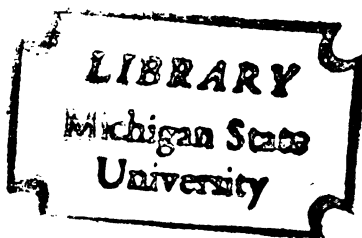






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CASE STUDY OF THIRTY MATRICULATING
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SCHOOL GRADUATES IN A RURAL SOUTHERN
COMMUNITY: A HYPOTHESIS GENERATING STUDY

presented by

PERRY W. BROWN

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PH.D. degree in Administration &
Higher Education

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By

Perry W. Brown

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Department of Administration
and Higher Education

1980

CASE STUDY OF THIRTY MATRICULATING
AND NON-MATRICULATING BLACK MALE HIGH
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Some Black southern secondary students in rural areas seem to develop low expectations for themselves early in their careers. It also appears that attitudes develop that prevent continuing their education beyond high school. For those students who choose not to continue their training beyond high school, one of three patterns seems to develop: (1) out-migration to a large city (usually northern) where relatives are located and the search for employment begins, (2) immediate entry into one of the Armed Forces, or (3) remaining in the rural community and accepting any type of employment that may be available. In none of the instances of out-migration, entry into the Armed Forces, or remaining in the community does this high school graduate make a decision to continue on to higher education. The graduate who makes the decision to continue on to higher education, sometimes in the face of apparently insurmountable odds, seems to have no geographical limitations, that are self-imposed, on where he will go to receive that training or

Perry W. Brown

what the training will be. This study compared social impact variables affecting ten successful matriculating Black students, ten unsuccessful matriculating Black students, and ten non-matriculating Black students in a rural-based southern community. The case study analysis focused on variables that were most likely to affect social attitude development with implications for self-concept formation. Cooperation of subjects was secured through promising complete anonymity. Data was collected through participant-observation interviews, and review of public records. Names were disguised by using alphabetical designations. The residences of all participants were listed as "University Estates", a fictitious area of County Seat.

Those variables that seem to warrant larger scale demographic attitudinal studies under more controlled conditions were: parenting, positive reinforcement from teachers, school progress, extracurricular involvement, and involved-others. The data seem to indicate that there is a close relationship between these variables and the ultimate post-secondary achievement of these students.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to W.P.and Emily Brown, parents of the author, who have provided over five decades of parental support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Much more than ordinary gratitude is due Dr. Max R. Raines for his patient and valuable guidance during this project. His guidance and support are gratefully acknowledged. The author also wishes to express thanks to Dr. William Hinds for his timely suggestions, particularly on some of the structural aspects of this study. Finally, thanks to my wife, Addie, and children, Perry and Kimberly who have sacrificed much to permit completion of this study.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Prior to 1948, Blacks in the rural southern area studied, received their education in schools that were segregated from elementary grades through college. Segregated institutions existed as a matter of law. There was one state supported institution of higher education for Blacks in the state, but no facility for graduate education. There was, however, a procedure for the state to pay the difference between state tuition rates and tuition at institutions that accepted Blacks at the graduate level in other states. For example, a graduate of the state-supported college for Blacks could receive state assistance to attend a graduate school outside the state (Syracuse, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan come to mind most readily) while being denied admission to graduate schools in the state.

Black institutions, elementary, secondary and higher education received what can best be described as the very short end of the stick. The lone state supported institution of higher education for Blacks received considerably less in appropriations than any white institution. Not all counties had elementary or secondary schools. Students in

the county studied, for example, came from two adjacent counties as well. Some students who attended the all Black high school came from as far as fifty miles away. At the school in County Seat, the focus of this study, inequality in equipment and facilities was a standard condition. The school for Blacks housed both elementary and secondary students from 1934, when it was erected, until 1950 when an elementary school was built to thus allow the physical separation of elementary and secondary Black students.

Subsequent to the Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education decision in 1954, facilities improved at a rapid pace until 1965, at which time the all Black high school was discontinued. All students attending this school were enrolled in the white high school. All of the Black teachers were fired.

After some court litigation, one Black teacher was rehired. As a result of this same litigation, all of the Black elementary teachers were retained when the elementary school was discontinued. As they quit, died or retired, however, no other Blacks were hired to replace them.

Salaried personnel hired by the local school board execute its policies and make the school system function. Board policy seems to be to hire local personnel whenever possible. Three-fourths of the salaried personnel, from

the superintendent to the most recently hired teacher, were born, reared and educated through high school in County Seat. After they completed County Seat high school, they went to state universities for their professional training and then received appointments in the local system. As of 1978, only six Blacks out of one hundred sixteen professional staff were employed in the County Seat schools.

The high school is accredited by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Instruction is offered at four levels ranging from accelerated courses down to Special Education. Advanced classes are ostensibly designed to stimulate the minds of excellent students and to provide a wider and deeper knowledge of the course work involved. General Level classes are designed for students who are deemed average to excellent. Remedial Level classes are designed for students who are weak or deficient in some area. The material taught is different from the General Level and is designed to prepare these students for entry at the General Level. This work is accepted by state colleges, but is not in any sense college preparatory. Theoretically, grouping is voluntary and may occur in any basic subject. In reality, however, it is difficult to envision a student who has been fed a steady diet of newspapers in English classes and basic arithmetic in mathematics suddenly making a voluntary transition to literature and

algebra.

Grouping occurs in the junior high school and apparently in all of the elementary schools in the district. While labels are not officially applied at the elementary level, at least seventy-five percent of the students in the senior high school for the years 1975 through 1978 had been classmates since the first grade.

County Seat is a town of approximately 8,000 population. The surrounding county also has a population of about 8,000; thus, the population of the entire county, including County Seat is approximately 16,000. Located in a rural southern area, County Seat is a town of multiple industries which include textile mills, automobile parts remanufacturing, plastic products and paper products.

A terminal training facility for practical nursing, automobile mechanics, welding, machine shop operations, office practices, printing, diesel and heavy equipment operation and other vocations is located in the town. There are three elementary schools (including one labeled experimental), one junior high school and one high school in County Seat. County Seat is located within fifty miles of a major air terminal, and hard surfaced roads provide access from all areas of the county regardless of the time of year.

There is a color line in the industries of County Seat as well as in the schools and other institutions, the

Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and subsequent acts notwithstanding. In the majority of industries employing Blacks and whites, Black workers are generally restricted to unskilled or menial tasks, while whites fill the more responsible positions requiring skill and education. For example, in the textile industry where Blacks are employed as laborers, whites are employed as shop mechanics and engineers, and in clerical and supervisory positions. In such institutions as banks, newspapers, telephone companies and radio stations, Blacks are not employed at all except on a token basis. In the public schools, there are no Blacks in supervisory positions.

Employers will, of course, give numerous reasons for not employing Blacks or restricting them to menial jobs. Their reasons are, however, simply rationalizations which are more or less familiar to those acquainted with racism in employment.

The Black church is an institution which the Black community has made its own. It reflects in its ideologies and practices as well as in its organization and leadership whatever is unique and peculiar to the Black experience and outlook on life. Therefore, in seeking to discover the attitudes of Black youth toward higher education, one cannot neglect to study the influence of the church. The majority of Black families in County Seat are affiliated with the

Baptist and Methodist churches. These churches attempt to perpetuate in their services those features which have been traditionally associated with Black religion.

In County Seat a Black child acquires a certain status at birth. The community decrees through legal regulations and custom that he be labeled in birth records as legitimate or illegitimate. A child's reaction to being labeled and his attitudes toward himself, are not automatically determined but vary according to the personal experiences of the individual. At what age he will become aware of his status and how he will be affected are determined in part by the manner in which the attitudes of others are transmitted to the child. The definitions of his status, made in subtle and not so subtle ways by his neighborhood playmates, by his school and church, and by television and the local newspapers are all an important part of the process through which a Black child learns to know himself in relation to the opportunities and limitations of his social world. For the years 1977 and 1978 a Black child born in County Seat had one chance in seven of being illegitimate. Further, of the illegitimate children born, he had three chances in four of being born to a mother aged less than sixteen years. When this happens, the girl is not "disgraced." Her friends may gossip about her and her parent(s), if religious, will grieve over their daughter's sin; but she will hardly lose her friends and will probably

continue her activities in any organizations to which she belongs. There appear to be no sanctions directed toward the male partner in this birth situation. This society appears not only to tolerate illegitimacy, but almost seems indifferent to it.

Law enforcement in County Seat can best be described as ambivalent. A great amount of lip service is given to the need for control of drugs (usually meaning marijuana). However, alcohol appears to be readily available to anyone who has the money. This researcher cannot comment on the availability of marijuana. The young men at the Community Center rarely discussed it and only once during the study did this researcher observe the smoking of what he assumed to be marijuana. The drinking of beer and other alcoholic beverages, however, occurred rather frequently.

The Statement of the Problem

Some Black secondary students in southern rural areas seem to develop low expectations for themselves early in their careers that prevent the continuance of their education beyond high school. For those students who choose not to continue their training beyond high school, one of three patterns seems to develop:

1. Out-migration to a large city (usually northern) where relatives are located and they search for employment;

2. Immediate entry into one of the armed forces; or
3. Remain in the rural community and accept whatever types of employment that may be available.

The graduate who makes the decision to continue on to higher education, sometimes in the face of apparently insurmountable odds, seems to have no limitations on where he will go, or what that higher education will be.

In this southern rural society the Black male student has had to contend with his "invisibleness." He is invisible, in other than athletics, in the sense that one of Ralph Ellison's characters considered himself invisible:

I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allen Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids--and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus shows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination--indeed, everything and anything except me.

(Ellison, 1952, p.3)

From a school system where they are "invisible" to a work force where they are "the last hired and first fired" is the experience of most of the young Blacks graduating from County Seat High School. Blacks' attitudes toward their fate are often voiced by some of these young men:

"Maybe if I went into the army I could do like Mr. R. He spent twenty years and was wounded only once. Look at him now; an income for the rest of his life." This point of view was prevalent in the 1950s and is still prevalent among Blacks. Certain respected and responsible social scientists also point to the Armed Forces as the only place where Black men can feel fully free and equal to whites.

Accompanying this outlook is the very real problem of employment or unemployment; as individuals these youths face intense status struggles within the Black community involving economic, personal and social insecurity. All of these conditions make a wholesome integration of personality and the social world difficult. The external behavior of these Black youths is directly related to the internal fears, worries, anxieties, and feelings of inadequacy and frustration expressed in the individual cases cited in Chapter IV.

Black youths in County Seat have been limited in their contacts and access to the outside world (radio and television notwithstanding). In most instances they do not know of any major contributions by Blacks or know any prominent Blacks of whom they can be proud in a sense comparable to the knowledge available to white youth. Many Black youths do not believe that Blacks can be bankers, pharmacists, skilled mechanics, printers, radio broadcasters and newspapermen because they have neither seen or heard of

a Black in these roles. A great deal of pride has been taken in Black athletes. It is not coincidental that more than 66 percent of the young men cited in this study were (are) athletes.

Purpose of the Study

It was the purpose of this study to compare social impact variables affecting ten successful matriculating Black students, ten unsuccessful matriculating Black students, and ten non-matriculating Black students in a rural-based southern community. The case study analysis focuses on variables that are most likely to affect social attitude development with implications for self-concept formation.

Research Questions

1. What are those elements that are common to matriculating successful students?
2. What are those elements that are common to matriculating unsuccessful students?
3. What are those elements that are common to non-matriculating students?

Procedures

Ten successful matriculating students, ten unsuccessful matriculating students and ten non-matriculating students

were selected from a population of 63 Black male graduates of County Seat High School for the school years 1975 through 1978. These cases were selected on the basis of their use of the community center as a place for socializing. In order to secure the participation of these young men and their families, complete anonymity was promised. Names and locations of homes were disguised so that they would be unrecognizable. The names of families and subjects were given alphabetical designations and all home locations were designated as "University Estates," a fictitious area of County Seat. Background information that was a matter of public record was secured in each case. Educational level of parents was obtained from school records where possible. Community activities were monitored through personal observation. Included as appendices are Subject Questionnaire, Family Questionnaire, Visibility Rating Scale, and Individual Case Outline. The case history for each subject is listed in the Appendix.

Underlying Assumptions

1. The responses of the subjects in this study accurately reflect their perceptions of their environments.
2. The population of County Seat will increase and, by implication, elementary and secondary school populations will increase.
3. The increase in elementary and secondary

school populations will expand the pool of prospective students for higher education.

4. The achievements, or lack of same, by the subjects in this study are due largely to environmental rather than genetic influences.
5. The rural area studied is not unique or substantially different from other southern rural areas with similar percentages of Black people.

Delimitations

No attempt was made to interview or study any subject who did not frequent the community center. Potential subjects for this study were eliminated when records revealed any indication of organic brain damage. Written questionnaires were avoided, as this observer felt that for a number of the non-matriculating or unsuccessful matriculating students this would constitute a threat and thus be counter-productive. For this same reason no formal questions were administered to the parents. No notes were taken in the presence of the subjects; they were instead reproduced from memory after the interview. Those who entered County Seat High School from other areas were not studied.

Limitations

It was necessary to forego randomness of sample due to the fact that the young men frequenting the community

center were the only subjects to which this researcher had access. It is felt, however, that this is acceptable because at least one-fourth of the population is included in this study.

The exact phrasing of conversations could not be reproduced. While the sense of what was said is accurate, some of the author's phrasing has inevitably crept in. The author may have placed emphasis in recording where the speaker did not intend it. He also may have seen things in the data which may not be as clear to the reader.

He was aware of these biases and attempted to neutralize their influence through immediate note-taking after the interview. His biases were compensated for by the fact that persons interviewed were able to speak freely and frankly in the absence of note taking or cassette recording.

Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the terms below will be defined as follows:

Invisible: This definition of invisible comes from The Invisible Man by Ralph Ellison, previously quoted on page 8 of this study.

Higher Education: Training, either at a college or vocational-technical school, which occurs after high school graduation, and requires a commitment, in terms of

time, of at least six months.

Successful Matriculating Student: One who enrolls in a program of higher education and accomplishes or is actively pursuing his educational objective.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Student: One who enrolls in a program of higher education and drops out, without choosing an alternative, before completion of training.

Non-matriculating Student: One who enters the job market or one of the armed forces upon graduation from high school. The non-matriculating student makes no attempt to enroll in a program of higher education.

Involved~~Other~~: Someone who provides continual unconditional support and acceptance of another. An emotional security blanket.

Parenting: Those functions associated with being a parent; i.e. being married to provide societal legitimacy for the child, attending parent-teacher conferences, watching one's child develop, etc.

Legitimate: Legally married parents of student.

Educationally Supportive: Parents support student by attending conferences with teachers, supporting parent-teacher organizations, and attending functions in which student is a participant. Parental support may be classified at three levels:

High: Had at least two conferences with teachers each year, belonged to parent-teacher organizations, and attended functions in which student was a participant.

Moderate: Had one conference with teachers and attended 50% of functions in which student was a participant.

Low: Attended athletic events only.

Positive Reinforcement from Teachers: Expressions of approval for work performed and of student as a person. Quantitative levels are as follows:

Considerable: One or two times per week

Some: One or two times within a two month period

Little or None: Less than three times per school year

School Progress: The rate and quality of progress in the particular curriculum where the student is placed; designated as follows:

Favorable: 2.5 or better on a 4.0 scale

Undistinguished: 2.0 to 2.4 on a 4.0 scale

Unfavorable: Less than 2.0 on a 4.0 scale

Extra Curricular Involvement: Involvement in activities outside the classroom for which no credit is given; may be classified as follows:

High: Participated in two or more activities, other than athletics.

