenses were felonies and several men had spent some time in prison. Further, a few felt that their legal record had been a problem in getting jobs.

Black A

Thirty-eight percent of this group stated that they had trouble with the law, 36% of those as juveniles and 20% as adults.

Black B

Seventy-two percent of this group said that they had some trouble with the law; 93% said that they were arrested as juveniles while 61% were arrested as adults. Most of these charges were felonies and many of these respondents had spent time in prison. They also felt that having a legal record had prevented them from getting jobs. Fifty-six percent of those jailed felt that they had been jailed unjustly.

F. Work Experiences

Mexican-American A

Everyone in this group is currently employed. They have not spent any time during the last two years without a job. Most of these respondents have often felt a sense of mastery over some job-related skill. Fifty-three percent have been in the Armed Forces.

Mexican-American B

Of the 90% of this group who are currently "employed," 70% are in federally--supported training programs. Only 28% of these respondents have maintained continuous employment for the past two years. This group also frequently feels a mastery over job-related skills. Twenty percent of this group has been in the Armed Forces.

Black A

All of the Black A's are currently employed and they have all been continuously employed during the last two years. Most of these men have derived a sense of satisfaction and pride in their work accomplishments. They feel a strong sense of identity with their work. Fifty-three percent of this group has been in the Armed Forces.

Black B

Half of this group is currently employed and only 13% have managed to remain continuously employed during the last two years. Most of these men have not felt a sense of satisfaction from their work nor pride in their work-related accomplishments. Approximately one-fourth feel that they are strongly identified with their work. This group started working later than did the A group and only 17% were in the Armed Forces.

G. Current Family Relationships

Mexican-American A

The Mexican-American A's feel very close to their parental families although they are frequently very alienated from their fathers.

This group describes their marital families as highly cohesive. They stated very positive feelings toward their wives and talked about having a warm, comfortable atmosphere in their homes. None of the Mexican-American A's are separated or divorced and all are supporting their families.

Mexican-American B's

The Mexican-American B's are also close to their parental families. However, they termed their relationships in their marital families as either non-involved or estranged. Their attitudes toward their wives are distinctly negative. Most of the Mexican-American B's are not fully supporting their families and over one-third are either separated or divorced.

Black A

While the Black A's feel quite close to their parental families, and especially their mothers, they are frequently alienated from their fathers.

Concerning their marital families, the Black A's talk about a highly cohesive atmosphere and present a distinct lack of conflict with their wives. Generally, they feel that their marriages were an important turning point toward more stable life styles than they had previously pursued.

Black B

The Black B's are not as close to their parental families as the A group. In discussing their marital families they presented negative feelings both about their wives and their marital situation in general. Attitudes of non-involvement and estrangement were prevalent and three-fourths of this group are separated or divorced.

H. Goals, Values, Aspirations and Self-Image

Mexican-American A

This group is characterized by long-range goals which were developed early in life and which seem realistic. Ninety-four percent seem to feel positively about themselves, and derive a sense of self-esteem from their accomplishments. They consider themselves more successful than their peers and feel that both they and their siblings are doing well.

Until the age of 16 they remembered being self-confident and they are currently optimistic about their chances for success in mainstream society.

As adolescents, the Mexican-American A's defined "success" as getting ahead rather than "survival." They were frequently encouraged by school personnel. They remember admiring family members and others who were representative of mainstream values.

Currently 59% feel more successful than their peers and 94% feel somewhat more successful than their siblings. They feel somewhat less at home in the ghetto than do the B group.

Their ties and loyalties are primarily directed toward their families. In general, working is part of their identity in that they feel that it is important to work at anything in order just to feel that they are working. The group seems to take pride and be quite interested in their ethnic identity but this seems to be recently acquired. In the interviewers' opinion all of them speak English well, although only 59% say that they feel comfortable in an Anglo community.

Mexican-American B

This group contrasts with the A group in that all short-range goals which are less specific are prevalent. The group seems to have realistic occupational goals but these are recently acquired and probably stem from training programs in which about 70% are involved.

The Mexican-American B's are somewhat pessimistic about their opportunities to get ahead in mainstream society. Fear of failure has prevented them from seeking jobs in the past. They present self-images which are less positive than the A's with only 35% reporting a positive attitude about themselves.

The majority of the Mexican-American B's see themselves as less successful than their peers and 30% see themselves as less successful than their siblings; but most feel that the rest of their family is doing well.

Although they are similar to the Mexican-American A group in feeling that working at any job is important just so one can feel that he is working, they derive their sense of self-esteem somewhat more from knowing some group of people that they identify with rather than from their accomplishments. They are

"at home" in the ghetto community but do not seem particularly interested in,

nor do they derive great pride in, their ethnic identity.

In their youth they remember being more disheartened by circumstances and by

adults who attempted to discourage them than did the A group. At this period 65%

remember defining success as "survival." They, too, admired family members

and others who represented mainstream values. About 40% say that they feel

comfortable in Anglo communities.

This group has managed to integrate their ties to their families with those

which exist to people "on the streets." They view street life as a natural stage

of life for young men.

Black A

This group is characterized by the prevalence of long-range goals that are

highly specific and seemingly realistic. They seem to have formulated their life

goals rather early and to have consciously looked for strategies which would pro-

vide means for occupational mobility and stability. For the majority of this group

"getting ahead" was defined as survival during their adolescence.

When they were growing up they (93%) remember admiring someone who repre-

sented mainstream values, usually family members or school personnel. Their

loyalties and ties have been with their families rather than peers or "street people."

Leaving "the streets" is not seen as leaving the ghetto community and street life

is seen as the natural or expected style of life for these respondents. However,

they generally expected that marriage would involve settling down and changing

one's life style.

In this group fewer respondents (50%) were discouraged as adolescents by those who may have attempted to keep them in their place. Nor do they currently report fear of failure as a factor which prevents them from trying to get various jobs.

About 75% of this group report positive self-images. These 75% say that they are more successful than their peers and 53% feel that they are more successful than their siblings. The majority either feel that their families are doing well and so are they, or that they are doing well despite the lack of stability in the rest of their family.

They are optimistic about their chances for "getting ahead" in the mainstream society and fully 87% feel comfortable in White communities. Approximately one third of this group feel alienated from ghetto life styles and the ghetto peer groups.

The Black A's generally feel that working at anything is preferable to not working at all. They derive their sense of self-esteem from occupational accomplishments.

This group views society as more just than does the B group. They seem to be a group which has taken pride in their ethnic identity for some time.

Black B

Prevalent among this group is the absence of goals, or the presence of short-range goals centering frequently on immediate gratification. These goals are less occupationally specific and seem unrealistic in that there is no attempt to formulate a plan for achieving them.

This group is very attached to the "street scene." Many of the respondents report that their most important social ties are with people on the streets, rather than their families. Leaving the street scene is viewed as leaving the ghetto community itself.

Eighty percent of this group felt discouraged during adolescence. Fifty percent remember admiring delinquently oriented peers and people "making it on the streets." Further, 44% remember being alienated from someone either in the family or outside who represented mainstream values; 36% expected to get ahead by hustling rather than working.

While they had daydreams of being better off, they didn't remember devising particular strategies for effecting changes in their lives. Rather, they looked to fate or chance to take them off the streets or to provide stability. While expecting to get married, they did not feel that this would necessitate a change in life style.

This group is generally pessimistic about their chances for success in the mainstream society. They report that the fear of failure frequently prevents them from trying for jobs. Only a third of this group feels a positive sense of self-esteem. Thirty-eight percent of the group has not experienced sense of pride or achievement while working at any job. Self-esteem is derived from knowing some group of people that they would like to identify with, rather than a sense of achievement as in the Black A group. Working itself is not as central for this group. Current goals concern staying out of trouble rather than specific occupational aspiration.

More of these respondents feel less successful than their peers and most of them (66%) feel less successful than their siblings. They state that either their entire family is not doing well, or they are not doing well while their families are.

This group feels at home in the ghetto and among their ghetto peers, although 56% say that they feel comfortable in a White community as well.

More of them feel that the political system is unjust. Although the majority take evident pride in their ethnic identity, this seems to be recently acquired.

Only 22% of this group were rated by the interviewer as speaking English well.

I. Religion

Not included in the findings discussed above is the question of the importance of the early emphasis on religion in the lives of our subjects. The question of religious emphasis in the parental home was asked only in the second data instrument, requiring the interviewer to rely on his memory, rather than on direct, conscious observation. However, the finding that the A's parents placed more emphasis on religious values and church attendance was significant for both ethnic groups. We would like to present this indirect finding as pertinent for future research.

J. Differentiating Items

Following are three tables compiled from the data analysis, summarizing items which were found to differentiate A's and B's in various ethnic groupings.

TABLE 1

Items Differentiating A's from B's

in Both Ethnic Groups

A Group	B Group
1. Home atmosphere described as warm	Home atmosphere described as neutral or hostile
2. Now contacts parental family frequently or occasionally	Now contacts parental family rarely or never
3. Now most alienated from father	Now most alienated from father
4. Participated in school activities	Did not participate in school activities
5. Never received failing grades	Occasionally or frequently received failing grades
6. Was not charged as a juvenile	Was charged as a juvenile
7. Was not charged as an adult	Was charged as an adult
8. Has never been jailed unjustly	Has been jailed unjustly
9. Up until 16 was confident about the future	Up until 16 was pessimistic about the future
10. Has sometimes or often felt pride in accomplishment or workmanship	Has rarely or never felt pride in accomplishment or workmanship
11. Fully supporting present marital family	Partially or not supporting present marital family
12. Current marriage cohesive	Current marriage uninvolved or estranged
13. Positive feeling toward present wife	Negative feeling toward present wife
14. Expressed positive attitude toward himself	Expressed negative attitude toward himself

	A Group	B Group

15. Feels more successful than youthful peers

Feels equally or less successful than youthful peers

16. Feels more successful than family (siblings)

Feels equally or less successful than family (siblings)

17. Parental discipline consistent

Parental discipline inconsistent

18. Now speaks English well

Now does not speak English well

19. Present marriage intact

Separated or divorced

20. Remembers that his parents went to church frequently and religious values were important in their home

Remembers that his parents went to church occasionally and did not stress religious values, or religion seemed unimportant in parents' home

21. Remembers his parents as encouraging him to speak good English

Parents seem not to have been concerned with the way he expressed himself

22. Mentioned gaining some recognition in school, either academically or in sports or in his family by being responsible in some special way

Never seemed to feel successful at anything he tried

23. Remembers being able to get along in street life but doesn't seem to have been very involved in it

Remembers being very successful among peers in the streets

24. Main concerns, loyalties and identifications are toward the family -- rejects ties to a gang or people in street life

Main concerns, loyalties and identifications are either toward people in street life or he is able to reconcile those and his ties to family