Moderate: Participated in athletics only.

Low: Participated in no extra curricular activities.

Sociocultural Visibility: The degree to which a given student is recognized in school and in the community.

High: Recognized by at least eight or ten people.

Moderate: Recognized by six to seven of ten people.

Low: Recognized by less than six of ten people.

Sociocultural Conformity: Predictability of a student's pursuing or not pursuing higher education and succeeding.

High: Predicted by most of school and community.

Moderate: Predicted by fifty percent of school and community.

Low: Predicted by less than fifteen percent

of school and community.

Church Relationships: Amount of participation in church activities:

Strong: Participated in all church activities

Moderate: Participated in some church activities.

Limited: Participated in few church activities.

Resistive: Avoided most church activities.

Family Socioeconomic Position in the Black Community

Above Average: Home is family owned; head of household has steady employment.

Average: Head of household has steady employment.

Below Average: Family is one parent. Employment is not steady for head of house.

Emotional Trauma: An incident or series of incidents which result in unfavorable stress.

Considerable: Two or more incidents.

Some: One or more incidents.

Little or None: No recorded incidents and none reported.

Significance of this Study

Census data for the past several years has indicated an almost continual downward trend for birth rates in the United States. Consequently, school enrollments have been and will continue declining for the foreseeable future. Logically then, it follows that enrollments in higher education will also decline. One has only to read any professional journal or newspaper to see that this population contraction is having a profound effect on elementary, secondary and higher education.

Added to these phenomena are the developments in the economic sphere along with shifts in population densities from urban to rural settings. While only one new industry has located in County Seat in the past four years, the existing industries have undergone a significant increase in employees (technically trained) and industrial output. At least two shopping centers have been built and four new housing developments are underway.

The unsuccessful matriculating students and the non-matriculating students seem to present an untapped source of students for higher educational institutions, and an unrealized potential resource for society.

Change has been a characteristic of this country and it is evident that adaptations to that change should be aided by higher education. Post secondary education or higher

education is becoming mandatory, not elective, in our society. Those who fail or fall through the cracks in the system represent a human resource that society can ill afford to discard much longer.

Most will agree that self-image is shaped by others and how information is interpreted are important elements of a person's own self-concept. Self-worth becomes a key factor in developing self-image:

Educators, particularly counselors, must be very careful in the assessment of their students' needs. The self-image of the student must be understood to provide the appropriate aid and guidance. If the self-image is positive, it must be affirmed, but if the self-image is negative, the counselor must establish a supportive relationship that will enhance the student's self-worth and chance for success. (Allsup, 1979, p.145)

While Allsup was referring primarily to Mexican-Americans and their relationship to American history, his words are appropriate for other minorities. Of particular important is his reference to the lack of role models for Latin children:

For Latin children, this state of affairs is most disturbing. Although white children have a plethora of heroes and role models, a Latin historical figure is usually an outlaw or a sleepy-eyed farmer. Where white children learn their superior culture attributes from birth and receive affirmation in their schooling, Latin children must develop their sense of self-worth from their own

culture. A severe conflict can develop when that developed perception is challenged by their education experience.

(Allsup, 1979, p.146)

The elements of our society which are related to the development of self-image, then, are important in the achievement, or lack thereof, of Black students. It becomes important to attempt to tease out and isolate those elements which are in an attempt to reverse or at least halt, the negative views of self that so many Black youths receive. The development of positive views of self bears a strong relationship to achievement.

There has been regression in percentage of Black successes in higher education from this community. The attrition rate, comprising those who return to the community before completing a course, is about 60 percent. Very few return for financial reasons. Some, for no apparent reason, with failure apparently succeed and others fail. This study hopefully will illuminate some possible hypotheses explaining these phenomena.

Overview of Succeeding Chapters

Chapter II consists of a theoretical overview of attitude development, based primarily on a discussion of the development of self-concept, roles, and environmental influences, and a review of the literature and related research

on attitudinal development in rural youths. Chapter III will provide details of the procedures used in this study. Chapter IV is comprised of the findings of this study and conclusions and recommendations will be presented in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II

VALUE-ATTITUDE FUNCTION

Human nature and personality are to a great extent the product of participation in social groups. Through relationships with others, individuals acquire the ideas, habits, and attitudes that comprise the core of personality. According to Mead (1934) the key to internalization of the attitudes of others is to be found in language. When children learn to talk, parents can make comprehensible their definitions of various situations. In talking about a particular act, they reflect the response which the act elicits in them. By describing acts and objects they can often apprise us of attitudes toward situations which we have not yet experienced. For instance, the use of language weighed with negative connotations toward other racial and ethnic groups can develop strong prejudices in us and prepare us to act in a negative manner toward members of such groups. In the same manner, parents can exert influence on attitudes toward such distant events as choice of career and mate.

The ability to use language is a basic condition for internalization of the attitudes of others, and some attitudes are developed simply through conversation with parents.

Systematic and organized internalization also occurs through the acting out, overtly and in fantasy, the behavior of others. Children in play frequently take the part of mother, father, brother or sister, mailman, grocer and others with whom they come in contact (i.e., they talk and act the way they have seen these people talk and act). In doing so they set into motion two processes of personality formation. First, they call out in themselves through this symbolic and overt play the attitudes of others. Second, they respond to those attitudes of others which have been directed toward them and in doing so fuse their own tendencies to act as others act. As a result children become self-conscious through taking on the attitudes of others toward themselves and building up an organized set of responses to the attitudes of others.

In the beginning of the process of internalization, the attitudes taken over are still identified with the person from whom they were adopted, and the self which is developed in relation to them is a self related to that person. Thus, we build a series of selves, each one related to another person with whom we interact.

Individuals participate, however, in social groups whose members' attitudes are reciprocally related and serve as a basis for cooperative behavior within the group. Mead points out that the clearest illustration of such participation

is the organized team game. Here the principles of playing together (i.e., the objectification of the system of shared attitudes, defines the activities of each member of the team, and each person must hold in his mind the attitudes of each of the others as they relate to all the other members and to him. Since all the members do the same, the result is an organization of their attitudes and actions into the unified whole which constitutes team play.

The same organized system of attitudes is to be found in the family, except that not all its aspects are discernible to us as children. Nonetheless, we are able to fuse the major aspects of the attitudes of the other members of the family into a unified whole and to develop our own attitudes and responses in relation to this generalized configuration. In this process many internalized attitudes become so deeply ingrained in personality that it is forgotten they are the attitudes of others; hence, they become our own. Instead of reflecting what others expect of us, we now expect the appropriate behavior of ourselves. Additionally, responses to these internalized expectations of others may become so habitual that we act in many situations without identifying in ourselves the attitudes of others. In other situations, however, particularly when our own responses are not firmly fixed or when the situation possesses some new aspects, our actions will continue to be self-conscious in

that we will call out in ourselves the attitude of others to define the situation and our own place in it before we act.

Thomas (1923) held that: (1) Action flows from the meaning which the individual attaches to the situation; (2) these meanings-definitions of the situation are determined by attitudes formed on the basis of past experience and related to the situation in which we find ourselves; and (3) although we are psychologically capable, as children, of forming our own definitions, we are born into groups which have already defined most general situations and developed appropriate rules of action, so that we adopt these rather than form our own spontaneous assessments.

In the first stage of socialization we learn to manage the tensions set up by the drives of our original nature and in so doing, we are forced to accept, without any possible chance of real resistance because of our helplessness, the group's definition of the situation. In other words, we learn to adapt our activity to that of adults. We do this by eliminating actions which either do not bring results or bring painful ones, and by fixing attitudes in our personality which result in the repetition of actions producing pleasurable feelings. These attitudes issue into action when the appropriate stimulus presents itself (e.g., when our parent is ready to feed us and picks us up, we respond with sucking

and other movements required for eating). The attitudes and habits so developed are linked with our internal drives and overtly express themselves in the content and pattern of our actions.

The satisfactions accruing from tender handling by mother in these dependent relationships, together with the frustrations of drives sometimes involved in the formation of socially determined habits, such as those which result from toilet training, produce general drives and attitudes of affection and aggression. These drives and attitudes will be culturally patterned to focus upon various persons in the social world. The affectional attitudes will usually be directed toward parents and other members of the family, and aggressive attitudes toward outsiders. As persons internalize the attitudes of others, they become socialized. In applying this criterion to others we find that most of them have been socialized. We are all familiar, however, with some people whose behavior departs from what we consider normal, whose goals and aspirations are in conflict with what is considered legitimate, and who seem unable to participate in the ordinary affairs of social life and thus are labeled deviant.

A closer look discloses that some deviants are members of social groups whose cultural patterns conflict with those of the larger community. If they are able to function

effectively as members of such groups, they must be considered organized personalities, even though their behavior deviates widely from what the larger community deems normal.

Other individuals, however, are unable to participate effectively in any social group. This failure may manifest itself in psychic conflict, withdrawal from the real world, and in over-conforming or deviant behavior. Such people are examples of personality disorganization. There are several types of recurring phenomena which lead to considerable conflict within the personality and often to personality disorganization. Of these phenomena, three appear to be most important and are mentioned most often in the literature. The first, and perhaps the most frequent, is an attempt on the part of a person to play simultaneously or sequentially incompatible social roles. When we are forced to play simultaneous conflicting roles, we face an impossibility. Under such circumstances failure to act arouses the censure of everyone, including ourselves, and yet acting involves the violation of at least one set of expectations concerning our behavior which we and the others hold. Imagine for a moment the situation of a child whose parents are in conflict. It is likely that each parent will expect the child's undivided affection, respect and admiration. Most family identification is broken into two roles, one played in relation to the mother, and the other in relation to the father. The two roles are incompatible and

the child is torn between two sets of requirements. It is not surprising that it is to such conflicts that personality disorders can frequently be traced.

A second source of personality strain arises when behavior performed according to a social role does not earn the reward promised by that role. Having been taught that hard work and honesty will always result in steady employment, workers experience considerable shock when handed a pink slip because the shop is shutting down. Current social disorganization resulting from mass unemployment attest to the effects of this experience on numbers of workers in an area. Similarly, personality disorganization is frequently found when people, taught to value certain rewards, are unable to carry out the approved behavior patterns which lead to the attainment of these rewards. Thus, many people, possibly because of lack of ability or membership in a group discriminated against by society, are unable to compete successfully for economic rewards in our society.

A third source of personality disorganization is the frustration which occurs when correct role behavior is not met by appropriate reciprocal actions on the part of others. This cause of personality disorganization is obviously related to the second since the achieving of goals is usually dependent on the predictable cooperation of other members of the group. There is the additional shock, however, of having

people behave in an unexpected manner. Everyone is occasionally subjected to such reaction from others, but when the process repeats itself, again and again, personality disorganization is an almost certain result. Personal security is largely rooted in the familiar behavior of others toward ourselves, and the removal of such predictability turns us loose in an unpredictable world.

Arnold Green (1964) makes an acute analysis of the factors causing neurosis in members of middle class American families. All of the conditions tending to produce personality disorders are present to a greater or lesser degree in the social group being studied. The father, mother, and child are each required to play contradictory social roles. Men, in the social role of fathers, are expected to love and cherish their children, and to spend a considerable amount of time, effort, and money in carrying out obligations to children. Yet in their role as businessmen seeking success and status, they must view children as a direct impediment to their ambitions. Hence, they are torn by ambivalent attitudes and in extreme cases may develop a neurosis on the basis of this ambivalence. The mother is no better off according to Green's portrait, for modern culture, in defining the role of women, has tended to devalue those activities she is expected to carry out as housewife and mother. Finally, a child is expected to become an aggressive, independent, competitive personality, and yet submit to the

necessity of acquiescing to the authority of parents.

The strain of being unable to achieve goals through appropriate behavior and the insecurity generated by the unpredictable responses of others are both present in the relations of the child with his parents. He is taught to value and desire the love of his parents and to expect it as a predictable response from them. Nevertheless, he finds that love is frequently withdrawn either as a form of punishment or, what is more bewildering, for no apparent reason at all.

Karen Horney deals with neurosis in the middle class from the perspective of the cultural analyst. Her emphasis is on the content of roles as causal factors, rather than on contradictory or unintegrated relations between roles. In so doing she places competition at the center of her analysis, believing that practically all social roles in American life involve competitive activities individuals develop attitudes of hostility toward others and, in turn, are regarded with animosity. These perpetual feelings of hostility and the anticipation of failure, which is also engendered by competition, create strong fears and lead to shaky self-esteem, a sense of isolation, and desperate need for affection. These personality characteristics are present in all "normal" members of society and, when heightened, they produce neurosis and psychosis.

There are similarities between the perspectives of Green and Horney. Horney recognizes the significance of cultural contradictions when she speaks of the contrast between competition and the Christian ethic of brotherly love. Her emphasis on the fear and consequences of failure may be tied in with goal frustration. She takes the position, along with other cultural analysts such as Erick Fromm, that the content of the culture (as well as its organization) is a significant causal factor. They hold, therefore, that a culture involving social roles which make it impossible to satisfy basic love, friendship, accomplishment and security needs will produce more disorganized personalities than culture with roles that satisfy such needs.

Accordingly, it may be said that personality disorganization is most likely to occur in societies and groups where persons typically play contradictory social roles, are confronted with frequent failures and are subjected to consistently unpredictable reactions from others. There may be a greater tendency to personal disorganization where the content of the social roles makes it difficult to satisfy the needs for affection, security, confidence and friendship. Horney states that:

the person who is likely to become neurotic is one who has experienced these culturally determined difficulties in an accentuated form, mostly through the medium of childhood experiences, and who has consequently been unable to solve them, or has solved them

only at great cost to his personality.
We might call him a stepchild of our
culture.

A logical extension of this observation could lead to the conclusion that a large number of Black youths fit the description of a stepchild in our culture.

Wilson (1979) compared the differences found in racially separated settings to those generated by social class separations within the population. In his view, separation may be accomplished through geographical separation--segregation; but also in a more subtle fashion via social separation--one form of which is class separation. He utilized a national longitudinal sample of Black and white male youths to assess how educational attainment differed for Blacks in segregated and integrated schools. He determined that attainment improves substantially for Blacks in integrated schools, thus adding yet another argument in Black education. He concluded there is a class split within the Black population which exists independently of integration or segregation, and that this split has ill effects for lower class Black educational attainment.

Stratification theories of one kind or another have been with us since time immemorial. Aristotle envisaged three classes: one very rich, another very poor and a third in the middle. Implicit in his theory is the idea that a person's relationship to others, as well as his access to

whatever life has to offer, is very much involved with his socio-economic position.

Karl Marx found the struggle between competing social and economic classes a central feature of society and a dominant source of change. His view was that social classes develop on the basis of the different roles which individuals fulfill in the productive scheme of a society. The key concepts for Marx were the modes of production--agricultural and industry primarily--and the major levels of status in the economic situation; tenant and slave in agriculture and owner and worker in industry. The thread running through Marx's work is that one's status determines how much of the world's goods one receives. One need not be aware that he is part of a given class; the results are the same. Control over property is a basic factor in the determination of the life-chances of an individual or class.

Weber apparently agreed with Marx on the significance of the economic aspects of stratification:

For all practical purposes, stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities, in a manner we have come to know as typical. Besides the specific status honor, which always rests upon distance and exclusiveness, we find all sorts of material monopolies. Such honorific preferences may consist of the privilege of wearing special costumes, of eating special dishes taboo to others, of carrying arms--which is most obvious in its consequences--the right to pursue certain non-professional dilettante artistic

practices, e. g., to play certain musical instruments . . . with an increased closure of the status group, the conventional preferential opportunities for special offices for the members. Certain goals become objects of monopolization by status groups.

(Weber, 1946)

Class status for Weber was defined in terms of probability of possession of goods and certain external conditions of the life of an individual or group. His definitions of class was any group of persons occupying the same class status. There was a property class, an acquisition class and a social class. In the property class, status is based primarily on property holdings; in the acquisition class status is mainly determined by members opportunity to acquire services. The social class seems to be a combination of the property and acquisition classes.

An extensive study of stratification has been done by Warner (1949) in developing his Standard Index of Status Characteristics, which is based on such criteria as education, residence, income and family background. Warner believed that Americans use these characteristics to estimate each other's social worthiness and to guide themselves in choosing their friends and those with whom they will permit their children to play. He emphasized honor or status groups and attempted to understand American communities in terms of the ways in which various segments associate with each other, primarily on the basis of real or assumed social standing.

Based on the belief that classes are formed on these estimates of prestige, Warner determined the existence of a six level class structure in the United States. He referred to the upper-upper and the lower-upper classes, the upper-middle and the lower-middle class, and the upper-lower and the lower-lower classes. Occupation, which was one of the four measures in the Index of Status Characteristics, is found to be the measure most highly correlated with class position.

Mills (1951) argues that power is the key concept in social relations, and that effective power derives from advantageous economic position. According to Mills, the economic elite joins with the military elite to form a power elite that views itself as a privileged group, whose interests are superior to and distinct from those not of the elite. American social, economic and political policy tends to reflect the joint decisions of these elites.

Kerr (1960) and his associates believe we are proceeding from a class-oriented to a special interest group or occupationally oriented society. He seems to feel that we will soon approach a condition where our major concern will be the improvement of occupational status in terms of income, prestige and specifications of the rights and duties that accompany a given occupation. Thus, it appears that the prerequisites of socioeconomic status will continue to be with us for some time.

Moore (1963) asserts that status mobility, the changes between generations or within occupational careers, is both a functional necessity for an expanding economy and an important incentive for those involved. He feels that this contrasts with both the realistic expectations and norms of most non-industrial economies. He also takes the position that industrialization provides a new set of social positions and new criteria of social placement and evaluation. It must, at a minimum, result in complication of the systems of stratification.

More commonly, it gives rise to competing systems of stratification, since its criteria of placement and valuation contrast sharply with traditional modes of assigning status, power and prestige.

This appears to be an extension of the position taken by Moore and Davis in an earlier work (1945). In this work they take the position that some system of stratification is necessary to get certain jobs performed. Not all jobs are equally important or pleasant, human abilities are far from being equal, thus the rights and perquisites which are distributed in a society must be unequal. This necessitates stratification and, according to Davis and Moore, is "precisely what stratification means." They proceed to show the major societal functions in relation to stratification, the various systems of stratification, and the external conditions responsible for varying degrees and kinds of stratification.

Frazier (1940) postulated that matters of intimacy, affection and feelings of security, as well as the general culture of the family, had particular importance in the development of Negro children even though these factors are not particularly racial in character.

Mead (1977) states there is a reciprocal process in an extended family; a process which positively affects the development of a concept of self-worth in the child.

One of my grandmothers, who always lived with us, was the center of our household. Her room was the place we immediately went when we came home from school. We did our lessons on the cherry-wood table with which she had started housekeeping. Later, it was my dining room table for 25 years. (p. 30)

E. J. Moore, et al (1964) surveyed 756,000 farm families in 30 states with children, aged 15 through 21 years of age to examine the quality and quantity of economic resources available to farm youth for post high school education, to determine their educational attainment and aspirations and to relate their educational aspirations to plans for post high school training. Four findings were identified:

1. Several factors account for the relative educational disadvantages of rural youth compared to urban youth;
2. Indications were that farm youth have lower levels of attainment and aspirations than urban youth;

3. Differences in levels of educational attainment and aspirations may be relative to the quality and quantity of financial resources available for education; and
4. Farm operators were willing to incur necessary debt for educational purposes.

Lindstrom (1968) in a study to determine aptitudes, skills, and sociological and personal factors characterizing rural youth analyzed educational and personal differences of 2,929 students in eight rural Illinois counties during 1963-1964. From academic test data and personal questionnaires, it was concluded that although three-fourths of rural youth entering high school were unlikely to attend a college or university, rural high schools were largely oriented to college preparation. Few vocational training opportunities were offered although results indicated that most non-college-prone youth needed more training in mechanical skills. Inadequate high school counseling was indicated by a lack of occupational knowledge among rural youth.

This correlates very well with the data generated by Hollingshead (1949) regarding Elmtown's youth.

The members of the Board were of the opinion that not everyone had the ability to justify a high school education. They believed that many boys and girls would be better off on the farm or at the mill. They were interested, however, in seeing

that everyone who could profit by a high school education was provided with the necessary facilities, but they were not clear in their conception of who could profit by such an education. In general, they meant sons and daughters of the three higher classes, and of Class IV, if they behaved properly. Adolescents in Class V were not considered to have enough ability to profit from a high school education. No Board member was found who at any time believed that it was the responsibility of the community to provide educational facilities for all high school aged adolescents. When it was suggested that the traditional type of high school education might not be the type needed for the lower classes, the suggestion was countered usually with the argument that vocational education costs too much per student to be put into effect on a broad scale; besides, the boy or girl could learn the same type of skill "from life."

(p. 125)

Slocum (1968) found that farm boys had higher aspirations than non-farm boys while aspirations of farm and non-farm girls did not differ significantly. Sperry (1967) found that youth with a higher standard of living communicated better with their fathers regarding educational plans than those at a lower level. A larger percentage of boys than girls felt that parents had strongly urged them to continue school; there was close agreement between reality and aspiration in occupational plans; and family size was related to financial help with education.

Larsen (1969) conducted a study of rural youth to determine if low family income depressed students' aspirations, achievements, and expectations. He concluded that

students from low income families, when compared to students from high income families, were less likely to be interested in school, in curricula designed for college-bound students, report high grades, receive encouragement from teachers to attend college, discuss their occupational and educational plans with teachers, hold leadership positions in school, indicate that they belong to "leading crowds" in their schools, report high scores on self-evaluation scales indicating physical, social, academic, and emotional and occupational aspirations and report that their parents could support them financially in educational and occupational pursuits.

Howell and Frese (1979) assert that socialization models do not work for Blacks as compared to whites. The "race convergence" hypothesis, suggests that gross socioeconomic status differences between races yield the greater advantage for whites, and that Blacks whose situations most closely approximate that of whites will construct aspirations and reach attainment in a manner similar to whites. Using data collected in 1975 from a sample where gross race differences in socioeconomic status are reduced by design, their analysis assessed this for high school students of low socioeconomic background. Their general findings were that many race differences in the aspiration-formation process disappear, and even reverse, at this level of the socioeconomic distribution. Where race differences in status origin are nil, Blacks, rather than whites, enjoy parental status advantages

in educational decisions. Blacks are encouraged toward further schooling by parents, on the basis of performance in school, as much as whites.

Haller (1974) and others used data from 34,118 American high school students to determine patterns of responses to an indicator level of occupational aspiration (LOA). Comparative analyses were performed on the total group and sixteen mutually exclusive subsamples cross-classified by sex, lower and higher socioeconomic status (SES), and grade. They concluded that the LOA of lower SES youth is systematically lower than that of higher SES youth, regardless of sex or grade. They also found no difference between "ideal" and "realistic" LOAs.

Nash (1977) assessed the extent to which Black community resources could be mobilized to improve Black students' attitudes toward school and inspire youth to strive for academic excellence. The study was based upon a concept espoused by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, national leader in the Operation Push Movement and confirmed that there is a serious gap between the community, its students and the schools in terms of understanding what goes on in the schools and expectations of what education should accomplish. Organizational responses from a community questionnaire indicated that poor teaching and lack of interest in the Black community constitute the greatest barriers for Black students.

Chahin (1977) surveyed the educational and occupational aspirations and expectations of migrant and non-migrant Mexican-Americans. Data from group-administered questionnaires was compared and analyzed in terms of migrant status, sex, and type of high school program in which enrolled. The findings were that residence type and sex had no significant effect on educational and occupational aspirations of those surveyed, while curricular programs did have a significant effect on educational and occupational aspirations of those surveyed, while curricular programs did have a significant effect on educational and occupational aspirations and expectations.

Hollingshead (1949), in his study of Elmtown's youth found that the high school curriculum was organized around three courses: college preparatory, general and commercial; that there was a prestige bias in the courses perceived by the students and expressed by the teachers in their belief that college preparatory students have more ability, are more interested, and do better work than those in the general course. They view students in the general course as persons who have nothing better to do with their time, are mediocre in ability, lack motivation and interest. The attitudes permeating Elmtown High are reflected in one student's statement:

If you take a college preparatory course,
you're better than those who take a general

course. Those who take a general course are neither here nor there. If you take a commercial course, you don't rate. It's a funny thing, those who take college preparatory courses run the place. I remember when I was a freshman, mother wanted me to take home economics, but I didn't want to. I knew I couldn't rate. You could take typing and shorthand and still rate, but if you took a straight commercial course, you couldn't rate. You see, you're rated by the teachers according to the course you take. They rate you in the first school and you're made in classes before you get there. College preparatory kids get good grades and the others take what's left. The teachers get together and talk, and if you are not in college preparatory you haven't got a chance. (Elmtown's Youth, p.169)

Hollingshead also found that there was a very definite class bias in the administration of punishment in Elmtown High. Students from lower class families were usually punished for rule infractions, while students from the higher classes were not.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

The data used in this study were derived principally from participant observation, official school records, two local newspapers and interviews with the young men involved in this study, their parents(s), and persons outside the family group. Accumulation of information about the young men was the first objective. The families were visited, observed and interviewed; third parties were sources of confirmation for much of the data given by the families and by the young men themselves. The case study outline followed is included in this report as Appendix B.

The young men were the principal source of information about their activities, attitudes, social relations and histories. This researcher came into contact with them day after day. Most of the study time was spent around the community center in the evenings and on weekends observing, talking, and, at least initially, sizing each other up.

The Community Center, an area where Black youths congregate for social reasons, is a recent phenomenon in the Black community under observation. Prior to 1965, virtually all socializing occurred at the Black elementary and high schools. With the advent of desegregation, this

focus of socialization was closed off. The former Black high school became a day care center. The former Black elementary school became an experimental school. All of the Black administrators were replaced with white administrators. As a result of this change in the system, Black youths were forced to find some other area for socializing. It appears that they gravitated to the Community Center.

How does a fifty year old man conduct a participant observer study with youths whose ages range from eighteen to twenty-three years of age? Gaining their consent is not enough. Obviously he cannot act as if he were of this age group. He can, however, develop a rapport over time through shared interests. The author chose the mechanism of basketball, since that apparently was a major leisure time activity for most Community Center participants. The idea of a fifty year old man competing head-to-head with young men twenty-six to thirty years younger piqued their interest. After the first few games, the researcher was accepted as "all right" on the basis of this performance on court, and other evidenced trustworthiness. He attended most of their activities, primarily "rap" sessions and basketball games and occasionally shared a six-pack or case of beer, depending on the group size at the moment. As they learned that he could be trusted not to carry tales (or to use their terminology, "blab") or to give them unsolicited moral advice ("get on their case"), they gradually accepted his presence

as normal.

After he became acquainted with a young man, the author observed to see who his associates were, both male and female, and to learn how contacts occurred, how often and under what circumstances. The purpose of this activity was to be able to verify as quickly as possible statements made by the individuals. In a number of instances it was possible to verify statements before the subject made it. His statement had already been verified through his school record, family, associates or others in the community. The researcher observed almost all activity except the sexual practices of this group. The validity of any information relative to sex activity is inferred from repetition.

Verbal observational information collected was recorded as soon after as circumstances permitted. No writing was done in the presence of those interviewed or observed as this researcher considered this to be counter-productive. Two questionnaires were used to gather information. One questionnaire was used to interview the parents(s) and another questionnaire was used to interview the subject (See Appendix C). A Visibility Rating Scale was devised for use with each subject. This allowed for a systematic look at selected elements which may have affected self-concept and attitudes toward higher education. This scale is presented at the end of this report as Appendix D.

At one point, this observer arranged to have conversations and interviews recorded with tape cassettes. However, it soon became apparent that the subjects (and their parents) simply would not respond with the device present and it was discontinued. After the interviewee was made aware of the purpose of the conversation, an un-directed or concealed interview technique was used.

The experiences of Whyte (1943), Cusick (1973), Hollingshead (1949), and Liebow (1967) were referred to frequently and parts adapted for this study.

The original questions asked in this study were, "What were the aspirations of the individual young men in this study? What were their actual vocational plans during their high school years? Which curriculum did they follow to what levels of documented achievement?" One question borrowed from Cusick (1973) asked how they viewed themselves as students? Finally, there was an effort to determine the themes that were repeatedly seen and heard as these young men were observed.

The prospectives of the individuals involved can be described as: (a) the rewards that the individual may strive for in the environment, and (b) the environment within which the individuals must operate, to include specific institutions such as the church, family, and school.

According to Becker (1958),

The participant observer gathers data in the daily life of the group or organization he studies. He watches the people he is studying to see what situations they ordinarily meet and how they behave in them. He enters into conversation with some or all of the participants in these situations and discovers their interpretations of the events he has observed. (p. 655)

Cusick (1973) quotes Blumer (1966) in saying that:

the procedure suitable for studying a dynamic, social situation is to approach the study of group activity through the eyes and experience of people who have developed the activity. Hence it necessarily requires an intimate familiarity with this experience and with the scenes of its operations . . . The study of action would have to be made from the actor and of what he perceives, interprets and judges; one would have to see the operating situation as the actor sees it. You have to define and interpret the objects as the actor interprets them. Having accepted the perspective and even the social reality, not as a static entity, but as a creative process, it is the task of the researcher to actually take part in the process of creation. He simply cannot stand outside and make judgments about it. (p. 228)

In the chapter to follow, the data from these procedures are analyzed and findings are presented.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In the analysis of the data, considerable attention was directed at those elements that seemed to cut across all of the case studies (i.e., most of the successful matriculating students had at least one strong role model in their lives and most of the unsuccessful matriculating students had no strong role model in their lives). Case studies to support the findings presented here are discussed individually, and in detail, in Appendix A.

Successful Matriculants--Parenting

It can be seen from Table 1 that six of the successful matriculating students were of illegitimate parentage and four were of legitimate parentage. It is apparent, therefore, that legitimacy or illegitimacy of birth was not a factor in the development of the successful matriculating students.

Whether parents were educationally supportive, however, seems to have influenced considerably the development of the matriculating students. As Table 1 shows, six of ten successful matriculating students had highly supportive parents, who were low in educational support. A's mother was

TABLE 1 PARENTING FACTORS FOR SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	LEGITIMACY		EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT		
	Legitimate	Illegitimate	High	Moderate	Low
A		x	x		
B		x			x
C	x		x		
D	x				x
E		x			x
F	x		x		
G	x		x		
H	x		x		
I	x		x		
J		x			x
A - J Compiled	6	4	6		4

totally supportive even though A had been placed in a special education class. The record shows that she was in attendance in every instance where A was involved. Similarly, C, from a two-parent family, received the same kind of support from his mother. She, too, was in attendance at all school activities in which C was involved.