25. Attitude is hopeful regarding being able to get ahead in mainstream life

Attitude is pessimistic regarding being able to get ahead in mainstream life

26. Has or has had long-range goals toward which he has moved by planning, preparation, work or some kind of consistent effort

Has preferred short-range goals with tangible pleasures or rewards that involve little planning or consistent effort, or does not talk in terms of goals

A Group	B Group
27. Developed an occupational goal early in life	Didn't mention a particular occupational goal, or developed an occupational goal rather recently
28. Appears outwardly as if he likes himself, is a "good" person, feels liked by others, is self-confident, has self-esteem (any or all)	Appears outwardly as if he feels he is not a "good" person, feels disliked and rejected, doubts himself, has low self-esteem (any or all)
29. Sense of self-esteem seems to come from some achievement, either educational or occupational	Sense of self-esteem seems to come from knowing or in being friendly with some set of people or in belonging to some group
30. Seems to think that hard work or education are the best means for getting ahead	Talks about hustling as a good means for getting ahead, or seems concerned about getting ahead but is somewhat confused about how to do it
31. Feels at home in the ghetto but has an interest in moving out	Feels completely at home among his peers in the ghetto
32. Feels more successful than his family	Feels less successful than his family
33. Has never had trouble with the law	Has had trouble with the law both as a juvenile and as an adult
34. His legal record isn't seen as interfering with either getting or holding a job, or hasn't any legal record	His legal record is seen as a factor which deters him from getting or keeping a job

TABLE 2

Items Differentiating Only

Mexican-American A's from Mexican-American B's

A Group	B Group
1. Father is decision-maker	Mother is decision-maker
2. Father is main disciplinarian	Mother is main disciplinarian
3. Family did not accept welfare	Family accepted welfare
4. Until 16 defined success as achievement	Until 16 defined success as survival
5. Admired father	Admired siblings
6. Has been in the service	Has not been in the service
7. Values, way of life and identity have been most influenced by father or some father substitute, either in or out of the home	Values, way of life and identity have been most influenced by mother or some mother substitute, either in or out of the home
8. Parents encouraged him to speak Spanish and to learn it	Parents spoke both Spanish and English at home and were unconcerned about the way he expressed himself
9. Got married late	Got married early
10. Either has never been on the streets or in a gang or never participated in a serious or committed manner	Although seriously committed to gang activity and being on the streets he views this as a time-limited stage of life that he will leave in the normal course of events
11. First felt some sense of achievement and recognition as a child	First felt some sense of achievement and recognition in high school
12. Feels that society is "just," basically accepts the social order and how it operates	Appears not to make (or not to have strong feelings about) any moral evaluation of society, does not think in these terms
13. Feels more successful than his peers	Feels as successful as his peers

A Group	B Group
14. Seems to have come from a family in which most of the kids are doing well and feels that he is doing well himself	Seems to have come from a family in which everyone else or most of the family is doing well but he feels as if he isn't making it
15. Seems to take great pride in his ethnic identity but this seems to be rather recently acquired	Seems relatively uninterested in his ethnic identity
16. Talks about Blacks or Chicanos getting together and working toward changing things and seems to be taking an active part in this kind of endeavor	Doesn't seem to be concerned with Black or Chicano movements but seems more concerned with getting ahead as an individual

TABLE 3

Items Differentiating Only

Black A's from Black B's

A Group	B Group
1. Raised in mother and father's home	Raised in home other than mother and father's
2. Family cohesive	Family uninvolved or estranged
3. Mother is decision-maker	Father and/or no one is decision-maker
4. Mother is main disciplinarian	Father and/or no one is main disciplinarian
5. Positively identifies with disciplinarian	Does not positively identify with disciplinarian
6. Father remembered as working	Father not remembered as working
7. Expected to get ahead by study or hard work	Expected to get ahead by hustling or luck
8. Up until 16 did not have daydreams of being better off	Up until 16 had daydreams of being better off
9. No one attempted to discourage his hopes of getting ahead	Someone attempted to discourage his hopes of getting ahead
10. Up to 16 someone was admired	Up to 16 no one was admired
11. Admired school personnel	Admired peers
12. Was not a member of a gang	Was a member of a gang
13. Now close to parental family	Now not close to parental family
14. Now closest to mother	Now closest to siblings or no one
15. School was not academically difficult	School was academically difficult

A Group	B Group

16. Had a highly influential relationship at school

Did not have a highly influential relationship at school

17. Often or occasionally felt satisfaction or pride at school

Rarely or never felt satisfaction or pride at school

18. Has specific occupational goal and/or plans to better present life circumstances

Does not have specific occupational goal or plans to better present life circumstances

19. Has had a job he enjoyed

Has never had a job he enjoyed

20. Has sometimes or often felt satisfaction from work

Has rarely or never felt satisfaction from work

21. Now employed

Now not employed

22. Feels at home in White community

Feels conditionally accepted or rejected in White community

23. Feels very or somewhat alienated from youthful peer group

Does not feel alienated from youthful peer group

24. Feels very or somewhat alienated from ghetto life

Does not feel alienated from ghetto life

25. Maintains self-esteem through achievement

Maintains self-esteem through group membership

26. Interviewer felt that respondent had a good ability to get along with people

Interviewer felt that respondent had an average or poor ability to get along with people

27. Values, way of life and identity most influenced by his mother or some mother substitute, either in or out of the home

Values, way of life and identity most. influenced by his peers

28. Remembers his home as loving and supportive and as a place he could always go in times of trouble

Remembers his home as a place where there were both trouble and comfort, couldn't automatically go home when he was in trouble

A Group	B Group

29. Parents expected and demanded a good deal from him in terms of meeting standards of behavior or achievement, or contributing to the family welfare

Parents expected little (or were ineffective in demanding much) from him in terms of meeting standards of behavior or achievement, or contributing to the family welfare

30. Remembers admiring someone inside his family who was representative of mainstream values

Remembers admiring delinquently oriented peers or neighborhood people who represented street life values

31. Remembers being alienated from someone either inside or outside of his home who was closely associated with street life

Remembers being alienated from someone either inside or outside of his home who was closely associated with mainstream values

32. Admired someone in family or school life with mainstream values while growing up

Admired hustlers, peers or local street people while growing up

33. Remembers having daydreams of being better off without thoughts of how this would be achieved

Remembers having daydreams of being better off by engaging in illegal activities and/or receiving recognition and rewards of street life

34. Remembers school as an enjoyable experience either due to academic success or his interest in sports

Disliked school and either dropped out or was kicked out

35. Got along well with school authorities

Was a discipline problem at school

36. Remembers admiring or liking some one or any of his teachers or coaches

Doesn't remember liking or admiring any of his teachers or coaches

37. Sports seem to have played an important part in his life, especially in that he had a good relationship with a coach who encouraged him and helped him stay out of trouble, or in that it gave him a feeling of being good at something and some recognition among his peers

Although he may have enjoyed sports they don't seem to have played an important part in his life

A Group	B Group
38. His current marriage seems satis-factory to him	His current marriage seems unsatisfactory to him
39. Feels "settling down," getting married and having a family is likely or inevitable, accepts that it will mean a basic change in life style away from the streets	Feels he <u>might</u> marry and have children, but will not necessarily be changing his basic way of life. Expects to continue his street-centered way of life
40. Has never been on the streets or in a gang in a serious or committed manner	Street life is seen as the natural, ordi-way of life
41. Leaving the street scene is seen just as part of growing up within the minority community	Leaving the street scene means leaving the minority community for mainstream life
42. Has <u>consciously</u> looked for a strategy or "gimmick" to enable him to get out of the street scene -- like going into the army, getting mar-ried or going to school	Sees (or saw) leaving the street scene strictly as a matter of "breaks" -- of chance, no plan was formulated
43. Current goals don't include mention of "staying out of trouble" -- rather, they emphasize "getting more" of what he already has	Current goals include an emphasis on "staying out of trouble," "keeping out of jail" or attaining some stability
44. Has current goals which involve a specific occupational goal and a realistic strategy for attaining it	Has current goals which include getting a job and a general interest in having a good job but no realistic strategy for attaining a particular occupation, or none of his goals center around an occupation
45. Feels he would be better off working at almost <u>anything</u> rather than being on the streets or unemployed	Feels he would only be willing to work under certain conditions, would be reluctant to leave the streets for most kinds of jobs
46. Has felt pride and a sense of accom-plishment in at least one of his jobs	Hasn't felt either pride or a sense of accomplishment in any of his jobs

	A Group	B Group

47. Feels more successful than his peers — Feels less successful than his peers

48. Seems to have come from a family — Seems to have come from a family in
     in which most of the kids are doing — which nearly everyone is in and out
     well and he feels that he is doing — of trouble and he feels that he is
     well himself — having great difficulty as well

49. Seems to have taken pride in his ethnic — Seems to take great pride in his ethnic
     identity for some time, it may even — identity but this seems to be rather
     have been stressed in his parents' — recently acquired
     home

IV. INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will serve first to summarize and discuss the findings in terms

of group characteristics and differences; second, to relate the findings to psycho-

logical and sociological theories in terms of which they can be understood; and

third, to discuss some implications of the findings for contemporary programs of

social intervention.

A. Group Characteristics and Differences

The results reveal that according to the respondents' memory of their pasts,

there were already significant differences between the "successful" and "unsuc-

cessful" groups during their school years.* Combining some of the findings for

Blacks and Mexican-Americans in order to make general statements comparing the

A's and B's, the resulting list of items (Appendices B and C) indicate:

 ** The A's experienced school positively, remembered

 academic achievements and participation in school

 activities, were involved with sports and had good

 relationships with coaches and other school personnel.

 The B's remembered school negatively in regard to

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*   The differences are not necessarily equally true for Black and Mexican-
American groups. Where a difference was found for only one group, it
will be identified. Also all differences identified in Appendices B and C
and described in Chapter III are not included in this general picture. Some
are left out for the sake of avoiding details which might detract from the
coherent general pattern. For example, differences in mastery of mainstream
English are not referred to.

academic achievements, participation in sports and conflict with school authorities. Most Black B's dropped out of high school.

** The A's had significantly fewer juvenile arrests and for lesser offenses than the B's.

** In adolescence, the A's self-esteem was already related to notions about achievement while the B's self-esteem was maintained by having a successful reputation with peers on the streets.

** The A's had positive attitudes towards representatives of mainstream society and were able to maintain relationships with peers who were not involved in gang activities. The B's, on the other hand, were alienated from representatives of mainstream life and admired street people and delinquent peers.

** The A's primary loyalty was to their families. The B's was to the streets. (In this regard, it is interesting to note that some Mexican-American B's were able to maintain family ties while being intensely involved with street life.)