Of the ten successful matriculating students, only two can be described as having received educational support from both parents. H and I's parents were supportive both individually and collectively. That is, those school activities which traditionally require the participation of a parent of one sex were always attended by that parent. Conversely, those activities which required the presence of both parents were always attended by both parents.

Interestingly enough, there was no moderate support from parents of successful matriculating students. The support was either high or low, with no middle ground. There seemed to be some relationship between legitimacy, or illegitimacy, and the degree of support provided successful matriculating students. Three of the four illegitimate successful matriculating students received low parental support, while five of the six legitimate successful matriculating students received high parental support.

Successful Matriculants--Positive Reinforcement from Teachers

Table 2 shows the amount of positive reinforcement

from teachers that successful matriculants received. Six of the successful matriculants received considerable positive reinforcement from teachers while in school, one received some positive reinforcement and three received little or none. There appears to be a relationship between the lack of educational support from parent(s) and positive reinforcement from teachers for successful matriculating students. Of the four students who received low educational support from their parent(s), three received considerable positive reinforcement from their teachers. D, for example, received no support from his parents, yet received considerable support from someone in the school system. Apparently, this support was sufficient to sustain him. E and J, while receiving no support from their mothers, received considerable support from at least one teacher in the system, and from each other.

Successful Matriculants--School Progress

Seven of ten successful matriculants showed favorable progress while in school, one demonstrated undistinguished progress, and two had unfavorable progress. It must be noted at this point that we are referring to favorable, neutral, or unfavorable school progress in the curriculum that, as students, they happened to be following. A and G, for example were two successful matriculating students who followed a special education curriculum while in high school.

TABLE 2 SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS' POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT
FROM TEACHERS

Matriculants	Positive Reinforcement Received		
	Considerable	Some	Little or None
A			x
B		x	
C	x		
D	x		
E	x		
F			x
G			x
H	x		
I	x		
J	x		
A - J Compiled	6	1	3

TABLE 3 SCHOOL PROGRESS OF SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	Progress in School		
	Favorable	Undistinguished	Unfavorable
A			x
B	x		
C	x		
D	x		
E	x		
F		x	
G			x
H	x		
I	x		
J	x		
A - J Compiled	7	1	2

There were also two students whose progress in high school was classified as unfavorable. Three of the four successful matriculating students, B, C. and J, who followed a general education curriculum, had favorable records of school progress while one, F, had a record that can only be described as undistinguished. Four of four successful matriculating students who followed a college preparatory curriculum had records of favorable progress while in high school. Those students were D, E, H, and I. Table 3 shows the school progress for all the successful matriculating students.

Successful Matriculants--Extra Curricular Involvement

Three of the ten successful matriculating students were highly involved in extra curricular activities, five were moderately involved, while two had little involvement. It might be noted that all of the students who were involved were students following a college preparatory curriculum. All of the students with little extra curricular involvement were following a general curriculum. Of the five students with only moderate involvement, two were enrolled in a special education curriculum, two were following a general education curriculum, and one was in a college preparatory curriculum. All of the successful matriculating students with high involvement in extra curricular activities also received considerable positive reinforcement from teachers.

Of those students only moderately involved in extra-curricular activity, three received little or no positive reinforcement from teachers, one received some and one received considerable reinforcement. Table 4 shows the amount of extra curricular activity for successful matriculants.

Sociocultural Visibility--Successful Matriculating Students

Nine of ten successful matriculating students had high sociocultural visibility, one had moderate visibility, and none had low visibility in the Black community. Six had high sociocultural visibility, three had moderate visibility, and one had low visibility in the white community. Six of the ten successful matriculating students had high visibility in both white and Black communities. One student had moderate visibility in both the white and Black communities. One student had high visibility in Black culture while having low visibility in white culture. Two students had high visibility in the Black community while having moderate visibility in the white culture. Table 5 depicts the successful matriculating students' degree of sociocultural visibility in both white and Black cultures.

Successful Matriculating Students-- Sociocultural Conformity

Five of ten successful matriculating students were

TABLE 4 EXTRACURRICULAR INVOLVEMENT OF SUCCESSFUL
MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	<u>INVOLVEMENT IN EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES</u>		
	High	Moderate	Low
A		x	
B		x	
C			x
D	x		
E		x	
F		x	
G		x	
H	x		
I	x		
J			x
A - J Compiled	3	5	2

TABLE 5 SOCIOCULTURAL VISIBILITY OF SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	VISIBILITY IN BLACK COMMUNITY			VISIBILITY IN WHITE COMMUNITY		
	High	Moderate	Low	High	Moderate	Low
A	x			x		
B	x			x		
C	x					x
D	x				x	
E	x			x		
F		x			x	
G	x				x	
H	x			x		
I	x			x		
J	x			x		
A - J Compiled	9	1	0	6	3	1

high in sociocultural conformity, three were moderate, and two were low. D, E, H, and I were rated high in sociocultural conformity in that they were following a college preparatory curriculum, their school progress was favorable and they received considerable positive reinforcement from teachers. D, H. and I had considerable extracurricular involvement, while E's involvement was moderate. B was high in sociocultural conformity in that he was an outstanding athlete who gave evidence of being able to function in the classroom. C, F, and J. were moderate in sociocultural conformity in that they followed a general education curriculum and were moderately involved in extracurricular activities. C and J. were low in their extra curricular involvement while showing favorable school progress. F was moderate in his extra curricular involvement, while his school progress was undistinguished. C and J received considerable positive reinforcement from their teachers. F received little or no positive reinforcement from his teachers. A and G were low in sociocultural conformity in that both were following a special education curriculum. Both had unfavorable school progress and received little or no positive reinforcement from teachers. They were moderate in their involvement in extra curricular activities, however, this involvement was limited to athletics. Table 6 details sociocultural conformity ratings for successful matriculating students.

TABLE 6 SOCIOCULTURAL CONFORMITY RATINGS FOR SUCCESSFUL
MATRICULANTS

<u>Matriculants</u>	<u>Degree of Sociocultural Conformity</u>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Low</u>
A			x
B	x		
C		x	
D	x		
E	x		
F		x	
G			x
H	x		
I	x		
J		x	
A - J Compiled			

Successful Matriculants---Church Relationships

Two successful matriculating students had strong church relationships, three had moderate church relationships, two had limited church relationships, and three were resistant to church relationships. Both successful matriculating students with strong church relationships followed a general education curriculum. Two of the three successful matriculating students with moderate church relationships followed a college preparatory curriculum; the other one was enrolled in a special education curriculum. Of the two students with limited church relationships, one followed a college preparatory curriculum and the other followed a general education curriculum. Those who resisted church relationships were evenly distributed with one following a college preparatory curriculum, one enrolled in a general education curriculum, and one taking a special education curriculum. Table 7 shows church relationships for successful matriculating students.

Successful Matriculating Students--Family Socioeconomic Position in the Black Community

Five of the successful matriculating students were from families who occupied above average positions in the Black community. One was from a family that held an average position and four were from families that were classified as

TABLE 7 CHURCH RELATIONSHIPS OF SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTING STUDENTS

Successful Matriculants	Involvement in Church Activities			
	Strong	Moderate	Limited	Resistive
A				x
B	x			
C				x
D				x
E			x	
F			x	
G		x		
H		x		
I		x		
J	x			
A - J Compiled	2	3	2	3

below average. Subjects C, D, H, and I were from families where both parents are physically present; the parents have been married only to each other and all of the children have the same father. While B was for a time from a one-parent family, his home was family-owned and his mother had steady employment. Subject G, from a family of average position, lost his father at an early age; even though his mother has been gainfully employed on a continual basis, their home is not owned by the family. Subjects A, E, F, and J came from one parent families, employment was not steady, and the home was not owned. Table 8 depicts the positions in the Black community for families of successful matriculating students.

Successful Matriculating Students--
Involved-Other

Ten of ten successful matriculating students had an involved-other, who was Black, in their lives; none had no Black involved-other in his life. Six of ten successful matriculating students also had an involved-other in their lives who was white. The other four did not. Students C, D, E, H, I and J had both Black and white persons involved in their lives. A, B, F and G had only Blacks involved in their lives. It is interesting to note that four of the Black persons involved were not parents. Students B, D, E and J received their encouragement and support from people

TABLE 8 SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS' FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC
POSITION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Matriculants	Socioeconomic Position		
	Above Average	Average	Below Average
A			x
B	x		
C	x		
D	x		
E			x
F			x
G		x	
H	x		
I	x		
J			x
A - J Compiled	5	1	4

in the community. The involved other in the lives of successful matriculating students is shown in Table 9.

Successful Matriculating Students-- Emotional Trauma

One of ten successful matriculating students experienced considerable emotional trauma during his development, three experienced some emotional trauma, and six experienced little or no emotional trauma. A's emotional trauma seems to have been related to decisions made about him by those in the school system, particularly his placement in special education, and the situations that derived from that placement. His trauma seems also to have been related to a lack of positive reinforcement from his teachers. Student J appears to have experienced some trauma resulting from his illegitimacy. Note, in the case study, his statement: "Damn; I know times were tough, but you would think she learned something after the first one." C experienced some trauma because of the lack of involvement of his father; D suffered because his parents' lack of involvement in things not religious. Students B, E, F, G, H, and I seem to have experienced little or no emotional trauma during their development. Table 10 details the amount of emotional trauma experienced by successful matriculating students.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--Parenting

Eight of ten unsuccessful matriculating students were

TABLE 9 SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH INVOLVED-OTHERS

Matriculants.	Relationships With Involved-Others			
	Black		White	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
A	X			X
B	X			X
C	X		X	
D	X		X	
E	X		X	
F	X			X
G	X			X
H	X		X	
I	X		X	
J	X		X	
A - J Compiled	10	0	6	4

TABLE 10 EMOTIONAL TRAUMA SUFFERED BY SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	Amount of Emotional Trauma		
	Considerable	Some	Little or None
A	X		
B			X
C		X	
D		X	
E			X
F			X
G			X
H			X
I			X
J		X	
A - J Compiled	1	3	6

of legitimate parentage, while two were of illegitimate parentage. Two of ten received high educational support from their parents, two received moderate support, and five received moderate support, and five received low support. There was no information on one unsuccessful matriculating student. In comparing the amount of education support provided by parents with positive reinforcement from teachers, it is interesting to note that these students received even less encouragement since only one of ten unsuccessful matriculating students received positive reinforcement from teachers (See Table 12).

Table 11 shows parenting for unsuccessful matriculating students.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--
Positive Reinforcement from Teachers

As indicated, nine of ten unsuccessful matriculating students received little or no positive reinforcement from their teachers during their school years. One received considerable positive support from his teachers. Eight of the ten unsuccessful matriculating students were enrolled in a general education curriculum, one was following a program of remediation and one was in special education curriculum. Thus, it appears that a lack of reinforcement from teachers correlates well with enrollment in a general education curriculum. Only P, who was following a special education

TABLE 11 PARENTING FACTORS FOR UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	<u>Legitimacy</u>		<u>Educational Support</u>		
	Legitimate	Illegitimate	High	Moderate	Low
K	X				X
L	X				X
M	X				X
N	X		X		
O	X		X		
P	X			X	
Q	X			X	
R	X				
S		X			X
T		X			X
K - T	Compiled	8	2	2	5

TABLE 12 SUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS' POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT FROM TEACHERS

Matriculants	<u>Amount of Positive Reinforcement Given</u>		
	Considerable	Some	Little or None
K			X
L			X
M			X
N	X		
O			X
P			X
Q			X
R			X
S			X
T			X
K - T	Compiled	1	0

curriculum and O, who was following a curriculum of remediation, were not general education students. Table 12 indicates the amount of positive reinforcement received from teachers by unsuccessful matriculating students and their curricular enrollment.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--
School Progress

Of ten unsuccessful matriculating students, one had favorable school progress, five were undistinguished in their school progress, and four showed unfavorable school progress. School progress for unsuccessful matriculating students seems to correlate well with educational support received from parents and positive reinforcement received from teachers. Only N and O, of ten students, received high educational support from their parents. Only N, of ten students, received considerable positive reinforcement from his teachers. Of the five students with undistinguished school progress, four received little educational support from their parents and little or no positive reinforcement from their teachers. Of the four students with unfavorable school progress, two received little educational support from their parents, one received high educational support from his parents, and there is one for whom there is no information. All of the four unsuccessful matriculating students with unfavorable school progress received little or no positive reinforcement

from their teachers. Table 13 shows the school progress for unsuccessful matriculating students.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--
Extracurricular Involvement

Nine of ten unsuccessful matriculating students were moderate in their involvement in extracurricular activities. One showed low participation in extracurricular activities. All of the nine with moderate extracurricular involvement participated in athletics only. The one unsuccessful matriculating student with low extracurricular involvement participated in no extracurricular activities. Table 14 outlines the degree of extracurricular involvement among unsuccessful matriculating students.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--
Sociocultural Visibility

Eight of ten unsuccessful matriculating students were highly visible in the Black culture and four of ten unsuccessful matriculating students were highly visible in the white culture. Two of ten unsuccessful matriculating students were moderately visible in the Black culture and four of ten were moderately visible in white community. None had low visibility in the Black community and two had low visibility in white culture students. K, N, Q, and R were highly visible in both cultures. P was moderately visible in both cultures. T had moderate visibility in the Black community and low visibility

TABLE 13 SCHOOL PROGRESS OF UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	Progress Rating		
	Favorable	Undistinguished	Unfavorable
K		X	
L		X	
M	X		
N		X	
O			X
P			X
Q			X
R			X
S		X	
T		X	
K - T Compiled	1	5	4

TABLE 14 EXTRACURRICULAR INVOLVEMENT OF UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	Level of Involvement		
	High	Moderate	Low
K		X	
L		X	
M		X	
N		X	
O		X	
P		X	
Q		X	
R		X	
S		X	
T			X
K - T Compiled	0	9	1

in the white community. L, M, O, and S had high visibility in Black culture and low visibility in white culture. Table 15 outlines sociocultural visibility for unsuccessful matriculating students.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--Sociocultural Conformity

Three of ten unsuccessful matriculating students were high in sociocultural conformity, seven demonstrated moderate socioculture conformity and none were rated low in sociocultural conformity. By common consensus it was agreed that students O, P and R would not survive in a post-secondary environment of any kind. There seemed to be enough doubt about K, L, M, N, Q, and T to predict only a moderate chance of survival. For each person who predicted failure, another would predict success. Sociocultural conformity for unsuccessful matriculating students is outlined in Table 16.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--Church Relationships

Four of ten unsuccessful matriculating students had strong church relationships, one had limited church relationships, and four resisted church relationships. There was one student for whom there was no information as to his church relationships. Students, M, N, R, and S had strong church relationships and were active in almost all church activities

TABLE 15 SOCIOCULTURAL VISIBILITY OF UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	<u>In Black Community</u>			<u>In White Community</u>		
	High	Moderate	Low	High	Moderate	Low
K	X			X		
L	X				X	
M	X					X
N	X			X		
O	X				X	
P		X			X	
Q	X			X		
R	X			X		
S	X				X	
T		X				X
K - T Compiled	8	2	0	4	4	2

TABLE 16 SOCIOCULTURAL CONFORMITY OF UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	<u>Level of Conformity</u>		
	High	Moderate	Low
K		X	
L		X	
M		X	
N		X	
O	X		
P	X		
Q		X	
R	X		
S		X	
T		X	
K - T Compiled	3	7	0

during and shortly after high school. O's church relationships were limited. K, L, P, and Q had resistive church relationships. This last data may be attributable to the attitudes of the fathers of K and L and due to personal experiences in the church for P and Q. Table 17 details church relationships for unsuccessful matriculating students.