These differences, which can be traced back into early adolescence, have remained consistent or have increased during adulthood, implying that the A's and B's are on diverging life paths:

** The A's now tend to have long-range goals that are relatively specific and realistic and have developed strategies for reaching those goals; the B's are without realistic goals or, if present, they are short-range and are not related to realistic strategies.

** The (Black) A's continue to base their self-esteem on achievement and that self-esteem tends to be high; the (Black) B's self-esteem continues to be related to the good opinion of peers on the streets and it is low. (Percentage differences for the Mexican-American groups were not significant in this regard.) By contrast, the A's are now somewhat alienated from their peers in the ghetto.

** The A's have stable and satisfying marital relationships; the B's marriages are less satisfying and characterized by conflict.

** As adults, the A's tend to have even fewer difficulties with the law than they had as juveniles and those tend to involve misdemeanors; the Mexican-American B's have had 50% more offenses as adults than they had as juveniles and those tend

to be felonies. While there was a reduction in the number

of offenses for Black B's (from 93% as juveniles to 61% as

adults), the adult offenses tend to be felonies.

When the above differences are combined to make one pattern for the A's and

another pattern for the B's, the patterns become coherent and meaningful when

compared with the characteristics of two subcultures, both of which exist in

both Black and Mexican-American ghettos.*

1. Mainstream life (in its ghetto variant) - characterized by

   a work and achievement ethic, close family ties and

   loyalties, avoidance of trouble with the law, stability

   on the job, taking responsibility for one's own destiny,

   orderly planning for long-range goals, the ability to sustain

   activity in goal-directed behavior, and an ability to make a

   somewhat harmonious adjustment to the existing larger

   social order.

2. Street life or gang life - characterized by an ethic of tough-

   ness, shrewdness, hustling, violence, an emphasis on

   having a reputation among one's peers, a lessened concern

   with family responsibility and ties than with ties to peers,

   a glorification of anti-social acts (in the mainstream sense),

   and the absence of long-range planning or goal-seeking, in

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* While the subcultures do not have identical contents in the two ethnic
groups, they appear based upon very similar ethics.

favor of immediate gratification, all combined with a ·

rejection of most mainstream values.

Comparing the descriptions of the above two subcultures with the A pattern and B pattern reveals a striking parallelism: <u>The qualities that characterize the A group also coincide with and characterize (ghetto) mainstream culture and the qualities that characterize the B group also coincide with and characterize street culture</u>. Working steadily and being self-supporting, then, appears inextricably associated with many other manifestations of (ghetto) mainstream culture in the lives of our A samples; having no steady job and not being (legitimately) self-supporting is similarly associated with having many other characteristics of street culture. Which is to say that working and not working, being self-supporting and not, are not isolated characteristics or events, but tend to be expressions of a more general life style which characterizes membership in one or the other of the subcultures that exist in the ghetto.

The results illuminate one of the current controversies about ghetto life: whether street culture does not satisfy the criteria for classification as a subculture since it consists merely of a residue of individuals for whom society has failed to make a place in mainstream culture and is, therefore, no more than a chance agglomeration of individuals; or, rather, whether there is an identifiable street subculture characterized by a separate set of values, a separate ethic and a life style to which its members are actively acculturated, and whom it serves as any other subculture would.

Our results imply that the latter view is more consistent with the realities: not working appears to be more than a result of happenstance or even a simple consequence of economic and educational deprivation. Not working is acceptable to and consistent with the ethic of one subculture; working is part of an entire way of life that coincides with membership in the other.

The study indicates that for those who grow up disadvantaged, making it or not, "success" or the lack of it as an adult, depends upon membership in the ghetto subculture to which one has been assimilated.

B. Theoretical Considerations

The results of this study invite discussion in terms of the concept of assimilation. If, indeed, there are (at least) two subcultures in the ghetto and if one of these subcultures is similar to mainstream culture in that it expects that a man work while the other makes no such demand upon him, then whether an individual has become assimilated to one or the other of the subcultures is a crucial determinant of whether he succeeds.

What, then, accounts for assimilation to one rather than the other subculture? The results of our study illuminate the issue: one of the most consistent findings was that as the successful groups remembered their childhood, there was at least one strong parent in the home who had high expectations of his child in terms of achievement and behavior and who was effective in setting controls on his child's behavior, insisting that he behave in accordance with those standards. An effective parent, then, appears to have served as an "assimilating agent," guiding the child into the Black

and Mexican-American mainstreams. Under these circumstances the family appears to have pre-empted the child's cultural affiliation. Once his ties to the (ghetto) mainstream were established, he could no longer easily have been assimilated into street culture. Even though he may have become temporarily involved in gang activity and street life during adolescence, he was rarely so alienated from the (ghetto) mainstream that he did not return to it after adolescence with relatively little difficulty.

By contrast, families of members of the unsuccessful samples rather consistently lacked an effective parent who could set standards and provide effective discipline. These families tended to present no clear standards, made few demands and had low expectations for their children. Among some Black families, when expectations existed, they sometimes included getting ahead through illegal activity on the streets. It appears, then, that in these families there was no effective assimilating agent toward the (ghetto) mainstream. The study suggests that when a family defaulted in binding the child to the (ghetto) mainstream, the child became assimilated to the only other available culture, the street culture.

Ulf Hannerz, in his article "Roots of Black Manhood" (8), maintains that "To some extent, the varying allegiance of different peer groups to the two cultures is largely a difference of degree." However, the results of this study suggest that while there might be some mixed acculturation, behaviors that characterize the two cultures tend to be bimodally rather than continuously distributed. Thus to the extent that an individual espouses the

ethic of one culture, he becomes alienated from the other. Erikson's (5)

comments on identity formation relate to the question: "Identity formation...

arises from the selective repudiation and mutual assimilation of childhood

identifications, and their absorption in a new configuration, which in turn

is dependent upon the process by which a society (often through sub-

societies) identifies the young individual, recognizes him as somebody who

had to become the way he is, and who, being the way he is, is taken for

granted." Each subculture recognizes its own and rejects the individual

who does not seem to care about being recognized by it.

Thus, once started on one subcultural track in the ghetto, it is not

surprising that the developing child becomes increasingly alienated from

alternative subcultures which he rejects and which repudiate him.

In the Black community, there appears to be a great differentiation and

mutual rejection between the (ghetto) mainstream and street cultures. However,

mutual exclusion is not as great in the Mexican-American community. (Our

statistics indicate greater differences between Black A's and B's than between

Mexican-American A's and B's.) There, for example, belonging to a gang

does not appear, necessarily, to mean a permanent commitment to street

life. For Mexican-Americans, the gang appears to gratify and reinforce

powerful cultural ideals that relate to "macho," a Latin tradition of masculinity.

While many mainstream Mexican-American families pressure their children not

to join gangs, being a member of a gang is often looked upon as an age-related

developmental stage out of which in the ordinary course of events, a boy is

expected to grow. Thus, it is interesting to note a marked difference in the frequency of gang membership between Black A's and B's, while no difference in percentage of gang membership exists between the Mexican-American A's and B's. As previously noted, the Mexican-American boy who has a strong father and who has been adequately assimilated into the (minority) mainstream appears not to become strongly or irrevocably assimilated into the street culture. He joins a gang relatively late and leaves relatively early. The fact of gang membership does not imply commitment to a subcultural identity nearly as much as it does among Blacks.

Now, the most significant factors which predispose to making it depend upon affiliation with the (ghetto) mainstream culture, and having a parent with certain qualities appears to determine that affiliation. The results of the study also imply how parental qualities effect assimilation into the mainstream. If parents act as assimilating agents, how do they do it?

A comparison of the Black and Mexican-American groups sheds light on these questions: among Mexican-Americans, assimilation to the mainstream culture depended upon the presence of an effective father. If a father or father surrogate were absent, the child tended to be assimilated into the street culture; a Mexican-American mother could not be effective as an assimilator. By contrast, in Black culture, a mother could be at least as effective as a father in assimilating her child to mainstream culture. In fact, more often than not, the effective parent in the Black home was the mother.

The effective assimilating ingredient may be identified by determining in what ways Black and Mexican-American mothers differ: Mexican-American society demands that a woman give <u>unconditional</u> love to her children. No matter how much trouble they get into, no matter what difficulties they create for the family, a Mexican-American mother is expected to continue to love her children and welcome them into her home. By way of example, a boy was stealing his widowed mother's welfare check in order to buy heroin. Although she might have exhibited hurt feelings, she would not deal with him firmly. The only person who was expected to intervene forcefully was the boy's older brother. Which is to say that in Mexican-American families, only males make demands of other males with regard to standards of behavior. Mexican-American culture restricts the application of <u>conditional</u> love to the father (or his surrogate). If he is absent, no female is entitled to exercise these kinds of behavioral demands. If she were to try, she would not be taken seriously: her discipline is not binding. By way of contrast, in Black families, both mother and father can impose binding behavioral demands on their sons. That is, both are entitled to exhibit conditional love.

In Black families, when a mother was an effective parent and was able to set standards and successfully control her son's behavior, the son became assimilated into the (ghetto) mainstream. On the other hand, in Mexican-American families, if a father were absent, sons tended to be assimilated to the street subculture; mothers might have been warm and loving but did not effectively make demands upon their sons and, therefore, did not assimilate

them to the mainstream. The difference, then, between Black women who were

effective assimilating agents and Mexican-American women who were not, may

be that conditional love characterizes Black mother-son relations, while

unconditional love characterizes Mexican-American mother-son relations.

Unconditional love does not effect assimilation. The transmitters of culture

appear to be those who extend conditional love.

The data also suggest that conditionality was not conditional rejection,

but conditional love. That is, assimilation to mainstream culture was not

brought about by rejection if a child misbehaved. An attitude of love appeared

to have characterized the A homes: both Black and Mexican-American A's

reported that their homes had a warm rather than neutral or hostile atmosphere.

P'. on the other hand, remembered their homes negatively, implying that

even though (like the A's) they might have been criticized for misbehaving,

(unlike the A's) they probably experienced only a feeling of rejection, as opposed

to a feeling or fear of losing love. It would thus appear that rejection (negative

reinforcement) is not as effective as approval (positive reinforcement) in bring-

ing about cultural assimilation. Parenthetically, and speculatively, perhaps the

effectiveness of conditional love is that children are more likely to try to fulfill

parental expectations in order to maintain their loving attitude than they are to

believe in order to avoid rejection.