Successful Matriculating Students with Involved-Others

One of ten unsuccessful matriculating students had a Black involved-other in his life, eight had no Black others in their lives, and there is one student for whom there is no information. Student S was extremely reticent and the information is simply not available. Two of ten unsuccessful matriculating students had a white involved-other in their lives, seven had no involved-others, and again there is one for whom there is no information. There seems to be a correlation between little or no positive reinforcement from teachers and the lack of involved-other. Of the eight unsuccessful matriculating students with no Black involved-others in their lives, eight received little or no positive reinforcement from their teachers. Of the eight who had no Black involved-other and received little or no positive reinforcement from their teachers, eight also had no white involved-other. Only N had an involved-other of both races and received positive reinforcement from his teachers. Table 19

TABLE 17 CHURCH RELATIONSHIPS OF UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	Strength of Involvement With Church			
	Strong	Moderate	Limited	Resistive
K				X
L				X
M	X			
N	X			
O			X	
P				X
Q				X
R	X			
S	X			
T				
K - T Compiled	4	0	1	4

TABLE 18 UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS' FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC POSITION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Matriculants	Above Average	Average	Below Average
K	X		
L	X		
M	X		
N	X		
O	X		
P	X		
Q	X		
R	X		
S	X		
T			X
K - T Compiled	9	0	1

TABLE 19 UNSUCCESSFUL MATRICULANTS' RELATIONSHIPS WITH INVOLVED-OTHERS

Matriculants	Relationships With Involved-Others			
	Black		White	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
K		X	X	
L		X		X
M		X		X
N	X		X	
O		X		X
P		X		X
Q		X		X
R		X		X
S				
T		X		X
K - T Compiled	1	8	2	7

shows the involve-other details for unsuccessful matriculating students.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students--
Emotional Trauma

One of ten unsuccessful matriculating students suffered considerable emotional trauma during his developing years, three suffered some trauma and six received little or none. T's considerable trauma seemed to stem from a steady stream of live-in friends of his mother present in the household, that he and his sisters were born out of wedlock, and that both sisters were at home and unmarried, yet pregnant. The trauma attributed to Q, R, and S seemed to stem from varying situations. In the case of Q, it seems to stem from a schoolboy fracas and a double standard of justice that resulted. In the case of R, it appeared to stem from the death of his father as S's trauma originated with the death of his step-father. Table 20 depicts the levels of emotional trauma experienced by unsuccessful matriculating students.

Non-matriculating Students--
Parenting

Of ten non-matriculating students, six were of legitimate parentage and four were illegitimate. Four received high educational support from their parents, two received moderate support, and four received low support. Of the four whose

TABLE 20 EMOTIONAL TRAUMA SUFFERED BY UNSUCCESSFUL
MATRICULANTS

Matriculants	Amount of Emotional Trauma		
	Considerable	Some	Little or None
K			X
L			X
M			X
N			X
O			X
P			X
Q		X	
R		X	
S		X	
T	X		
K - T Compiled	1	3	6

parents were very supportive, two were of legitimate parentage and two were of illegitimate parentage. Of the two students who received moderate support from their parent(s), one was from legitimate and from illegitimate parentage. Of the four students who received little educational support, two were of legitimate and two were of illegitimate parentage. Table 21 shows parenting for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--Positive Reinforcement from Teachers

None of the ten non-matriculating students received considerable positive reinforcement from teachers during their school years, one had some positive reinforcement and nine had little or no positive reinforcement. It seems worth mentioning that the one student that received some positive reinforcement from his teachers also received high educational support from both of his parents. Table 22 outlines positive reinforcement from teachers for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--School Progress

None of the ten non-matriculating students demonstrated favorable school progress, four had undistinguished school progress and six had unfavorable school progress. Of the four students with undistinguished progress, three had

TABLE 21 PARENTING FACTORS FOR NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	<u>Legitimacy</u>		<u>Educational Support</u>		
	Legitimate	Illegitimate	High	Moderate	Low
U		X			X
V		X	X		
W		X		X	
X	X		X		
Y	X				X
Z		X	X		
AA	X		X		
BB	X				X
CC	X			X	
DD	X				X
U - DD	Compiled 6	4	4	2	4

TABLE 22 NON-MATRICULANTS' POSITIVE REINFORCEMENT FROM TEACHERS

Non-Matriculants	<u>Amount of Positive Reinforcement Received</u>		
	Considerable	Some	Little or None
U			X
V			X
W			X
X		X	
Y			X
Z			X
AA			X
BB			X
CC			X
DD			X
U - DD	Compiled 0	1	9

high educational support from parents; one had little support from parents. Of the four students with undistinguished progress, none received much positive reinforcement from teachers; one received some positive reinforcement from teachers. Of the six with unfavorable school progress, one received high educational support from his parents(s), two received moderate support from their parents, and three received low support from their parents. Table 23 shows school progress for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--
Extracurricular Involvement

Of ten non-matriculating students, none were rated high in extracurricular involvement, four were moderate in their extracurricular involvement, and six were rated low in extracurricular involvement. Of the four who were moderately involved, two had parent(s) who were high in educational support and two had parent(s) who were low in educational support. Two of the four students with moderate extracurricular involvement were undistinguished in school progress and two received unfavorable progress ratings in school. Of the six students who had little extracurricular involvement, four had unfavorable school progress and two were simply undistinguished. Table 24 shows the amount of extracurricular involvement for non-matriculating students.

TABLE 23 SCHOOL PROGRESS OF NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	Progress Rating		
	Favorable	Undistinguished	Unfavorable
U		X	
V			X
W			X
X		X	
Y			X
Z		X	
AA		X	
BB			X
CC			X
DD			X
U - DD Compiled	0	4	6

TABLE 24 EXTRACURRICULAR INVOLVEMENT OF NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	Level of Involvement		
	High	Moderate	Low
U			X
V			X
W			X
X			X
Y		X	
Z		X	
AA		X	
BB		X	
CC			X
DD			X
U - DD Compiled	0	4	6

Non-Matriculating Students--
Sociocultural Visibility

Eight of ten non-matriculating students were highly visible in the Black culture, two were moderate in visibility and none had low visibility. None had high visibility in the white community, six had moderate visibility, and four had low visibility. Of the eight who were highly visible in the Black community, six had moderate visibility in the white culture and two had low visibility in the white culture. Both of the students who had moderate visibility in the Black community had low visibility in white communities. Table 25 details the cultural visibility of non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--
Sociocultural Conformity

Nine of ten non-matriculating students were rated high in sociocultural conformity, while only one was rated moderate in sociocultural conformity. Non-matriculating students were rated high in sociocultural conformity, if the paths that they chose to follow after high school graduation were predicted correctly by most school and community personnel in County Seat. It was predicted for student V, for example, that he would be fortunate to be able to hold a job let alone continue education beyond high school. X was classified as moderate because he was interested in getting

TABLE 25 SOCIOCULTURAL VISIBILITY OF NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	<u>In Black Community</u>			<u>In White Community</u>		
	High	Moderate	Low	High	Moderate	Low
U		X				X
V	X				X	
W	X				X	
X	X					X
Y	X					X
Z	X				X	
AA		X				X
BB	X				X	
CC	X				X	
DD	X				X	
U - DD Compiled	8	2	0	0	6	4

a job and helping with the family finances; the only real question was whether his parents' desire for him to get all the education possible, would take precedence over his stated plans. Table 26 shows sociocultural conformity for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--
Church Relationships

Two of ten non-matriculating students had strong church relationships, five had limited church relationships, and one had resistive relationships. Subjects X and CC had strong church relationships in that X was involved almost continually in some sort of church activity. His conversations indicated that he participated in these activities voluntarily. The influential leaders in CC's life, Black and white, seem to have been ministers and church personnel. Students V and Z, brothers, kept their church relationships at a moderate level that apparently provided them the freedom to do other things without incurring criticism from the community, or more importantly, their parents(s). Subjects U, W, Y, AA, and DD participated in few church activities and seemed to be under no compulsion to do otherwise. BB resisted church relationships; sometime in his development he had acquired an aversion to ministers and the church that has not diminished over time. Table 27 indicates levels

TABLE 26 SOCIOCULTURAL CONFORMITY OF NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	Level of Conformity		
	High	Moderate	Low
U	X		
V	X		
W	X		
X		X	
Y	X		
Z	X		
AA	X		
BB	X		
CC	X		
DD	X		
U - DD Compiled	9	1	0

TABLE 27 CHURCH RELATIONSHIPS OF NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	Strength of Involvement With Church			
	Strong	Moderate	Limited	Resistive
U			X	
V		X		
W			X	
X	X			
Y			X	
Z		X		
AA			X	
BB				X
CC	X			
DD			X	
U - DD Compiled	2	2	5	1

of church relationship for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--Family Socio-economic Position in Black Community

Of ten non-matriculating students, eight came from families with an above-average socioeconomic position in the Black community and two came from families with a below-average position in the Black community. The parent(s) of V, W, X, Z, AA, BB, CC, and DD all owned their own homes and were regularly employed. U and Y came from families where the home was not family owned and where employment was sporadic at best. As previously stated, there were no non-matriculating students from families rated average in terms of socioeconomic position in the Black community. Table 28 shows family socioeconomic position in the Black community for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students with Involved-Others

Four of ten non-matriculating students had a Black involved-other in their lives, while five had no Black involved-other in their lives. Insufficient information for one subject resulted in no determination about involved-others in his life. Students U, X, AA, and CC all had a Black involved-other in their lives. In the case of W, this

TABLE 28 NON-MATRICULANTS' FAMILY SOCIOECONOMIC POSITION
IN BLACK COMMUNITY

Non-Matriculants	Above Average	Average	Below Average
U			X
V	X		
W	X		
X	X		
Y			X
Z	X		
AA	X		
BB	X		
CC	X		
DD	X		
U - DD	Compiled 8	0	2

observer was unable to decide whether a concerned grandmother could really be termed an involved-other since her concern was centered mainly around disciplinary problems. Nine of ten non-matriculating students had no white involved-other in their lives and there was one, W, for whom there was no information. Table 29 details involved-other data for non-matriculating students.

Non-Matriculating Students--
Emotional Trauma

It was determined that one of ten non-matriculating students experienced considerable emotional trauma during his developing years. Subject U's emotional trauma seemed to center around the illegitimacy of his birth and having to contend with live-in friends of his mother. Occasionally, there will be indications that this mother's attitude toward her family has caused considerable emotional trauma for U. Four of ten non-matriculating students experienced some emotional trauma in their developing years. Subjects V and Z seem to have had a turbulent existence throughout their high school years, continually having one kind of disciplinary problem or another. Student W gave some indication of having experienced some emotional trauma in that he always played the clown, regardless of the circumstances. CC experienced some emotional trauma resulting from disciplinary problems during and after the death of his father. During

TABLE 29 NON-MATRICULANTS RELATIONSHIPS WITH INVOLVED-OTHERS

Non-Matriculants	Relationships With Involved-Others			
	Black		White	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
U	X			X
V		X		X
W				
X	X			X
Y		X		X
Z		X		X
AA	X			X
BB		X		X
CC	X			X
DD		X		X
U - DD	Compiled 4	5	0	9

TABLE 30 EMOTIONAL TRAUMA SUFFERED BY NON-MATRICULANTS

Non-Matriculants	Amount of Emotional Trauma		
	Considerable	Some	Little or None
U	X		
V		X	
W		X	
X			X
Y			X
Z		X	
AA			X
BB			X
CC		X	
DD			X
U - DD	Compiled 1	4	5

their developing years X, Y, AA, BB, and DD experienced little or no emotional trauma. In Table 30 emotional trauma is detailed for non-matriculating students.

CHAPTER V

RECOMMENDATIONS

It was the purpose of this study to compare social impact variables affecting ten successful matriculating, ten unsuccessful matriculating and ten non-matriculating Black male high school graduates in a southern rural-based community. The case study analysis focused upon variables that are most likely to affect social attitude development with implications for self-concept formation.

Ten successful matriculating students, ten unsuccessful matriculating students and ten non-matriculating students were selected from a population of 63 Black male graduates of County Seat High School for the school years 1975 through 1978. Cases were selected from those graduates using the Community Center as a place for socializing. Data for the study was partially obtained through participant-observation after the students gave their permission for such observation in return for complete anonymity. The study required that the data be collected from three different groups in County Seat: The young men involved in this study, their parent(s), and persons outside the family group. Two questionnaires were used to gather information: one for interviewing the parent(s) and another for interviewing the subjects. A

Visibility Rating Scale was devised for each subject. These instruments provided for systematic data collection regarding selected elements which may have affected their self-concepts and attitudes toward higher education. No notes were taken in the presence of the subjects or their families. After the interviewee was made aware of the purpose of the conversation, an undirected or concealed interview technique was used.

Hypotheses for Further Research

Several of the variables in this study appeared to be influential and supported enough by the data to warrant further study. A larger-scale demographic attitudinal study, under more controlled conditions would be appropriate. Of the ten variables employed in this study, five appear to justify further, detailed, controlled investigation. They are: parenting, positive reinforcement from teachers, school progress, extracurricular involvement, and involved-others. From these variables eight hypotheses are recommended for further investigation and are stated in the null form below:

1. Students receiving considerable positive reinforcement from teachers in elementary and secondary schools will not demonstrate significantly greater progress in school than students receiving little or no positive reinforcement from teachers.

2. Students whose parents are highly supportive educationally parents will not demonstrate significantly greater school progress than students whose parents are not educationally supportive.
3. The attitudes toward higher education of students having highly supportive parents educationally will not vary significantly from students with low educationally supportive parents.
4. The success in higher education of students receiving considerable positive reinforcement from teachers during their elementary and secondary school years, will not be significantly different from the success of students receiving little or no positive reinforcement from the teachers.
5. The success in higher education of students receiving high educational support from their parent(s) will not differ significantly from the success of students receiving low educational support from their parents(s).
6. There is no positive correlation between high extracurricular involvement and school progress.
7. There is no positive correlation between having an involved-other and a student's success in higher education.
8. There is no significant relationship between high educational support from parents, considerable positive reinforcement from teachers, and a student's success in higher education.

Implications for Future Research

School enrollments have been declining and apparently will continue this trend in the foreseeable future. With a smaller population in the elementary and secondary schools, it follows that enrollments in higher education will also continue to decline, if we continue to function in education as we have in the past. The unsuccessful matriculating students seem to this observer to be an untapped source of students for institutions of higher education and an untapped resource for society. Change is characteristic of this country; adaptation to that change by larger portions of the society should be the goal of education generally and higher education in particular. The unsuccessful matriculating students and the non-matriculating students represent, to this observer, those who have not adapted to the changes occurring in our society. Post-secondary or higher education is rapidly becoming mandatory, not elective, in our society. The failures in this system represent a human resource society which we can ill afford to discard much longer.