The results also indicate that for some children, adults outside of the family

may also serve an assimilating function: a special relationship with some school

personnel, especially coaches, was important to a number of our A's. Perhaps

the A's who remembered achievements at school and good relationships with
school personnel had already somewhat assimilated mainstream values because
of their families. Those families might have already instilled ways of behaving
in their children that made them attractive to mainstream teachers who, in turn,
paid more attention to and gave more approval to them, reinforcing their main-
stream attitudes and behaviors even more. Once a child is on a mainstream
cultural track, his behavior will call forth the approving responses that
reinforce the process of assimilation into the mainstream. Having memories
of early recognition for achievement, in school or at home, and successful
early relationships with both adult and peer representatives of the mainstream
significantly differentiated the A's from B's. The importance of early encouraging
reinforcement in orienting a child towards (ghetto) mainstream life and away from
the streets is thus indicated. Early successes appear to build conviction that
getting ahead in the mainstream is a real possibility: in our B samples only a
minority had any hope of getting ahead in the (ghetto) mainstream; on the other
hand, virtually all of the A's were hopeful.

Another implication of the findings is that the sex of the parent with whom
the child lives may not be as important as is sometimes believed. A number of
studies (notably the Moynihan report [11]) attribute the cause of the endless
repetition of the cycle of disadvantagement through the generations to the fact
that fathers of disadvantaged families are often absent from homes. Consequently,
male children are psychologically handicapped in assuming familial responsibilities
and, in turn, abandon their marital families to the welfare system, repeating the
poverty cycle. Perhaps the analysis is valid only when women are not equipped

or culturally permitted to be effective assimilating agents through the exercise

of conditional love. This study indicates that the presence of a masculine

role model in the home may not be of critical importance in determining whether

a male child makes it out of disadvantagement. The crucial factor is the

presence of someone of either sex who can effectively use conditional love

to influence the child. Black culture permits Black women to be that kind of

parent. And, apparently, even when fathers are absent, many succeed in

binding their male children to the (ghetto) mainstream, preparing them to break

the poverty cycle. The study suggests that, in turn, these boys will probably

grow into men who in turn will tend to maintain intact marital families and who

will probably succeed in raising children who are also part of the mainstream.

C. Implications

   1.   The Need for Replication of This Study. Although the application of

        statistics to the data produced significant findings, methodological

        ambiguities leave room for doubt about the credibility of the results.

        Reasons behind these methodological limitations already have been

        discussed, in detail, in Chapter II. However, residual questions

        regarding validity and reliability remain unanswered. At this point

        the findings might be considered theoretically interesting,

        programmatically suggestive and indicative for the direction of

        future research, but only preliminary and not completely convincing.

        The following characteristics of the method limit confidence in the

        findings:

a. The non-formalized method of data collection and recording
left room for variation among interviewers, both in the ways
they posed questions and the ways they recorded responses.

b. Since questions were not asked in an explicitly standardized
manner, the recorded data involved a good deal of inference
and interpretation by the interviewers.

c. For the same reason, and because the interviewers knew which
of their subjects were A's and which B's, interviewers' personal
theories and prejudices might have influenced both data
collection on the initial data form and the rating of respondents
on the second, multiple-choice form.

We cannot estimate the effects of these methodological limitations on
the results. Replication, however, using those items and factors
found to be significantly differentiating in this preliminary study,
and organizing them into a more reliable questionnaire form would
resolve many of these questions. This study has been a first but
necessary step into an unknown area and is characterized by
limitations inherent in prefactory investigations. Replication can
and should subject the preliminary findings to more rigorous testing.

Second, replication would permit refinement of the identified variables
and should in turn lead to more exact identification and understanding of
significant elements. Operationalization of these elements in the form of
programmatic interventions could then be made with greater confidence.

Third, replication with another Mexican-American sample would lead

to clarification about the nature of apparent differences between our

Black and Mexican-American samples. If these differences were

illuminated, clarification of differences in programmatic interventions

for the two groups might also be achieved.

Fourth, replication with other disadvantaged ethnic groups (including

poor Whites) might clarify similarities and differences with the groups

already studied, and might, in turn, indicate which programmatic

interventions would be relevant to the particular idiosyncracies of

particular groups.

Fifth, replication could lead to further refinement of a questionnaire-

type instrument. In turn, that instrument might permit identification

among groups of recruits of those individuals for whom special helping

strategies are needed and others for whom only skill training is

necessary. Such early diagnosis would permit available resources

to be utilized only with those individuals needing them, preventing

a gratuitous application of special interventions.

2. Suggested Programmatic Interventions. While replication is needed

before large scale programmatic changes could be made with confidence,

the experimental applications of the results of this study might begin

now, with a few selected programs. These interventions need not

involve much expense or long-term commitment; as further investigation

illuminates the preliminary findings of this study, further modifications can be made in the interventions undertaken.

The following interventions are relevant for training and employment programs for adolescents and adults. However, by that age (as the study suggests) many disadvantaged individuals are probably so firmly assimilated and committed to street culture that they may not want to become involved in such programs. In that case neither special programs nor special interventions may be effective. To be really effective with the widest possible range of individuals, interventions with children should ultimately be designed -- such as, perhaps, the identification of families in which there is no effective parent (in the sense of the previous discussion) so that a surrogate parent or replacement experience can be provided. The further research already recommended should clarify what the nature of that experience might be. While the following programmatic suggestions do not address the problem of intervention during childhood, they may increase the effectiveness of existing programs with adults.

Taking into account some factors which differentiated the B's from the A's and which, therefore, seem particularly associated with not making it, and translating those factors into programmatic interventions

designed to address them, rather specifically, some of the following tactics might be tried now:

a. To compensate for the B's confusion regarding the means for getting ahead in the mainstream: employment and training programs should state simply and exactly the sequence of steps between recruitment and graduation. Clearly written pamphlets combined with counseling might be used.

b. To take into account the B's difficulty in thinking in terms of long-range goals: the program should be divided into steps and sub-goals that require brief time periods for recognizable attainment.

c. To help the B's overcome low self-esteem, low self-confidence and doubts about making it in a mainstream enterprise: the gradient of difficulty in programs should be managed so as to enable progress to be made with a minimum of risk of failure and a maximum of successful and reinforcing experiences.*

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* Even though street life may offer many inducements and satisfactions, inspiring binding loyalties in many who enter it, it appears not to be as effective as (ghetto) mainstream culture in providing a basis for maintaining self-esteem. Al Johnson (1) discovered this peculiarity in Chicago street culture: when he offered Black gang members constructive opportunities for action (putting on theatrical performances, engaging in charitable enterprises and working in legitimate jobs) many were attracted. The feelings they expressed implied that this attraction had its roots in the opportunity to heighten self-esteem. Programs to train the disadvantaged might do well to appeal to recruits and trainees in terms of their needs to be involved in activities that will support their self-esteem.

d. To capitalize on the B's dependence on the approval of peers: a group identity and cohesiveness should be fostered within groups of trainees. Group support could then be mobilized to aid individuals at moments of particular difficulty or crisis.

e. To overcome the B's ignorance of mainstream standards and how to meet them through planning and action: a counselor should be available as a cultural bridge to interpret the expectations imposed by training and work situations and work out ways of meeting those expectations with trainees.

f. To serve as an assimilating agent, defining expectations in an emotionally meaningful relationship in which approval for good performance serves as a motivational reinforcement: a personal relationship with a counselor who might relate to the trainee much as a concerned and demanding athletic coach relates to his athletes.

g. To construct a program which is relevant to the B's frame of reference, considering that assimilation of new values takes place within the context of existing values, the B's themselves should be included in a process of discussing the meaning of the new values to them, the formulation of reasonable standards for the behavioral goals related to those values, and the planning of training experiences to facilitate the process.

h.	To enhance the B's self-esteem and increase ego-involvement,

programs should generally rely upon their expertise about ghetto

culture in planning program elements which would be of interest

to both themselves and other ghetto residents.

i.	To reach B's who are presently untouched by training programs,

B's themselves could become the counselors and interpreters

of the programs to potential recruits.

These suggestions may be consistent with special efforts already being made

in more sophisticated federally-sponsored training and employment programs.

Hitherto, such programmatic interventions may have been made ad hoc on

an intuitive basis by particularly concerned, thoughtful and experienced

personnel. We are·hopeful, however, that the results of this study -- and

those suggested for the future -- will enable special interventions to be

rationalized, further refined, used more consistently and focused more

systematically to maximize the likelihood of successful outcomes.

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APPENDIX A

The Data Form

FAMILY UP TO 16

na   (Let's talk about your family. Who lived in your house while you were growing up - until you were 16?)

na 1. <u>Family group until 16</u> M   F   # female sibs   # male sibs
                             Position of respondent

na 2. Raised in   MF   PF   Own family   other

na 3. Specify number years without father or surrogate in home until 16.
      Description:

<u>From R's perspective</u>:

na	4. Family atmosphere	warm	neutral	hostile
na	5. Family cohesiveness	cohesive	uninvolved	estranged
na	6. Who made decisions?			
na	7. F and M feelings	positive	neutral	negative
na	8. F and respondent feelings	positive	neutral	negative
na	9. M and respondent feelings	positive	neutral	negative

na 10. Who was the main disciplinarian?

na   a. What was expected was: very clear   unclear
na   b. Approach of disciplinarian: firm   uncertain
                                affectionate cold
        (check one of each pair)   arbitrary   reasonable
                                  consistent   inconsistent

na   c. R's reaction: obedient without question, responsive, passive resistance, openly rebellious
      d. R identifies with disciplinarian? pos.   neg.   neither

na 11. Economic status of home: very poor   barely adequate
                                 adequate

na 12. Who worked? F   M   Sibs   Resp.   Other _____

      a. Welfare or food stamps, etc.? Yes   No # years _____
      b. How did family feel about welfare? accepted as normal,
                                     accepted reluctantly,
                                     embarrassed,
                                     refused though needed it

na 13. Schooling of M: F:

-2-

FAMILY UP TO 16 - Continued

na 14. Occupation of M: unemployed   unskilled   trainee
                                      skilled   clerical   supervisor
                                      professional   other   businessman

na 15. Occupation of F: unemployed   unskilled   trainee
                                      skilled   clerical   supervisor
                                      professional   other   businessman

na 16. Who was most "successful" in the family? Describe:

na 17. Occupation of most "successful" (in family's eyes) member of, family:
                              supervisor   skilled   unemployed
                              professional   trainee   unskilled
                              businessman   clerical   other _____

na 18. Until 16 success or getting ahead was defined as: achievement, survival

na 19. Did anyone (up to 16) think or expect that R could get ahead?
      Yes   No   Who? _____
na   a. How?   hard work   luck   hustling   other _____

na 20. Did anyone offer to help R get ahead before 16?
      Yes   No   Who? _____
      a. What happened?

na 21. Did anyone attempt to introduce R to wider horizons?
      Yes   No   Who? _____
      a. How?   talk   trips out of neighborhood   reading   cultural
               other
      b. Ages at which occurred:

na 22. Did anyone talk to R about what R thought and/or felt?
      Yes   No   Who? _____

na 23. R have daydreams of being better off?   Yes   No
      What?

na 24. Did anyone discourage R's hopes to get ahead?   Yes   No
na   a. Who?
na   b. How?
na   c. R's response to discouragement: discouraged
                                                             not discouraged

FAMILY UP TO 16 - Continued

na 25. Was anyone admired?   Yes   No   Other
na   a. Who?   in family   in neighborhood   other
na   b. For what?

na 26. Did R resolve to be not like someone?   Yes   No
na   a. Who?   in family   in neighborhood   other
na   b. Qualities rejected by R:

na 27. Was a member of a named neighborhood group? (How R thought
        of it.)   gang/clubs (like Woodcraft Rangers, scouts,
        school club)   No
        Describe group:

na   a. If a gang, during what years?   _____
na   b. If not a gang, why not?   his choice   family pressur
                                          excluded   none available
                                          other _____

                                          If his choice, why?   study
                                          reading   working   hobby
                                          other _____

na   c. Age left gang? _____   Still a member? _____
na   d. Why left?   his choice   family pressure   excluded
                        moved   work   school
                  If his choice, why?

na   e. Describe influences discouraging gang membership:

na   f. How did R cope with pressures to join or not to join?

Present relationship to parental family

na 28. Now close to family?   Yes   No   Other

na   a. Frequent contact (written or personal)   Occasional
                                                      Rare or Never

na   b. Closest to Whom?   No one person   basis:

na   c. Most alienated from whom?   No one person   basis:

SCHOOL

na 1. Highest grade to present
aa 2. Age at highest grade _____ Grade completed by 18 ____
aa 3. Special training:
aa   a. Helpful?   Yes   No   How?

na   b. Age during that training

na   c. Describe training

na 4. a. Was school (academically) difficult?   Yes   No   Neither
na   b. Was training difficult?   Yes   No   Neither   Why

na 5. a. Enjoyed school?   Yes   No
na   b. Enjoyed training (or school after 18)   Yes   No   Why?

na 6. Participated in activities, clubs?   Yes   No
                                                   What?_____

na 7. Failing grades: never   rarely   sometimes   often
na 8. Superior grades: never   rarely   sometimes   often
na 9. Dropout?   Yes   No
aa   a. Reasons: trouble with teachers,   trouble with students,
                    trouble with law,   failing,   needed money,
                    not interested,   preferred work,   health,
                    parental pressure,   marriage (pregnancy),
                    other _____.

na 10. Was especially liked by one or more teachers or other personnel
        Yes   No   Not sure
aa   a. If so, what grade(s)?
aa   b. What does he think appealed to the teacher?

aa 11. Was disliked by any teachers?   Yes   No   Not sure
aa   a. If so, in what grade(s)?
aa   b. What did they dislike?

aa 12. Any highly influential relationship or event at school?

aa 13. Felt satisfaction or pride at school: Often   Occasionally
                                                 Rarely   Never
        a. Nature of satisfaction or pride:

-2-

SCHOOL - Continued

na 14. Any teacher he respected or admired?   Yes   No   For what?

na 15. Developed life or occupational goal due to school influences?
       Yes   No   How come about?

na 16. Has education been realistically connected to life goal?
       Yes   No   Describe:

LEGAL HISTORY

na   **1.** Ever in trouble with law (booked)   Yes   No
       Civil rights or school?

na   a. Charged as juvenile: Yes   No   Age(s) _____

na   b. No. times booked _____; no. times probation ____;
           no. times detained____.

na   c. Offenses _____.

na   d. Total time detention _____.

na   e. Charged as adult: Yes   No   Age(s) _____

na   f. No. times booked _____; no. convictions _____;
           no. probation _____.

na   g. No. times jailed _____; total time jailed _____.

na   h. No. times prison _____; total time in prison _____.

na   i. Offenses _____.

na   **2.** Ever jailed unjustly: Yes   No   # times _____
                       Circumstances:

na   **3.** Record ever interfere with employment opportunities: serious
      somewhat   none
      Describe:

JOB HISTORY

Attitudes

na   1   Up to 16 what was ambition for future:

na   2. Up to 16 felt in general (about future)   confident   uncertain
                                                    unconcerned
                                                    apprehensive
                                                    pessimistic
                                                    other _____

na   3. <u>Now</u> has goals for future: Yes   No   Realistic: Yes   No
                                            What?

na   a. At what age present goals developed:

na   4. Now (about future)   optimistic   pessimistic   other_____
                              confident   uncertain   _____
                              unconcerned   apprehensive

na   5. Fear of failure has led to refusing or not trying jobs:
         Yes   No
         Describe:

na   6. Has ever had job he enjoyed: Yes   No   What?
                                        Enjoyable?

na   7. Has ever felt satisfaction from work?   Often   sometimes
                                                 rarely   never
na   a. If so, what?
na   b. If not, why not?

na   8. Has ever felt pride in accomplishment or workmanship?
                                                 Often   sometimes
                                                 rarely   never
na   9. Has a work identity? (I am a _____)   Yes   No
                                                           What?
na 10. Feels <u>mastery</u> over some skill or job?   Yes   No   Other

na 11. Has confidence in ability to learn skills and get ahead?
         Yes   No   Other

JOB HISTORY - Continued

na 12. What he looks for in a job: money, interesting job,
      (Mark two most important)   job satisfaction, opportunity,
                                      security, friends, conditions,
                                      convenience, responsibility,
                                      feeling important,
                                      other _____

JOB HISTORY

Past

na 1. Age first worked for money? _____
na 2. Age of first steady job? _____   Never had one _____
na 3. Longest time ever held job: 1 month   2-3 months   4-12 montl
                                        1 year +
na 4. Has ever quit or changed job?   Yes   No
na   a. Reason if yes: pay, transportation, no interest, health,
                            legal, afraid to be fired, peer problems
                            boss problems, no opportunity,
                            found better job, discrimination,
                            other _____.

na 5. History of trouble keeping jobs?   Yes   No
na   a. Reason if yes: lack skills, conflict with supervisors,
                            conflict with peers, family, legal,
                            health, jobs end, discrimination,
                            other _____.

na 6. History of difficulty in getting jobs?   Yes   No
na   a. Reason: lack skills, experience, union, record,
                     discrimination, transportation, legal,
                     health, other _____.

na 7. Any special breaks?   Yes   No
na   a. What?

na 8. Has been in the service?   Yes   No   Highest grade_____.
na   a. Reaction to service (describe):

na   b. Any job-related learning in service?   Skills?   Attitudes
                                                   Interpersonal skill

JOB HISTORY

Present and Recent

na 1. Now employed: Yes   No
na 2. Kind of job: unskilled   skilled blue   skilled white
                           business   supervisorial   professional
                           other

na 3. How long in job: 0 - 1 month   2 - 6 months   7 months-2 yrs.
                         2 yrs. +   full time   part-time
                         intermittent

na 4. Months unemployed or not in school during last 24? _____
        (not counting vacations)

na 5. Any other means during the last 24 months?   Welfare   Other

na 6. Number of weeks welfare during last 24 months? _____

na 7. Now supporting self?   Yes   No   Who else?   W   M   F   Sibling
                                 other

na 8. Job and ability level: respondent feels above-at-below
                                 ability level
                                 interviewer feels above-at-below
                                 ability level

na 9. Holds or has held more than one job at a time?   Yes   No
na   a. Has worked and gone to school at some time?   Yes   No

LANGUAGE

na 1. Language spoken in parental home: Spanish   English dialect
                                           ordinary English
na 2. Parents know English: Yes   No
na 3. Parental home encouraged good English: Yes   No   Other
                                                Reason:

na 4. Parental home penalized good English: Yes   No   Other
                                                Reason:

na 5. <u>Present</u> home speaks: Spanish   English dialect
                                     ordinary English   Describe details:

na 6. Had made effort to speak better English?   Great   some   none
       a. What has he done?

       b. Why has he tried?

na 7. At what age conscious of wanting to speak better English?

na 8. Now speaks ordinary English: well   fair   poorly
na 9. Can speak: Spanish   English dialect   ordinary English
na 10. Prefers: Spanish   English dialect   ordinary English
na 11. Avoids: Spanish   English dialect   ordinary English

Interviewer:

na 12. Does respondent seem to enjoy talking, expressing his ideas
       and feelings?
                        very much   somewhat   inarticulate
na 13. Characterize language he <u>tries</u> to speak: dialect,
                                                         ordinary English
                                                         Elegant English
                                                         Spanish
na 14. Characterize language he speaks <u>best</u>:   dialect
                                                         ordinary English
                                                         Elegant English
                                                         Spanish

MARITAL FAMILY

(Tell me about your family.)

na   1. Do you have a family?   Yes   No
na   2. If not, does he want to?   Yes   No   Maybe
na   3. When first on his own, lived with whom?   parental family
                                                  own family   friends
                                                  self   other

na   4. Married what age(s)?   No. of times?

na   5. No. children

na   6. Most recent marriage: Separated   divorced   intact

na   7. Support family: full   part   none

na   a. Qualify:

na   8. Feeling towards present wife: positive   neutral   negative
na   9. Feeling towards children: positive   neutral   negative
na 10. Most recent marriage: cohesive   uninvolved estranged
na 11. Conflict with most recent wife:often   occasional rare
na 12. Any further information about family:

RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDES

(Respondent's "theory" about his own life:)

na 1. What he feels has helped him get ahead:

na 2. What he feels has kept him back:

na 3. Has had an ideal or a cause to inspire him and give his life
       direction: Yes   No
na   a. What?

na   b. Age this developed?

na 4. Who does he admire? _____ Why? _____
       Who are his favorite public figures?

na 5. When he is not working, likes to pass time how?

na   a. Special interests: hobby   organization   religious
                                political intellectual   none
                                other _____ what?
na   b. Special talents: leadership   intellectual   sports
                                music   artistic   none
                                other _____ what?

na 6. Feels, in own (ghetto) community: at home
                                            conditionally accepted
                                            rejected

na 7. Feels, in Anglo or white community: at home
                                              conditionally accepted
                                              rejected

na 8. Believes most effective way his ethnic group can get ahead:
       working in present system   non-violent protest
       forming separate society   violence if necessary
       other _____

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RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDES - Continued

Questions:

na 1. What do you wish your life would be like ten years from now?

na 2. What might stop your wishes from coming true?

na 3. What are five good things to do? Who, besides you, would consider them good?

na 4. What are five bad things to do? Who, besides you, would consider them bad?

na 5. Tell me five goals you would like to achieve.

na 6. Tell me about some of your hangups, frustrations.

na 7. How have you coped with racial pressures throughout your life?

na 8. How do you feel about the police? (Note changes through time, if any.)