It would seem to this researcher that the implications for future research are fairly clear. Some means must be found to reverse the continuing loss to society of enormous amounts of human potential that it is not necessary to lose. We are not talking about students who suffered brain damage at birth; we are not talking about students who

suffered from malnutrition during their developing years. In many cases we are not talking about students who suffered neglect. What we are talking about, it seems to this researcher, is a large group of students who annually fall through the cracks in our educational system. Not only does future research need to consider the graduate who was never able to join the mainstream of society; but also the once-productive citizen who because of automation, relocation, or workforce reduction, must now try to readjust to new realities. From the point of view of this researcher, education generally and higher education as defined in this study particularly offer the only broadbased alternative to this increasing dilemma.

APPENDIX A CASE STUDIES

Matriculating Successful Students

SUBJECT "A"

The "A" family, consisting of the mother and three children, occupies a small two bedroom apartment in University Estates in the central area of County Seat. Across the street from the "A" family apartment, the city has put in a tennis and a basketball court. The apartment complex, which houses the "A's" and similar families, was developed as a part of an Urban Renewal program in Country Seat during the late sixties. All of the families in this project are one-parent families, and most heads of households are female.

The Mother

Ms. "A" is a tall, very dark, good-looking woman, weighing approximately one hundred fifty pounds and about forty-five years of age. She gave birth to all of her children out of wedlock and remains unmarried today. She has no obvious marketable skills, but is a veteran of the techniques of survival in County Seat and is employed.

Born and reared in County Seat, Ms. "A" is next to the oldest of four children. Her mother is deceased; her father migrated to a Northern city after his wife's death. Her older sister has also migrated North. Her younger brother completed a Merchant Marine career and has retired to a port city. Her younger sister also resides in County Seat and has six children, of whom four were born out of wedlock.

Somehow Ms. "A" has managed to retain the confidence and respect of her children. She is an amiable, good natured person with those whom she likes. With those she dislikes, she can be very cold and unpleasant.

Education Ms. "A" graduated from the all-Black high school in County Seat prior to its' desegregation. Since that time she has participated in a number of self-improvement courses in County Seat. When she was a student, Ms. "A" was a member of the girls' basketball team and school chorus and participated in drama activities. These are self-reported activities, which were confirmed by former classmates still in the community.

Current Activities Her activities away from work seem to center around the church. She also visits with other women who head single parent families.

Attitudes Towards Education and Children It is obvious to the observer that Ms. "A" loves her children very much. When they are in her presence she seems to beam. Although she has only a high school education, she wants her children to "realize the value of an education and to get one while they can; I don't want them to end up like I did." She voices no complaints about the inequities of rearing her children alone, speaking instead of the necessity of parents to support their children in every possible way: "Money is important, but it is just as important for them to know that I care and will be there."

Ms. "A" provides very well for her children, even to going deeply in debt to ensure that they are able to do and have the advantages other children enjoy. She is also very aggressive in protecting her children from perceived prejudice and discrimination. During his junior year in high school, Subject "A" became involved in a fracas with the father of a white girl. The father was incensed because his daughter would "take up with a nigger" and proceeded to assault "A" and two of his Black classmates. In the resulting judicial process, "A" and his friends were charged with a crime while the father was not, even though he used a weapon. Ms. "A" was instrumental in getting the charges against the young men dropped and having the girl's father charged with assault.

Discipline in the "A" family is not lacking. Even though all three of the children have graduated from high school--the oldest dropped out of college and entered the armed forces, "A" and his sister are in college--there is no doubt that Ms."A" is the head of her household. This would not be so unless she had been a responsible parent as the children were growing up. According to her, punishment was infrequent by the time her children entered junior high school because, by that time, they had learned obedience as part of a general family discipline. This discipline, however, did not include regular church and Sunday School attendance. "For some reason, "A" developed an aversion to ministers and church that lasts to this day."

When discussing the continued education of the subject and his sister, Ms."A" beams with pride:

Lord knows, they had to do most of the financing themselves because I don't have any money. They worked hard though and saved every penny, and their brother helps out now and then. They will make it.

Subject A's Activities and Attitudes

Attitude's Toward Family The researcher became acquainted with "A" and his arrival in the community during his junior year in high school. He is a tall, slim young man who seems to mingle easily in a number of groups. He smiles readily, uses animated gestures in conversation and gives a general impression of being one who enjoys life.

"A" gives no indication that he resents being born into a family with no father present. This could possibly be rationalization; at the very least it indicates that he has paid close attention to the family structures around him. As he says, "I don't really miss not having a father at home. You can't miss what you never had. I do know that I get more support from my mother than a lot of guys I know get from both their mother and father." "A" speaks favorably of his brother and sister even though his sister sometimes irritates him because "She is so gullible to be so smart. She will believe anybody's story no matter how ridiculous it is."

Relations With Girls "A" had his first sex experience at about thirteen. His account of that experience follows:

When I was thirteen years old, I had my first intercourse with a girl. She was a girl in this neighborhood. She did much of the persuading and I didn't need too much encouragement. I guess she liked me because I was tall for my age. That was a big day for me, and it happened over at her house. The girl was older than me, almost eighteen. She used to come by the basketball court in the afternoon. So once when she passed I rubbed her on her behind just to see what would happen. I guess she liked it because she invited me to come to her house and listen to some records. I knew her mother was at work at that time of day. I went over and it was a lot of fun. We started dancing and she started rubbing me all over. We went from dancing to the couch and everything happened. I would go over pretty often until she left to take a job away from here.

According to "A" this extended sexual relationship was his only sexual experience before he graduated from high school.

"I didn't see any need to do anything with some other girl. This one was all right and I didn't have to prove anything. Everyone, even her boyfriend, thought see was my 'big sister,' and paid no attention."

Contacts With Whites In School And The Community Since this subject lives in a neighborhood which is almost all Black, he has had few contacts with whites outside of school and athletics. In spite of this observation, "A" displays a certain hostility towards whites. This is apparent in his statement:

Every time I go to the city tennis courts, I feel lik a monkey on display in the zoo. All those white people stare at me like its a miracle that a Black can play tennis.

He went on to note that the tennis courts were previously barred to Blacks and that, "those people still can't get used to the idea."

"A" hostility toward whites is probably associated with an experience when he was eight years old. As he tells it,

When I was in the third grade a new principal came over to my school. This principal was white replacing the Black one that was there. They also replaced all of the Black teachers that year. This guy told me I was 'special education material' because of some test they gave. I didn't even know I was taking a test. So they put me in this class they called "Special Education."

I didn't find out what it meant until the seventh grade. No matter what I did or how well I did it, I could not get out of Special Education. No one will ever make me believe that this was not directed at me and all other Blacks like me.

"A" recounted how he was excluded from almost every school activity, except for athletics:

When the teacher needed someone to go to the office, it was always the white kids who got sent. When they were selecting kids for parts in the plays, no Black kid was ever selected for more than being in the crowd, and not often for that. Once when I told Mr. X that I wanted to be a traffic crossing guide, he laughed in my face.

The subject also spoke of the alienation* that he felt from the time he was given the "special education" label. Hearing him, one might think a record was replaying "Doc's" words from William F. Whyte's Street Corner Society:

You don't know how it feels to grow up in a district like this. You go to the first grade--Miss O'Rourke. Second grade--Miss Casey. Third grade--Miss Chalmers. Fourth grade--Miss Mooney. And so on. At the fire station it is the same. None of them are Italians. The police lieutenant is an Italian, and there are a couple of Italian sergeants, but they have never made an Italian captain in Cornerville. In the settlement houses, none of the people in authority are Italians.

*Feeling isolated and apart from the school.

Now you must know that the old-timers here have a great respect for school teachers and anybody like that. When the Italian boy sees that none of his own people have the good jobs, why should he think he is as good as the Irish or the Yankees? It makes him feel inferior.

If I had my way, I would have half the school teachers Italians and three-quarters of the people in the settlement. Let the other quarter be there just to show that we're in America.

Bill, those settlement houses were necessary at first. When our parents landed here, they didn't know where to go or what to do. They needed the social workers for intermediaries. They did a fine job then, but now the second generation is growing up, and we're beginning to sprout wings. They should take that net off and let us fly. (1943, p.276)

Change this litany to read Blacks instead of Italians, and whites instead of Irish or Yankees and it reflects "A's" feelings almost word for word.

"A's" attitudes toward whites and the system are further reflected in the following comments:

I learned to lie, cheat, and do anything necessary to make it in this world. I thought, before I went to college, even after that special education thing, that most everyone was honest and did their own work; that the rewards they received were the result of their own efforts. Instead, I found that some had access to the instructor's examinations, some played footsie* with the instructor, and others used crib notes almost openly on exams. I decided that if I was going to survive, my way of thinking and acting would have to change.

*Relationship outside of class; usually construed to be sexual in nature.

Recreational Activities The subject's recreational activities are largely limited to the Community Center. Sometimes there is a game of basketball; at other times he plays tennis. Periodically he will take a young woman to a movie or house party in the community. Apparently he is making an effort to avoid romantic involvements.

Influence of Black Leaders In talking about Black leaders in County Seat, "A's" comments were ambivalent but he expressed more condemnation than admiration or even acceptance. In his words,

We don't have any leaders in this community. Most of the people I see are worse ripoff artists than whites. Look at that yo-yo over there (referring to a young Black male of approximately 25 years); he is practicing how to get as much out of the pulpit as he can. (This particular young man was a novice minister).

Mr. X is all right, he runs his business pretty good too. He is not hincty (stuck up) like some that I see. Take Mrs. Z. for example; she spends most of her time with her nose in white people's behinds. I wouldn't trust her as far as I could throw her.

Summary

We can draw some tentative conclusions from the data gathered during contacts with this subject, however, to sum up in a few words how being Black has affected his personality would be impossible. A major factor in "A's" development has been a strong mother who cares a great deal what

happens to her children. "A" loves and respects his mother; he also loves his sister, although she sometimes irritates him by being "gullible". He expresses no resentment about being illegitimate.

His continuing sexual relationship with a woman older than he apparently allowed "A" to avoid some of the pre-occupation with sex, typical for his age group in this area.

"A" feels that he was labeled "special education" material because he is Black and not because of any other criteria (a review of his school records reveals that his standardized test scores were higher than the upper limit for placement in special education classes. Needed for placement was an I.Q. of 85 or below on the Lange-Thorndike Intelligenct test; "A's" I.Q. was 95). Moreover, he feels he was excluded from any real participation in activities, except athletics, in elementary, junior high, and high school.

Consequently, "A" is suspicious of the intentions of whites and feels that it is foolish to trust them. His hostility has been nurtured in contacts he has had since elementary school and the experience at eight years old has left its impression. He has also noted carefully the way Black children are excluded from other than athletic activities in the school.

"A" attitude toward Black leaders can best be described as ambiguous. While there are leaders that he respects, he has a definite suspicion of most and does not

believe their motives are beyond reproach. This observer did not discern any negative self images reflected in this subject's conversations. He apparently is successful in attributing the reasons for his condition to the social system in which he lives. "A", at this writing is still pursuing his goal of a degree.

SUBJECT "B"

The "B" family, consisting of Mrs. "B" and six "B" children occupies a three-bedroom single family dwelling in the University Estates area of County Seat. It is a home that was purchased by Mr. "B" prior to his death. The neighborhood is predominantly Black with two abandoned building, that once housed a cheese factory and a soda manufacturing firm. Most of the families in this neighborhood own their own homes.

The Mother

Mrs. "B" is a tall, statuesque woman weighing approximately 170 pounds and about 39 years of age. She gave birth to six children, five boys and one girl. Mrs. "B" was born and reared in County Seat and is the sister of Mrs. "A". Her mother is deceased; her father migrated to a northern city after the death of her mother. Her oldest

sister has also migrated to a northern city. Since the death of her husband, Mrs. "B" has had a series of live-in male friends.

Education. Mrs. "B" graduated from the all-black high school in County Seat prior to desegregation. Since that time she has been employed at various types of jobs in the county. During high school she participated in dramatic activities, the school chorus, and basketball.

Activities. Her activities seem to center around the church and visitations within the community.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Mrs. "B" seems to be indifferent toward education. Her participation in school activities in terms of showing an interest in her children's accomplishments and development seems to have centered around athletic events only. There is no record of Mrs. "B" ever visiting the school or any of her children's activities for any reason other than to view an athletic contest. It is interesting to note that the fracas that is described in the previous study, involving "A", also involved "B". While Ms. "A" was very aggressive in protecting her children, Mrs. "B" seemed almost indifferent.

Subject "B's" Activities and Attitudes

Attitudes Toward Family This researcher became acquainted with "B" upon arrival in the community during his junior year in high school. He is a tall, slim young man,

who mingled easily with people, yet maintained an air of independence. It was obvious to those who talked to him that "B" loved his family very much. He had a great deal of respect for his step-father before Mr. "B" died. To illustrate this respect, this writer will repeat a conversation that he and "B" had about "B" continuing his education under the most difficult of circumstances:

Until he died of a heart attack, my father worked very hard to ensure that we had a chance in this life. I see a number of other men in this community, who under terrible circumstances, are doing the same things for their families. I also see a number of men who do nothing. I don't see myself as one who will allow others and circumstances to determine who or what I will be. I owe this to my father, my wife, my son, and most of all, I owe this to me. I will not just lay down and give up.

"B" was particularly concerned about the image his mother projected to his younger brothers and sisters. He was concerned that the image of loose living would somehow influence his sisters to behave in a like fashion.

Relations With Girls. "B" kept company with the same girl all during this study. In fact, he married his high school sweetheart after graduation from high school. His relations with girls can be described as cordial but, the only serious relationship observed was with the woman who now is Mrs. "B". She became pregnant during "B's" second year in college. Since the birth of their son, she has been ill on a recurring basis and medical expenses have

rapidly accumulated. Expenses have risen so much that "B" has been forced to secure full-time employment to pay her medical bills.

Contacts With Whites In The School and Community. The record indicates that Subject "B" was a fair to good student. That is to say, he was a C+ to B- student in the general education curriculum. Records also indicate that he was highly visible. Part of his visibility was due apparently to sheer size. "B" is remembered by staff members, even though they have a tendency not to remember general education students. He was able to secure part-time employment as needed during high school and apparently, when the necessity arose for him to work full-time to pay medical bills, he had no real problem in finding a suitable job. There is no record of "B" having disciplinary problems during his years in high school and he participated in some extra curricular activities other than athletics. His relations with whites seem to have been cordial. Apparently he was, and is, held in high esteem.

Recreational Activities. "B's" recreational activities are largely limited to infrequent socialization at the Community Center and increasingly center around participation in church activities. Part of his relative inactivity should be due to the fact that "B" is still continuing his education and working full time, since he had to give up his basketball scholarship in order to work and pay some of his wife's

medical bills. "B" has been fully occupied in taking care of his family and furthering his education.

Influence of Black Leaders. Subject "B" seems to have been influenced most by people who would not ordinarily have been classified as leaders, who belong to his church. Apparently they demonstrated concern for his development, his need for someone to ask how well he was doing, and gave him encouragement. Indications are that members of his church still provide this sort of support, even though "B" is now a responsible adult. Apparently, these people, who take pride in and guide him, provide a congregate "significant other" that "B" needs.

Summary

It is fairly evident that "B" has recieved guidance, encouragement and support from persons other than his mother, since the death of his step-father. This step-father has inspiration and a model for the subject's continued development, even after his death. "B" was a visible student in high school, participated in numerous extra curricular activities and presented no disciplinary problems. He married his high school sweetheart immediately after high school graduation and she became pregnant during his second semester of college. "B" was compelled to give up a basketball scholarship and drop out to take care of recurring bills caused

by his wife's illness. Even though he has faced some adversity and known hardships, it appears that "B" is going to be successful in that which he is seeking; he has continued toward his goals even though he has had to reduce the speed of his attainment. "B" is, at this writing, still pursuing his degree.

SUBJECT "C"

The "C" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "C" and nine children, occupies a brick, four bedroom home in the University Estates Area of County Seat. Their block is desegregated in that both Black and white families live there. The home is located within a block of the Community Center. In this particular block, all families have two parents living in the home.

The Mother and Father

Mrs. "C" is a trim women of medium hight about 45 years of age, who does not show the effects of having nine children. She works as an allied health professional and has been fully employed (except for brief absences for childbearing) since her marraige to Mr."C". She was born and reared in County Seat. The site on which the "C" home is located is the original site of the homestead of Mrs. "C" parents. She has an outgoing personality and a capacity to mingle well with varying types of people and groups.

Mr. "C" is a thin man of medium height, about fifty years of age, weighing approximately one hundred fifty-five pounds. He was born and reared in County Seat and works in the manufacture of tires for automobiles and trucks. Mr. "C" pays lip service to the importance of higher education. His actions, however, do not match his words.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "C" received their elementary and secondary educations in County Seat during the era of segregated schools. Mr. "C" attended college for a while, then returned to County Seat. It seems that he came home during a vacation period, and never returned to school. Reports are that while Mrs. "C" was gregarious and outgoing as a high school student, Mr. "C" was reticent and retiring. Mrs. "C" trained herself as an Allied Health professional.

Activities. Both Mr. and Mrs. "C" center their activities around church functions. Occasionally other social opportunities will allow them to engage in different activities. When not otherwise engaged, Mr. "C" can be found spending his leisure time at one of the local bars in County Seat.

Attitudes Toward Education. Mr. "C" attitude towards children and education seems to be, "those things are fine for my kids as long as they don't cost me anything, including my time." He says he wants his children to do well, however, he has never attended a single conference or activity of any kind (including athletic contests) which involved his children. Mrs. "C's" attitude seems to be, "I'll do what I can

to help my children achieve." All of her activities away from church and lodge seem to center around school and her children. Throughout the period when "C" was in high school, she evidenced her concern by attendance at every open house, every parent-teacher conference, and every activity in which her children had an interest.

Subject "C's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. Subject "C" is a tall thin young man who projects a very serious appearance. In spite of his serious demeanor, however, he seems to mingle easily with different groups. In conversations with "C", it became apparent that he loves his mother very much, and that he tolerates his father. "He just occupies space here, and never does anything." As "C" continued to talk, the meaning of statement was clarified. He was expressing his resentment that his father never seemed to have time for the family in general, and for himself in particular. "C" is the fourth of nine siblings, with one older brother, two older sisters, four younger sisters and one younger brother.

Relations With Women. This subject seems to have had exceptionally cordial relationships with young women during his high school years. This seems particularly remarkable because "C" did not participate in athletics, nor was he visible otherwise. He belonged to no clubs and participated in no activities other than required class work. While his

relationships with the opposite sex were cordial, "C" admitted to few sexual encounters before high school graduation.

Contacts with Whites. "C's" contacts in the white community seem to have been limited to school. He was an above-average student in a general curriculum. As this particular curriculum included a large portion of the student body, individuals had to do something noteworthy to become visible to teachers and class leaders. "C" did nothing that could be described as deserving of notice. Upon graduation from high school, he enrolled in a private church-supported college and expects to graduate with his class.

Recreational Activities. Most of "C's" social activities in County Seat are house parties when he is home from college. Occasionally, he will visit the Community Center to sit around and talk with the group. Only rarely does he participate in athletic activities even though he is a fairly decent athlete.

Influence of Black Leaders. Such influences were negative for this subject. He maintains that the only ones that he saw in the flesh were ministers ("preachers" to use "C's" words) "with their hands continually reaching out to grasp every dollar they could from a gullible congregation." According to "C", other than his mother, his chemistry teacher (who was white and female) had the most impact on his decision to go to college and complete a program.

Summary

"C" comes from a family in which most of the developmental support comes from the mother. Outside of his job, church and lodge, and the bars that he frequents, "C's" father is disinterested. In spite of what may be described as an "invisible profile", "C" was very much noticed in high school, had cordial relationships with young women, and generally few problems. College followed high school rather closely and "C" expects to graduate with his class. One person other than his mother, a chemistry teacher, was concerned enough about "C" to monitor his progress and encourage him. At this writing "C" is preparing to graduate with a Bachelor's degree.

SUBJECT "D"

The "D" family lives in a three-bedroom frame house in the University Estates area of County Seat. The home was inherited by Mr. "D" as members of his original family died or moved to other parts of the county. Most of the families in this area are two-parent families headed by a male. The subject family consists of Mr. and Mrs. "D" and five children, four girls and a boy.

The Mother and Father

Mrs. "D" is a tall, big boned woman drifting towards obesity at approximately two hundred pounds. She is employed

with one of the non-profit organizations in County Seat. She and Mr. "D" were married when he returned to County Seat after military service during the Korean conflict. She was born and reared in County Seat. Both her mother and father are deceased and her brother (only sibling) migrated to a northern city after military service.

Mr. "D" is a thin, nervous man of medium height, weighing approximately one hundred sixty pounds. He was born and reared in County Seat and is currently employed by one of the light industries in County Seat.

Education. The D's" are graduates of the all-Black high school located in County Seat prior to desegregation. Mr. "D" participated in sports (football, basketball and track) and drama, and sang in the school chorus. Mrs. "D" sang in the high school chorus.

Activities. Both Mr. and Mrs. "D" center their activities around either the church or the lodge. During the period of this study, they were seen participating in one activity other than the aforementioned. Usually Mr. and Mrs. "D" are present at any activity involving their church. Mr. "D" has said on more than one occasion that "any activity not involving the church is sinful."

Attitudes Toward Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "D" express concern about their children. However, their concern is somewhat muted by their evident disinterest in activities involving their children, except for church. While they will attend activities of the church where their children are

participants, they have not manifested the same concerns for non-church activities. While in high school, "D" participated in athletics and drama; none of these activities were attended by his parents.

Subject "D's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. It is evident when one talks to "D" that he loves his sisters very much; it is not quite so evident when he talks of his parents. He was particularly concerned that his sisters not become a "state statistic" by which he means that one of every seven births is illegitimate and for teenagers, one in every four. When he speaks of his parents, it is with impatience. In "D's" view, they spend entirely too much time worrying about the hereafter, and not enough about the here and now.

Relations With Women. "D's" relations with girls were amicable and cordial. He seems to have developed cordial relationships during his years in high school years and following to graduation. More than any other young man in this study, "D" seemed to have gone through the stage of having multiple girl-friends during the school years.

Contacts With Whites. "D" participated in numerous activities while in high school. He played football and basketball, participated in drama production, was a member of the student council and science clubs. His contacts with whites seem to have been fruitful, in that he reported no traumatic experiences and received abundant attention from some of the white instructors in high school. "D" held a

part-time job from his sophomore year until graduation from high school. Upon graduation he enrolled in an engineering course in a nearby state. During his time in high school, "D" consistently hovered near the honor roll although he never made it. With some encouragement from his counselor, he managed to complete every math course that his school offered.

Recreational Activities. "D's" recreational activities while in high school centered around school-sponsored athletic activities, church sponsored functions, and the Community Center. Since graduation, his participation in athletics at the Community Center is limited to an occasional basketball game during one of his breaks from college. On most occasions he kibitzes for awhile, then departs.

Influence of Black Leaders. Local Black leaders seem to have had little influence on "D's" positive development. Most of the Black people who could be labeled "leaders" in County Seat are ministers people who, in "D's" view, are responsible for the attitudes exhibited by his parents towards anything outside the church. He speaks very favorably of his high school counselor and his mathematics instructor as being instrumental in his continuing in a college preparatory curriculum, in spite of its difficulty.

Summary

"D" comes from a neighborhood where the majority of households are two-parent households, with a male head. Both

parents are devout practitioners of their religion; so much that resentment has developed in "D". He feels that his parents practice their religion at the expense of the rest of the family. His relations with whites seem to have been amicable, in that he reports no traumatic experiences, held a part-time job for quite some time during high school, and developed a productive relationship with his math teacher who is white. "D" was an active student and highly visible. Apparently this carried over after high school graduation. "D" is now an engineer with a large corporation.

SUBJECT "E"

The "E" family, consisting of the mother and two children still at home, occupies a small two-bedroom apartment in University Estates in Central County Seat. Across the street from their apartment, the city has put in a tennis and a basketball court. The complex, which houses the "E" family and other families in similar circumstances, was developed as part of an Urban Renewal program in County Seat during the late sixties. All of the families in this project are one-parent families, all of the heads of households are female.

The Mother

Ms. "E" is a tall buxom women of approximately sixty years of age and weighing about 175 pounds. She suffers from an assortment of maladies, some of which can apparently be attributed to excess weight. She has no marketable skills, but has somehow managed to survive in County Seat. She gave birth to all of her children, five girls and three boys, out of wedlock.

Ms. "E" was born and reared in County Seat. She is the oldest of three children, with a younger brother and sister. Both mother and father are deceased, and her younger siblings have migrated to a Northern city. Ms."E" can best be described as inarticulate.

Education. Ms. "E" was an elementary school dropout from the segregated school in County Seat, leaving at approximately the fourth grade. She attributes her leaving school to the intrusion of her sharecropping family's requirement that she pick cotton at an early age. As a result, she always entered school late in the year. In addition, Ms. "E" states that her family lived five miles from the city and no bus service was provided. In her words, "the distance was just too far to walk just to be embarrassed when you arrive."

Activities. These seemed to center around church activities for Ms. "E". Other than that, there is very little to explain what she does during the course of a day.

A large portion of her time is spent watching soap operas on TV.

Attitudes Toward Education for Children. Apparently Ms. "E" is too busy trying to survive to have an attitude toward the development of her children. While it is apparent that she loves them very much, it is also apparent that her comprehension of anything beyond a television set and a paycheck of any size, is limited at best.

Subject "E's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. This writer became acquainted with "E" during "E's" freshman year in high school. He is a tall, muscular young man who presents a much quieter demeanor than his older brother, J, who will be discussed later, and is much less vocal about having been born out of wedlock. He has been able to develop a closer relationship with his sisters than his brother has. His concern for his mother is evidenced by his having given her most of his income from part-time work since the 9th grade. With his brother, "J", the relationship is close, each gives the other support.

Relations With Women. These seem to have been limited while in high school to partners for special events, such as athletic banquets and homecoming dances. Since his graduation from high school, however, he has begun to interact with women on a wider scale. It appears that his course parallels "J's" even though the reasons for that parallel seem to be quite different.

Contacts With Whites. In a neighborhood which is almost all Black, "E" has, however, had considerable contact with whites, both in and outside of school and athletics. While in school, "E" followed a college preparatory curriculum and participated in football. Because of his size and height, and his academic preparation, he was an outstanding major college prospect in athletics. In contrast to his brother, "J", "E" received considerable support while in high school, both from a large segment of the high school faculty and from the community at large, particularly businessmen supporters of athletics. It was easy to support "E" as the record shows he was an excellent student as well as an excellent athlete. "E" enrolled in a state university upon graduation and is apparently making satisfactory progress toward a degree in banking and finance.

Recreational Activities. "E" has had little time for recreational activities outside of short visits to the Community Center. During high school, football and his studies occupied most of his time. In college, he reports the same holds true. He says he was able to take a girl out on a date only once during his freshman year. During holiday periods, "E" works at a part-time job to provide him with some cash money during the school year.

Influence of Leaders. "E" apparently was influenced by white leaders as well as Blacks. In speaking of people who were supportive towards him, "E" mentions one Black

person, who not only showed an interest in his development but assisted in his selection of a college and helped him get oriented during the first year. He also mentions a white instructor who helped him get a job during school holidays and who provided emotional support throughout his high school years.

Summary

Unlike his brother "J", "E" does not seem overly affected by being illegitimate. While his mother has provided little educational support, he has apparently developed his own through his classroom and athletic performance. In addition to his demonstrated abilities, "E" proved visible because of his size. He received support from key elements in both the Black and white communities. He is currently pursuing his degree satisfactorily.

SUBJECT "F"

The "F" family, consisting of mother and five children, occupies a frame, three bedroom home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The block where the "F" home is located is desegregated and within one block of the Community Center. In this particular neighborhood, the "F" family is the only one headed by a single parent.

The Mother

Mrs. "F" is a short frumpy woman, about forty-five years of age. She and Mr. "F" separated when their children were very young. Mrs. "F" has no visible skills that are marketable. She seems to survive on a combination of social welfare and "contributions" from various boyfriends.

Mrs. "F" was not born and reared in County Seat. She migrated to the area from out-of-state when her children were very small. Despite a life style that is unconventional, she seems to have maintained the respect of her children. She maintains a wall between herself and others unfamiliar to her. After spending some time with Mrs. "F", it became clear that the researcher would remain unfamiliar to her and an object of suspicion.

Education. Mrs. "F" states that she graduated from high school in another state. Beyond that, Mrs. "F" would not discuss her educational past in any way.

Activities. Her activities seem to center around a local tavern where she solicits "contributions" from male companions.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. It was obvious that Mrs. "F" loves her children very much. That love seems to be reflected in the children's attitudes towards her. She manifests her concern by attending conferences where her children are involved and insisting that things be explained to her until she can understand them. In one

instance the high school wished to place her son in a remedial class. Mrs. "F" kept insisting that the process be explained to her, particularly the procedures for taking her son out of this course after he had been there, based upon what standard. When the high school was unable to provide her with satisfactory answers, she refused to allow the placement.

Subject "F's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. This observer became acquainted with "F" upon his arrival in the community during "F's" junior year in high school. He was a slim young man of medium height, weighing about one hundred fifty pounds. "F" seemed to mingle and be at ease with a number of groups even though he appeared to be reticent. He is the second of five siblings, with one older sister and his actions indicate that he cares for his family very much. He has devoted a large portion of his time to his younger brother and sisters, and can be seen most times taking his younger sisters and brother to athletic contests.

Relations With Girls. "F" limited his relations with girls to group activities until after he graduated from high school and left for college. Since that time he has escorted various young women to social events, athletic contests, and on occasion, church. "F" seems to be very careful, however, not to become overly involved. "I don't want anything getting in the way of my graduation."

Contacts With Whites In the School and Community. "F" lives in a desegregated neighborhood, and yet had little or no contact with whites. He was a general curriculum student, more or less invisible to the staff at his high school. No one on the staff was able to recall him three years after his graduation. Despite the lack of contact with whites, "F" does not appear to have developed any hostility. Even though he played football, "F" elected to attend a college that did not have a football team. "When I played that last game in high school, my association with football was over except for watching on TV."

Recreational Activities. "F's" recreational activities, when home from college, center around athletic contests at Community Center and social activities such as house parties involving other college students.

Influence of Black Leaders. "F" seems to have been profoundly influenced by a Black professional in the community. According to him, this professional provided him with the support (male) that he could not get at home. It was this source that expressed interest in his progress and gave him encouragement to continue trying. "Mr. X was really in my corner. He stood by me when I needed it most. He even came to see our out-of-town games when we were playing two hundred miles away."