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RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDES - Continued

na   9. While you were growing up, did (your father)(your mother)
        (or their surrogates)(you) feel the following were important
        for you?   Tell me (1) definitely yes   (2) maybe   (3) no

	Father	Mother	Respondent
Improving your mind (educationally)			
Staying away from street gangs			
Staying off welfare			
Owning own home			
Getting ahead (achievement)			
Going to school regularly			
Attending church regularly			
Staying out of trouble with the law			
A girl's not becoming pregnant before marriage			
Coming home at a stated hour			
Working steadily			
Speaking English well			
Avoiding slang			
Manners and politeness			

INTERVIEWER'S OPINIONS

na 1. Respondent alienated from parental family?   very   somewhat
                                                      not   est. age____
                        from ghetto peer
                        group?   very   somewhat
                                                      not   est. age____
                        from ghetto life
                        style?   very   somewhat
                                                      not   est. age____

na 2. How does he maintain self-esteem?   group membership and
                                            acceptance   achievement
                                            power   other_____

na 3. Blames system for life difficulties.
       Blames self for life difficulties.

na 4. Personality: very appealing   ordinarily pleasant   abrasive
                      mixed

na 5. Respondent's attitude towards himself ("pride" or self-esteem):
       positive   ambivalent   negative

na 6. Ability to get along with people: good   average   poor

na 7. Describe identity type (consult "Identity Types")

na 8. A paragraph - The interviewer's theory about what has made
       that person "successful" or "unsuccessful".

na 9. Seems to feel   more   less   equally   successful than peers
       of youth.
       Seems to feel   more   less   equally   successful than family.

PERSONAL DATA

na 1. Name
na 2. Address
na 3. Telephone
na 4. Age   Marital Status   S   M   D   Sep.
na 5. # dependents and who

na 6. How long lived in Southern California?   less than 6 months
                                                 6 months   2 years
                                                 2 - 5 years
                                                 5 - 15 years
                                                 more than 15 years

na 7. Where came from?   rural   urban   ghetto   south   north
                            L.A.   other

na 8. Where grew up?   rural   urban   ghetto   south   north
                            L.A.   other

na 9. Physical handicaps: none   slight   significant   age

na 10. Health: good   fair   poor   What problems?_____
                                          Age?_____

na 11. Weekly income: less than $50 $51 - 75 $76 - 125
                        over $125

APPENDIX B

Statistically Significant Items
from the Data Form

This appendix contains the items from the data form which
were statistically significant for at least one of the ethnic
groups. The Chi^2 statistic is a measure of the probability
that the different distributions of answers for an item for
groups A and B could have occurred purely by chance rather
than as a reflection of some difference between the groups.
Three levels of significance were used, as indicated after
the first row of numbers in the item set:

* $p \leq .10$ (result could have occurred by chance in
ten or fewer times out of one hundred)

** $p \leq .05$ (result could have occurred by chance in
five or fewer times out of one hundred)

*** $p \leq .01$ (result could have occurred by chance in
one or fewer times out of one hundred)

ns   not significant   (result could have occurred
by chance in ten or more times out of one
hundred and therefore was not considered
significant)

Numbers in the body of the appendix are percentages rather
than frequencies because the sample sizes were unequal:

Mexican A = 17
    "   B = 20
Black A   = 15
    "   B   = 18

Therefore, raw scores or frequencies might have confused
the reader.

The Chi^2 calculations were based upon absolute frequencies.

The numbers in parentheses refer to the item numbers in the
original instrument.

Appendix B

FAMILY UP TO 16			MA	MB	BA	BB
1.	(3)	One or more years spent without a father	18	45**	53	61^{ns}
		No years spent without a father	71	45	47	39
2.	(4)	Home atmosphere described as warm	88	65*	87	39***
		Home atmosphere described as neutral or hostile	12	35	13	61
3.	(2)	Raised in mother's and father's home	100	100^{ns}	87	61**
		Raised in mother's home	0	0	7	17
		Raised in father's home	0	0	6	0
		Raised in home other than mother's and/or father's	0	0	0	22
4.	(5)	Family cohesive	88	74^{ns}	87	50***
		Family uninvolved or estranged	12	26	13	50
5.	(6)	Father is decision-maker	59	25**	27	33**
		Mother is decision-maker	29	50	73	39
6.	(10)	Main disciplinarian -- father	47	25*	27	31*
		Main disciplinarian -- mother	35	40	73	50
7.	(10b)	Parental discipline inconsistent	53	75**	0	38***
		Parental discipline consistent	47	25	100	62
8.	(10d)	Respondent positively identifies with disciplinarian	59	50^{ns}	86	50**
		Respondent does not positively identify with disciplinarian	41	50	14	50
9.	(12)	Father remembered as working	88	85^{ns}	93	66*
		Father not remembered as working	12	15	7	34

*	Chi^2_2	significant at .10 level
**	Chi^2_2	significant at .05 level
***	Chi^2_2	significant at .01 level
ns	Chi^2	not significant

			MA	MB	BA	BB
10.	(12a)	Family accepted welfare	6	45***	27	22^{ns}
		Family did not accept welfare	94	55	73	77
11.	(18)	Until 16 success defined as survival	31	65***	67	78^{ns}
		Until 16 success defined as achievement	69	35	33	22
12.	(19)	Respondent expected to get ahead by study or hard work	100	95^{ns}	91	55**
		Respondent expected to get ahead by hustling	0	5	0	36
		Respondent expected to get ahead by luck	0	0	9	9
13.	(23)	Respondent had (up until 16 years of age) daydreams of being better off	71	74^{ns}	67	100**
		Respondent did not have (up until 16 years of age) daydreams of being better off	29	26	33	0
14.	(24)	Someone attempted to discourage respondent's hopes of getting ahead	63	73^{ns}	50	80**
		No one attempted to discourage respondent's hopes of getting ahead	37	27	50	20
15.	(25)	Anyone admired by respondent up to age 16	76	85^{ns}	92	67**
		No one admired by respondent up to age 16	14	15	8	33
16.	(25a)	In family: Admired siblings	12	20*	7	11^{ns}
		Admired mother	12	5	33	22
		Admired father	24	5	7	6
		Outside family: Admired peers	18	15^{ns}	0	44***
		Admired school personnel	0	5	33	0
17.	(27)	Member of gang	42	45^{ns}	27	56***
		Not member of gang	58	55	63	44
18.	(28)	Now close to parental family	94	75^{ns}	93	69***
		Now not close to parental family	6	25	7	31
19.	(28a)	Contact their parental family frequently or occasionally	94	70*	93	75***
		Contact their parental family rarely or never	6	30	7	25

			MA	MB	BA	BB
20.	(28b)	Now closest to mother	35	15^{ns}	87	39***
		Now closest to father	0	5	0	6
		Now closest to siblings	23	35	7	29
		Now closest to no one	47	45	7	23
21.	(28c)	Now most alienated from father	39	16*	40	19**
		Now most alienated from mother	6	11	0	0

SCHOOL

			MA	MB	BA	BB
22.	(4)	School was academically difficult	35	35^{ns}	27	73**
		School was not academically difficult	65	65	73	27
23.	(6)	Participated in school activities	71	45**	80	56*
		Did not participate in school activities	29	55	20	44
24.	(7)	Occasionally or frequently received failing grades in school	35	67*	40	72*
		Never received failing grades in school	65	33	60	28
25.	(12)	Had a highly influential relationship at school	59	75^{ns}	37	6***
		Did not have a highly influential relationship at school	41	25	63	94
26.	(13)	Often and/or occasionally felt satisfaction or pride at school	71	68^{ns}	53	28**
		Rarely or never felt satisfaction or pride at school	29	32	47	72
27.	(1)	Ever in trouble with the law	59	85***	38	72***
		Never in trouble with the law	41	15	62	28
28.	(1a)	Charged as a juvenile	30	50***	36	93***
		Not charged as a juvenile	70	50	64	7
29.	(1e)	Charged as an adult	47	75*	20	61***
		Not charged as an adult	53	25	80	39

			MA	MB	BA	BB
30.	(2)	Ever jailed unjustly	12	55***	0	56***
		Never jailed unjustly and/or never jailed	88	45	100	44

JOB HISTORY

			MA	MB	BA	BB
31.	(2)	Up until 16 was confident about future	29	5**	53	22*
		Up until 16 was uncertain or unconcerned about future	65	55	47	55
		Up until 16 was apprehensive or pessimistic about future	6	40	0	23
32.	(3)	Has specific occupational goal and/or plans to better present life circumstance	76	80^{ns}	92	11***
		Goal is achieving stability (generalized, unspecified)	5	0	26	0
		Goal is keeping out of trouble	0	0	0	22
		Goal is progress of ethnic group	5	0	26	0
33.	(6)	Has had a job he enjoyed	88	85^{ns}	54	28***
		Has never had a job he enjoyed	12	15	46	72
34.	(7)	Has rarely and/or never felt satisfaction from work	0	8^{ns}	33	51**
		Has sometimes or often felt satisfaction from work	100	92	67	49
35.	(8)	Has rarely or never felt pride in accomplishment or workmanship	0	25*	47	61**
		Has sometimes or often felt pride in accomplishment or workmanship	100	75	53	39

JOB HISTORY PAST

			MA	MB	BA	BB
36.	(1)	Began working before 18	80	90***	93	60*
		Began working after 18	20	10	7	40
37.	(8)	Has been in the service	53	20*	27	17^{ns}
		Has not been in the service	47	80	73	83

			MA	MB	BA	BB
JOB HISTORY PRESENT						
38.	(1)	Now employed	100	90^{ns}	100	50^{***}
		Now unemployed	0	10	0	50
39.	(3)	Parents encouraged "good English"	67	35^{***}	87	39^{***}
		Parents did not encourage "good English"	33	65	13	61
40.	(8)	Now speaks English well	100	60^{**}	53	22^{**}
		Now does not speak English well	0	40	47	78
MARITAL FAMILY						
41.	(6)	Present marriage intact	100	64^{*}	100	27^{***}
		Separated or divorced	0	36	0	71
42.	(7)	Fully supporting present marital family	100	27^{***}	100	22^{***}
		Partially supporting present marital family	0	64	0	33
		Not supporting present marital family	0	9	0	33
43.	(8)	Positive feeling toward present wife	100	55^{**}	91	56^{*}
		Negative feeling toward present wife	0	45	9	44
44.	(10)	Current marriage cohesive	100	33^{**}	91	44^{***}
		Current marriage uninvolved or estranged	0	67	9	56
RESPONDENT'S ATTITUDES						
45.	(7)	Feels at home in Anglo or white community	59	40^{ns}	87	56^{**}
		Feels conditionally accepted or rejected in Anglo or white community	41	60	13	44

			MA	MB	BA	BB
46.	(1)	Very alienated from peer group	6	25**	13	0***
		Somewhat alienated from peer group	53	25	27	0
		Not alienated from peer group	41	50	60	100
47.	(1)	Very alienated from ghetto life	35	20^{ns}	13	0***
		Somewhat alienated from ghetto life	24	20	20	0
		Not alienated from ghetto life	41	60	67	100
48.	(2)	Maintains self-esteem through group membership	29	25^{ns}	27	67**
		Maintains self-esteem through achievement	53	65	73	33
49.	(5)	Respondent expressed a positive attitude toward himself	94	35***	75	39**
		Respondent expressed a negative attitude toward himself	6	65	25	61
50.	(6)	Interviewer felt that respondent had a good ability to get along with people	82	70^{ns}	87	44***
		Interviewer felt that respondent had an average ability to get along with people	18	25	13	44
		Interviewer felt that respondent had a poor ability to get along with people	0	5	0	11
51.	(9)	Feels more successful than youthful peers	59	15***	75	6***
		Feels equally successful to youthful peers	41	65	25	39
		Feels less successful than youthful peers	0	20	0	50
52.	(9)	Feels more successful than family	94	15***	53	7***
		Feels equally successful to family	6	55	47	26
		Feels less successful than family	0	30	0	67

APPENDIX C

The Multiple-choice Check List
and Statistical Analysis

This appendix is comprised of the entire second data collection instrument, the multiple-choice check list. However, the items have been rearranged by subject matter, for greater clarity. Numbers in parentheses refer to original position of items in data instrument.

Numbers in the body of the appendix are percentages rather than frequencies because the sample sizes were unequal:

Mexican A = 17
" B = 20
Black A = 15
" B = 18

The Chi^2 statistic is a measure of the probability that the different distributions of answers for an item for groups A and B could have occurred purely by chance, rather than as a reflection of some difference between the groups. Three levels of significance were used, as indicated after the first row of numbers in the item set:

* $p \leqslant .10$ (result could have occurred by chance in ten or fewer times out of one hundred)

** $p \leqslant .05$ (result could have occurred by chance in five or fewer times out of one hundred)

*** $p \leqslant .01$ (result could have occurred by chance in one or fewer times out of one hundred)

ns not significant (result could have occurred by chance in ten or more times out of one hundred and therefore was not considered significant)

The Chi^2 calculations were based upon absolute frequencies.

Appendix C

			MA	MB	BA	BB
1.	(17)	I would describe him as black.			26	44*
		I would describe him as brown.			40	33
		I would describe him as yellow or white.			33	16
		I would describe him as Indian	0	0ns		
		I would describe him as Mestizo	100	100		
		I would describe him as Caucasoid	0	0		
2.	(62)	An effective mother and father (or substitute) were both present in his home.	29	25ns	40	11***
		Neither an effective mother or father were present in his home.	17	35	20	66
		His mother (or substitute) was the only effective parent in his home.	41	35	40	16
		His father (or substitute) was the only effective parent in his home.	0	0	0	0
3.	(58)	(if 57-a is true) She was the most significant or influential person in his life. That is, she influenced the formation of his character in a concerned, effective and forceful way. She set standards and was the main disciplinarian and model.	41	55**	80	22***
		(if 57-a is true) She was loving and motherly, but did not influence his values, way of life or character formation. She did not try to be an effective disciplinarian or model.	35	10	12	33
		(if 57-a is true) She was indifferent and unconcerned about his discipline, way of life and values. She may have made a show of concern but did not follow through with effective behavior.	5	25	0	16

---

* Chi^2 significant at .01 level
** Chi^2 significant at .05 level
*** Chi^2 significant at .01 level
ns Chi^2 not significant

	MA	MB	BA	BB

4. (7) His values, way of life and identity have been most influenced by his father or some father substitute, either in his home or out of it.

| | 47 | 15*** | 6 | 5 *** |

His values, way of life and identity have been most influenced by his mother or some mother substitute, either in his home or out of it.

| | 41 | 55 | 80 | 27 |

His values, way of life and identity have been most influenced by his peers in a gang or street society.

| | 0 | 20 | 13 | 55 |

5. (30) He remembers his home as loving, supportive and as a place where he could always go in times of trouble.

| | 29 | 5*** | 60 | 11 *** |

He remembers his home as a place where there were both trouble and comfort. He couldn't automatically go home when he was in trouble.

| | 64 | 55 | 33 | 45 |

The last place he could go when he was in trouble was home. He remembers being very uncomfortable there, a place where there were always problems and conflicts.

| | 5 | 4 | 6 | 27 |

6. (16) His family insisted that he conform to their standards and values. They were effective in controlling the hours he kept, his choice of friends and how he spent his time.

| | 52 | 30** | 46 | 16*** |

His family's values were known to him but he knew how to get away pretty much with whatever he wanted. He associated with whomever he wanted and stayed out late, etc. His parents believed his lies or would go along and not hassle him too much.

| | 23 | 40 | 40 | 22 |

His family tried to control him but despite their efforts he went against their wishes. There was quite a lot of friction but he found street life worth it.

| | 17 | 35 | 6 | 38 |

His parents didn't seem to have any explicit rules or standards for him. They may have been upset with him, but they weren't concerned enough to tell him what they expected him to do.

| | 17 | 35 | 6 | 38 |

		MA	MB	BA	BB
7. (11)	His parents expected or demanded a good deal from him in terms of meeting standards of behavior or achievement, or contributing to the family welfare.	70	45^{ns}	67	22^{***}
	His parents expected little (or were ineffective in demanding much) from him in terms of meeting standards of behavior or achievement, or contributing to the family welfare.	29	40	34	61
8. (12)	Could get away with almost anything, at home.	71	56^{**}	60	56^{ns}
	Could not get away with much, at home, or didn't try to.	29	44	40	44
9. (26)	His parents expected him to get ahead by achieving some occupational position or level of education.	41	25^{ns}	27	22^{***}
	His parents expected him to get ahead by achieving stability, having a family and fulfilling his obligations toward them.	29	30	53	46
	His family did not seem really concerned about whether he got ahead or not.	17	30	6	33
	His family didn't expect him to get anywhere. He was seen as a loser or a black sheep.	6	10	0	6
	His family expected him to get ahead by hustling or in street life.	0	0	0	11
10. (61)	He rebelled against available paternal discipline to join a gang.	0	0^{ns}	33	5^{ns}
	He joined a gang because there was no concerned or influential parent in the home.	11	30	0	11
11. (59)	He rebelled against a loving, protective mother to join a gang.	11	20^{ns}	6	5^{ns}
	He joined a gang because there was no concerned or influential parent in the home.	11	20	0	16
	He rebelled against maternal discipline to join a gang.	0	0	26	5

	MA	MB	BA	BB
12. (51) He remembers that his parents went to church frequently and religious values were important in their home .	76	35***	46	16***
His parents went to church occasionally but religious values were not stressed.	5	20	53	55
His parents didn't go to church or discuss religion. It seemed irrelevant or at least unimportant in their home.	5	25	0	5
13. (37) He remembers his parents as encouraging him to speak good English	58	20***	66	27***
He remembers his parents as having discouraged him from speaking good English	5	5	13	0
His parents seem not to have been concerned with the way he expressed himself.	29	60	20	55
14. (38) His parents encouraged him to speak Spanish and to learn it.	41	20**		
His parents spoke Spanish at home but were unconcerned with the way he spoke it.	23	20		
His parents spoke both Spanish and English at home and were unconcerned about the way he expressed himself.	11	35		
15. (49) He remembers admiring someone in his family who was representative of mainstream values.	76	70ns	60	22***
He remembers admiring someone outside his family who represented mainstream values.	17	15	20	11
He remembers admiring delinquently oriented peers who represented street-life values.	0	10	0	22
He remembers admiring someone in his family who represented street-life values.	0	0	0	0
He remembers admiring people in his neighborhood who were making it without job and who were generally involved in illegal activities.	0	0	13	27

	MA	MB	BA	BB
16. (25) He remembers being alienated from someone in his family who was closely associated with street life.	29	40ns	26	11**
He remembers being alienated from someone outside his family who was closely associated with street life (either peers or adults).	17	20	13	0
He remembers being alienated from someone in his family who was closely associated with mainstream values or conformity.	35	25	0	22
He remembers being alienated from someone outside his family (such as school personnel) who was associated witl. mainstream values.	0	0	20	22
17. (14) Admired hustlers, peers or local street people while growing up.	11	25**	6	55***
Admired someone in the family (or school, etc.) with mainstream values while growing up.	70	75	86	38
18. (31) He remembers having daydreams of being better off by engaging in illegal activities (e.g., hustling) and/or achieving recognition and the rewards of street life.	5	10ns	13	50***
He remembers having daydreams of being better off without thoughts of how this would be achieved.	35	20	60	22
He remembers having daydreams in which he achieved a position which would be recognized in mainstream culture; i.e., an occupation or a position in sports.	47	35	13	5
19. (41) He remembers school as an enjoyable experience in which he had some academic success and was liked by his teachers.	29	15ns	33	16***
He remembers school as a place where he took an interest in sports and had some enjoyable experiences.	41	45	33	11
He liked the friends he made during school but found school unpleasant. He was disliked by some of his teachers.	17	20	13	5
He disliked school and either dropped out or was kicked out.	23	15	6	61

		MA	MB	BA	BB
20.	(13) Got along fairly well with school authorities.	82	75^{ns}	93	50^{***}
	Was a discipline problem, at school.	17	25	6	38
21.	(42) He remembers admiring or liking some one or any of his teachers or coaches.	100	70^{*}	66	33^{***}
	He doesn't remember liking or admiring any of his teachers or coaches.	0	15	26	61
22.	(28) He enjoyed sports for themselves.	35	35^{ns}	60	55^{ns}
	He saw sports as a means for achieving something else, as part of a strategy in life.	29	10	20	0
23.	(27) Sports seem to have played an important part in his life, especially in that he had a good relationship with a coach who encouraged him and helped him stay out of trouble.	47	25^{ns}	20	0^{***}
	Sports seem to have been important to him in that it gave him a feeling of being good at something and some recognition among his peers.	23	15	33	0
	Although he may have enjoyed sports they don't seem to have played an important part in his life.	17	25	26	77
24.	(21) He mentioned gaining some recognition in school, either academically or in sports or in his family by being responsible in some special way.	94	75^{**}	80	44^{***}
	He never has seemed to feel successful in anything he tried.	0	20	6	38

	MA	MB	BA	BB
25. (23) He remembers being very successful among his peers in the streets.	17	65***	40	66***
He remembers not being successful among his peers in the streets.	20	20	0	5
He remembers being able to get along in the streets but doesn't seem to have been very involved in street life.	41	10	53	18
26. (24) He remembers being successful in school among his peers who were not identified with street life.	52	10***	60	33***
He remembers being unsuccessful with peers who were not part of street life.	11	5	0	38
27. (36) He got married early and this seemed to have been a turning point in his life.	5	5***	26	16^{ns}
He got married early but his marriage was either unsuccessful and/or it did not seem to influence his life style.	0	40	20	27
He got married late and this was a turning point.	5	5	13	0
He got married late but this doesn't seem to have been a turning point in his life.	23	5	13	11
28. (35) His current marriage seems satisfactory to him	35	20^{ns}	60	5***
His current marriage seems unsatisfactory to him.	5	25	6	33
He has never been married	58	45	26	38
He has been married but is not married now.	0	5	0	22

			MA	MB	BA	BB
29.	(2)	Feels "settling down," getting married and having a family is likely or inevitable; he accepts that it will mean a basic change in life style away from the streets.	17	30***	100	34***
		Feels he <u>might</u> marry and have children, but will not necessarily be changing his basic way of life. Expects to continue his street-centered way of life.	6	15	0	61
		Has never been seriously involved with street life.	58	15	0	0
30.	(10)	His main concerns, loyalties and identifications are towards the family. He <u>rejects</u> ties to a gang or people in street life.	76	25***	67	16***
		His main concerns, loyalties and identifications are towards a gang or people in street life. He is indifferent towards or alienated from his family.	0	5	0	44
		He has concerns, loyalties and identifications both with his family and street life. He is able to reconcile the two.	11	35	13	33
		He is involved neither with a family nor with a gang or people in street life.	0	5	0	0
		Has been deeply involved in street life but has left it and may now be primarily involved in family life.	6	30	13	0
31.	(1)	He views gang activity and being on the streets as a time-limited stage of life that he will leave at the appropriate moment, in the normal course of events.	11	40***	26	11***
		Street life is seen as life itself.	6	20	13	66
		Has never been on the streets or in a gang in a serious or committed manner.	58	0	60	11
32.	(4)	Leaving the street scene is seen just as part of growing up within the minority community.	11	25^{ns}	67	27***
		Leaving the street scene means leaving the minority community for mainstream life.	11	25	34	61

	MA	MB	BA	BB
33. (9) His attitude is hopeful regarding his being able to get ahead in mainstream life.	100	45***	93	44**
His attitude is pessimistic regarding his being able to get ahead in mainstream life.	0	35	6	5C
Feels he can get ahead only in street life.	0	5	0	0
He has no apparent attitude regarding his being able to get ahead.	0	10	0	5
34. (6) Wants to leave the street scene completely.	6	20**	40	11***
Wants to improve his position in life (by working, getting married) but wants to continue to "signify" his alliance with the values and friends of the street.	22	55	40	61
Does not want to do anything that would jeopardize his close ties with friends on the street.	0	5	0	22
None of these, or doesn't apply.	5℃	10	25	34
35. (3) Has consciously looked for a strategy or "gimmick" to enable him to get out of the street scene -- like going into the army, getting married or going to school.	17	35***	73	11***
Sees (or saw) leaving the street scene strictly as a matter of "breaks" -- of chance. No plan was formulated.	11	20	20	55
Has never resolved or wanted to leave the street scene.	6	15	6	22
36. (8) Has or has had long-range goals towards which he has moved by planning, preparation, work or some kind of consistent effort.	83	55 *	80	5***
Has preferred short-range goals with tangible pleasures or rewards that invol little planning or consistent effort.	11	20	13	77
Does not talk in terms of goals.	0	20	6	16

			MA	MB	BA	BB
37.	(34)	He developed an occupational goal early in life.	64	20 ***	46	5***
		He didn't mention a particular occupational goal.	5	15	33	50
		He developed an occupational goal rather recently.	29	60	20	27
38.	(48)	His current goals include an emphasis on "staying out of trouble," "keeping out of jail" or attaining some stability.	52	65 **	13	61***
		His current goals don't include mention of "staying out of trouble." Rather, they emphasize "getting more" of what he already has.	5	15	73	11
39.	(47)	He has current goals which involve a specific oc-cupational goal and a realistic strategy for attaining it.	88	80ns	53	16***
		He has current goals which include getting a job and a general interest in having a good job but no realistic strategy for attaining a particular occupation.	0	5	20	50
		None of his goals center around an occupation.	11	5	13	33
40.	(55)	Feels about receiving government-sponsored aid (JOBS, CEP, training, etc.) that he (or someone) is getting what is owing or coming to him. Would feel justified in using it not as an opportunity but as a dole.	0	20**	6	22ns
		Feels government-sponsored aid is a break or an opportunity to be used to better his position or get ahead.	52	65	46	38
41.	(33)	Having a job in itself seems to be an important part of his self-concept.	100	70**	86	66ns
		He doesn't seem to feel that having a job is essential to his way of life.	0	15	6	22

	MA	MB	BA	BB
42. (15) Feels he would be better off working at almost <u>anything</u> rather than being on the streets or unemployed.	100	90ns	86	44***
Feels he would only be willing to work under certain conditions.	0	5	6	44
Would be reluctant to leave the streets for most kinds of jobs.	0	5	0	11
43. (22) He first felt some sense of achievement and recognition as a child.	52	30*	26	11ns
He first felt some sense of achievement and recognition in high school.	41	40	46	33
He has just recently first felt a sense of achievement and recognition.	0	0	0	0
He did not mention or imply any feeling of achievement or recognition.	0	0	13	38
44. (32) He hasn't felt either pride or a sense of accomplishment in any of his jobs.	0	15 *	26	50 **
He has felt pride and a sense of accomplishment in at least one of his jobs.	100	75	66	33
45. (53) Appears outwardly as if he likes himself, is a "good" person, feels liked by others, is self-confident, has self-esteem (any or all).	94	65**	86	27***
Appears outwardly as if he feels he is not a "good" person, feels disliked and rejected, doubts himself, has low self-esteem (any or all).	5	30	13	61

	MA	MB	BA	BB
46. (29) His sense of self-esteem seems to come from knowing or in being friendly with some set of people or in belonging to some group.	17	40**	6	77***
His sense of self-esteem seems to come from some achievement, either aducational or occupational.	76	50	73	22
His sense of self-esteem seems to come from his standard of living, his possessions or the amount of money he has earned.				
47. (63) He comes on in a tough manner. It is his (strongly) preferred way of being.	17	15^{ns}	20	22^{ns}
He seems tender or sentimental.	0	0	0	0
He seems comfortable being both tough and tender.	82	80	80	66
48. (39) He talks about hustling as a good means for getting ahead.	0	15^{*}	6	22***
He seems to think that hard work or education are the best means for getting ahead.	100	75	80	27
He doesn't seem concerned about getting ahead.	0	0	0	0
He seems concerned about getting ahead but is somewhat confused about how to do it.	0	10	13	50
49. (56) Feels that when people (including himself) don't make it, it is largely their own fault, that they haven't tried or used all the opportunities available	58	55^{ns}	20	44^{ns}
Feels that when people (including himself) don't make it, society is to blame by not providing opportunity or help.	5	5	46	50
Feels that when people (himself) don't make it, no one is to blame. They just haven't had the right "breaks."	17	30	6	0

			MA	MB	BA	BB
50.	(54)	Feels society is "just." Basically accepts the social order and how it operates.	70	45 ***	33	22 **
		Feels society is "unjust." Feels social order is morally wrong.	23	10	46	76
		Appears not to make (or not to have strong feelings about) any moral evaluation of society. Does not think in these terms.	5	40	20	5
51.	(40)	He blames failures in his life on bad breaks, luck, chance, fate.	11	35***	13	50***
		He blames himself for not taking advantage of opportunities for fulfilling his potential.	41	15	46	22
		He blames his failures on the present social and political system which handicaps him because of his race.	17	40	20	5
52.	(45)	He feels that he is more successful than his peers.	52	0***	46	5***
		He feels that he has been as successful as his peers.	41	55	40	44
		He feels that he is less successful than his peers.	5	15	13	50
53.	(50)	He feels completely at home among his peers in the ghetto.	47	70**	66	88 **
		He feels at home in the ghetto but has an interest in moving out.	23	10	20	5
		He has moved out of the ghetto community or is trying to do so and feels uninterested in remaining in the ghetto community.	11	5	13	0
		He has moved out of the ghetto community and feels somewhat uncomfortable when he returns to visit.	0	0	6	0

	MA	MB	BA	BB
54. (46) He feels that he is more successful than his family.	47	20***	33	11***
He feels that he has been as successful as his family.	41	25	66	38
He feels that he is less successful than his family.	5	45	0	33
55. (52) He seems to have come from a family in which most of the kids are doing well and he feels that he is doing well himself.	64	20***	60	5***
He seems to come from a family in which everyone else or most of the family is doing well but he feels as if he isn't making it.	5	40	0	27
He seems to come from a family in which everyone or most of them are not making it but he feels that he is doing well.	7	10	33	5
He seems to come from a family in which nearly everyone is in and out of trouble and he feels that he is having great difficulty as well.	0	10	0	55
56. (18) He seems to take great pride in his ethnic identity but this seems to be rather recently acquired.	41	15 ***	26	50**
He seems to have taken pride in his ethnic identify for some time. It may even have been stressed in his parents' home.	29	15	53	33
He seems relatively uninterested in his ethnic identity.	23	55	20	16
He seems to feel that his ethnic identity is a source of shame or a burden which only affects him adversely.				

		MA	MB	BA	BB
57. (19)	He talks about Blacks or Chicanos getting together and working towards changing things and he seems to be taking an active part in this kind of endeavor.	47	5***	20	5*
	He talks about a concern for Blacks or Chicanos getting together but he doesn't seem to be active in any organizations, nor does he talk about any strategy for effecting change.	17	20	53	77
	He doesn't seem to be concerned with Black or Chicano movements but seems more concerned with getting ahead as an individual.	23	65	20	16
58. (43)	He has had much trouble with the law, both as an adult and as a juvenile.	11	40**	13	44***
	He had trouble with the law as a juvenile but as an adult he has had minimal trouble or none at all.	11	10	40	33
	He never had trouble with the law.	35	15	46	5
	He has had trouble with the law but only as an adult.	35	30	0	0
59. (44)	His legal record is seen as a factor which deters him from getting or keeping a job.	11	35***	13	55***
	His legal record isn't seen as interfering with either getting or holding a job.	41	50	53	38
	He hasn't any legal record.	41	15	26	5
60. (20)	He mentioned religion as something important to him now. He talked about either attending church or religious values as currently relevant.	29	25 *	40	33*
	He talked about religion as irrelevant or unimportant to him.	29	10	26	55
	He didn't mention religion at all.	17	30	26	11

		MA	MB	BA	BB
61. (5)	Going into the service is seen as proving oneself as a man.	22	15^{ns}	0	5^{ns}
	Going into the service is seen as a strategy to get out of street life (and closer to the mainstream).	22	20	25	27
	Going into the service is involuntary or by chance and is seen as having no long-term significance.	17	10	34	34