While "F's" mother seems to be deficient in a number of desirable traits, she seems to care very much about what happens to her children. She has exhibited concern

continually for her children in general, and "F" in particular. Her solicitation of "contributions" from various male friends does not seem to have denigrated her in the eyes of "F". His activities during high school indicated that he was family oriented. The record indicates that "F" was a general curriculum student, and more or less invisible to the staff at his high school. There was one Black professional in the community who seems to have influenced his development. "F" recently received his Bachelor's Degree.

SUBJECT "G"

The "G" family, consisting of Mrs."G" and three "G" siblings, one boy and two girls, live in a rented three bedroom, frame house in University Estates in Central County Seat. This has been their home since Mr. "G" was killed in action in Viet Nam. The area in which the family home is located is comprised of approximately fifty percent one-parent families, and is evenly divided between white and Black families.

The Mother

Mrs. "G" is a tall, big-boned woman who seems to have born the trauma of losing her husband in an unpopular war, and having to rear and support her children alone, very well. She is the third of four girls born to her mother and father.

Two of her sisters reside in County Seat; the oldest migrated to a northern city.

Education. Mrs. "G" is a graduate of the all-Black high school located in County Seat during the segregation era. She participated in basketball, and was named to several girls all-star teams.

Activities. All of the "G" family activities seem to center within the family, when they occur away from school and church.

Attitude Toward Education and Children. Mrs. "G" has expressed in more than one interview the desire that her children achieve. She has shown this concern (according to school records) by attending conferences on a regular basis where her children were involved. She also supported "G" in his athletic activities.

Subject "G's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. When one observes "G" in his interaction with his family, the conclusion follows that he is indeed concerned about his family and that he loves them very much. Apparently he considers his role as the oldest male in the family as one of responsibility. On more than one occasion, he has cut his activities short and left for home because his mother was at work and his sisters were home alone. He thinks his mother is a "superwoman" because of the way she has managed to support her family after the death of her husband. He also thinks very highly of his

mother because she did not succumb to the practice of having a "boyfriend" in the home as others have. He has a particular soft spot for his grandmother who was always "in his corner."

Relations With Girls. "G's" relations with girls seem to have been non-existent during high school. It is only since his graduation from high school and entrance into college that he has developed any relationships with females. According to "G" he has just gotten to the point where he has the time for women.

Contacts With Whites In The School And Community. "G's" contacts with whites in the school and community seem to have been limited to athletics, where he excelled as a basketball player. The record shows that "G" was not an exceptional student. Indeed, if one believes his record, he was less than average. "G" was placed in Special Education as one with learning disabilities. His contacts with whites seem to have come through part-time jobs that he held during his high school years. By being placed in Special Education, he was for the most part, kept apart from the main student body. Outside athletics, "G" was invisible. His support seems to have come from outside the school. Even his coach at one time considered him to be "worthless." "G" enrolled in a community college upon graduation.

Influence of Black Leaders. Influence exerted by Black leaders, either directly or indirectly, was minimal.

The influence exerted by those other than his mother or grandmother was primarily negative. He has a particular antipathy to ministers, whom he feels are equivalent to confidence artists.

Summary

"G" is from a one parent family, his father was killed in action in Viet Nam. Activities are largely family centered. "G" has a protective attitude toward his family and high regard for his mother, who did not succumb to the "live-in boyfriend" syndrome. "G" was largely invisible in high school except for athletics. At least one of his coaches considered him to be worthless as a human being. His mother was most supportive and it appears that this support, along with that furnished by his grandmother, was sufficient. "G" is at this writing still pursuing his community college studies.

SUBJECT "H"

The "H" family lives in a recently purchased brick home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. This home was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. "H" after an intense period of saving. The family home is within walking distance from city operated tennis courts and swimming pool. Ninety percent of the families in this area are two-parent families with a male head.

The Mother

Mrs. "H" is a tall, thin, statuesque woman in her late thirties, weighing approximately one hundred thirty pounds. Her children were all born of one father, Mr. "H". Mrs. "H" is employed in one of the Allied Health professions. She was born and reared in one of the communities adjacent to County Seat. Her mother, father and her three older brothers are still living.

The Father

Mr. "H" is a stocky, intense man of medium height and weight (approximately 150 lbs), who was born and reared in County Seat. He is a foreman in the transportation industry and spends most of his free time with his family. His recreation consists primarily of voracious reading.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "H" graduated from the same high school in County Seat, prior to desegregation. Both Mr. and Mrs. "H" were active in the chorus and drama activities during their high school years. Mr. "H" consistently held some elective office during these years.

Activities. Activities for both Mr. and Mrs. "H" seem to center around the family, which consists of two boys and three girls. The family attended church together before both boys and the older girl graduated from high school and left for college.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Both Mr. and Mrs. "H" seem to be very concerned about what happens

to their children. This is supported by the fact that both Mr. and Mrs. "H" attend parent-teacher conferences regularly to see what is happening to their children. Any activity that seems to interest their children interests them also. There is a constant check on the progress of their children by both parents.

Subject "H's" Activities and Attitudes

Toward Family. This writer became acquainted with "H" and his brother "I" upon arrival in the community during their freshman year in high school. He was a tall, muscular young man, rather intense and reticent. While not as verbal as his brother, "H" still is able to convey the message that he cares for his family and that he has particularly high regard for his father.

Relations With Girls. "H's" relations with girls can best be described as cordial and limited. There seems to be a tradition in the Black community for academic achievers to be avoided. Both "H" and his brother "I", who were excellent students as well as excellent athletes, were overlooked by girls except for special events. Their sister was avoided the same way by males. Ironically, now that they are out of high school, "H" and his brother are both very popular young men with the opposite sex.

Contacts With Whites In The School and Community. "H" participated in fewer activities than his brother--Beta Club, Math Club, Football, and Basketball. He was, nonetheless,

highly visible and maintained a B+ average in the college preparatory curriculum. He was as excellent athlete, being selected for the all state team in football and playing on the runner-up team for the state championship in basketball. "H's" relations with whites in the school and community were cordial, but formal. According to "H", formality solves many problems before they occur. "H" choose not to participate in athletics in college, but opted instead for concentrating upon his major in Banking and Finance.

Recreational Activities. "H's" recreational activities center around family and reading, when not involved in school activities. His presence at the Community Center is usually limited to an athletic contest or two, after which he departs.

Influence of Black Leaders. Black leaders seem to have little or no influence on "H". Most local Blacks who could be described as leaders are not objects of "H's" admiration, particularly ministers. Very seldom does "H" mention a Black leader of national prominence. Other than his parents, there seems to have been one person, a science teacher, who influenced "H". This person often stated that "H" was a capable person who would accomplish significant things.

Summary

While "H's" path differed somewhat from his brother "I's", it is apparent that he was very visible in the school and the community. It is also apparent that he had strong support and high expectations from his parents. There was at least one person other than his parents who had high expectations

for "H", and expressed those expectations to him. He is successfully pursuing his degree at this writing.

SUBJECT "I"

As Subjects "H" and "I" are brothers, family information given previously is appropriate for this case also. The paragraphs below serve to describe the attitudes and activities of the subject himself.

Attitude Towards His Family. This writer became acquainted with "I" upon arrival in the community during his freshman year in high school. He was a slim young man of medium hight who seemed to mingle easily in a number of settings, even though he was apparently shy.

In talking with "I" and from observing him in a family setting, it is fairly obvious that he loves his family very much. He gets along with his younger brother very well and they both take a protective stance toward their sisters.

Relations With Girls. "I's" relations with girls can best be described as cordial and limited. There seems to be a tradition in the Black community for academic achievers to be avoided. Both "I" and his brother "H", who were excellent students as well as excellent athletes, were overlooked by girls except for special events. Their sister was avoided the same way by males. Ironically, now that they are out of high school, "I" and his brother are very popular young men with the opposite sex.

Contacts With Whites In The School and Community. "I" participated in every conceivable activity in high school--Thespians (Drama), Beta Club (Honor Society), Math Club, Science Club, Football, Student Council, and President of the "C" Club. "I" maintained a straight "A" average in the college preparatory curriculum while in high school and could best be described as highly visible. "I's" achievements occurred, in his estimation, because of the support and expectations of his father and mother. Added to these expectations were those of members of the community and the schools. "Failure just was not in my program." Upon graduation, "I" accepted an appointment to a service academy. He has consistently made the equivalent of the Dean's List each term since his second semester at the Academy.

Recreational Activities. "I's" recreational activities center around family and reading, when not involved in school activities. His presence at the Community Center is usually limited to an athletic contest or two, after which he departs.

Influence of Black Leaders. Blacks who were not in close proximity seem to have impressed "I" the most. This conclusion was drawn from the way that "I" would quote persons such as Malcom X or W.E.B. DuBois; a check would usually reveal that the remark was an accurate quote. "I" was also influenced by whites in the community. Specifically mentioned was an English teacher and a math teacher.

Summary

It is fairly obvious that "I" was highly visible in the school and the community. It is also obvious that he had strong support from his parents. Persons who were interested in what happened to him were numerous. At this writing "I" is progressing successfully in his program at the service academy.

SUBJECT "J"

The "J" family, consisting of mother and two children still at home, occupies a small two-bedroom apartment in the University Estates in Central County Seat. Across the street from the family apartment, the city has erected a tennis court and a basketball court. The apartment complex which houses the "J" family and other families in similar circumstances, was developed as a part of an Urban Renewal program in County Seat during the late nineteen sixties. All of the families in this complex are one-parent families, and all of the heads of households are female.

The Mother

Ms. "J" is a tall buxom women of approximately sixty years of age and weighing about 175 pounds. She suffers from an assortment of maladies, a portion of which can apparently be attributed to excess weight. She has no

marketable skills, but has somehow managed to survive in County Seat. She gave birth to all of her children, five girls and three boys, out of wedlock.

Ms. "J" was born and reared in County Seat. She is the oldest of three children, with a younger brother and sister. Both mother and father are deceased, and the younger brother and sister migrated to a Northern city. Ms. "J" can best be described as inarticulate.

Education. Ms. "J" was an elementary school dropout from the segregated school system in County Seat, dropping out at approximately the fourth grade. She attributes her dropping out of school to the intrusion of her sharecropping family's requirement for her to pick cotton at an early age. As a result, she always entered school late in the year. In addition, Ms. "J" states that her family lived approximately five miles from the city and no bus service was provided. She states that "the distances was just too far to walk just to be embarrassed when you arrived."

Activities. Ms. "J's" activities seem to center around church activities. Other than that, there is very little to explain what she does to fill the course of a day. A large portion of her time is spent watching soap operas on TV.

Attitude Towards Education and Children. Ms. "J" apparently is too busy trying to survive to have an attitude towards the development of her children. While it is apparent that she loves them very much, it is also apparent that

her comprehension of anything beyond an automobile and a weekly paycheck of any magnitude is, at best, limited.

Subject "J's" Attitudes and Activities

This writer became acquainted with "J" upon arrival in the community during his junior year in high school. He is a tall slim young man, very articulate and apparently able to interact at many levels. "J" is serious in his demeanor and jokes very little. "J" resents his mother for having born eight children, including himself, out of wedlock. He and his younger brother "E" are the last of the children still at home. He states that "damn; I know times were tough, but you would think she'd have learned something after the first one." He says little about his older sisters, confining his conversation to himself and his younger brother.

Relations With Girls. "J" limited his relations with girls to a group movie during his entire stay in high school. Apparently his mother's experiences affected him deeply. "I am not ready for any type of responsibility and there is no way that I would wish anything like what I inherited upon some other kid." It is only recently that "J" has begun to show more than passing interest in girls or to relate to individual girls rather than groups.

Contacts With Whites In The School And Community. While "J" lives in a neighborhood which is almost all Black, he has had considerable contacts with whites outside of school

and athletics. He has been employed part-time since the eighth grade in various enterprises. Since his sophomore year, he has been with a national grocery chain. "J" was a non-athlete even though he is about 6 feet tall and a basketball player of considerable skill in Community Center games. "J" was a general education curriculum student while in high school, graduating in the middle of his class of 180 students. After graduation from high school, he enrolled in a local university as an accounting major and is apparently doing very well. Upon graduation, he expects to start immediately towards his ultimate goal of becoming a Certified Public Accountant. Even though he was not an athlete or an outstanding student, he belonged to several clubs and was apparently very visible in school. All of his teachers who were interviewed remember him and students who were not in the general curriculum remember him. "J" seems to have found one person who was interested in what happened to him educationally as one of his instructors, a math teacher, would periodically inquire how things were going and offer encouragement.

Recreational Activities. Because of the necessity to work in order to support himself in college, "J" has very little time for recreational activities. His visits to the Community Center are for short intervals weekly. His recreational activities are more and more campus-oriented.

Influence of Black Leaders. In conversations with "J", one gets the idea that local Black leaders have greatly

influenced his development. He talks particularly about a Mr. X: "most Sundays, before the minister arrived, we would talk about what we were going to do with our lives. Mr. X would always encourage us to strive for excellence and not settle for anything less than what we really wanted out of life. I still check with him from time to time. I never talk to the minister about this because he is always downgrading education." "J" joined a local fraternity and was recently elected to office in that organization.

Summary

It seems fairly obvious that being the seventh of eight illegitimate children has affected "J's" outlook on life. It is also apparent that his mother has provided little in the way of educational support for any of her children. Her limited educational development renders her apparently incapable of visualizing beyond a steady job. Even though "J" was not an athlete or outstanding student, he was highly visible nevertheless. Mr. X in the Black community and his math instructor provided the encouragement and incentive for "J" to continue his education. He has just completed the requirements for his degree in Accounting.

Unsuccessful Matriculating Students

SUBJECT "K"

The "K" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "K" and five "K" siblings (three boys, two girls) occupies a comfortable three-bedroom, frame single-family dwelling in the University Estates in Central County Seat. It is a home that has been adapted from what was originally a shotgun design. That is, one could look in the front door and see completely through the house. The neighborhood in which the "K" family lives is completely Black. Most of the families in this neighborhood own their homes.

The Mother and Father

"K's" mother is a dark complected woman weighing about 150 pounds. She would probably be termed "short". Mrs. "K" is approximately 50 years of age. She gave birth to five children, three boys and two girls. Mrs. "K" was born and reared in County Seat and is the second of five children. Her mother lives down the street and her father is deceased. One of her two sisters lives in the same neighborhood but her older sister and both brothers have migrated to a northern city. Mrs. "K" is employed as a cutter in a garment factory.

"K's" father is a short, thin man, light brown in color. Mr. "K" is about 57 years of age. He was born and reared in County Seat and is employed as a farm worker.

Education. While both Mr. and Mrs. "K" attended the all Black high school in County Seat, only Mrs. "K" graduated. Mr. "K" terminated his formal education upon reaching age 14 when it was legal to drop out of school.

Activities. The "K's" participate in few, except church, activities. They attend and belong to the same church. All the "K" children attend the church.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Mr. "K's" attitude toward education can best be described as indifferent. He does not hesitate to indicate very clearly that he considers education beyond the three Rs to be useless.

"K's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. "K" is a young man, approximately six feet tall, with smooth muscles. He talks about his family fairly easily; however, it is indicated in his conversation that he thinks very little of his father. He believes that his father should be more assertive in his contacts with the rest of the world. He seems to resent the lack of privacy at home and the cramped living conditions.

Relations With Girls. "K" was considered to be something of a ladies' man while in high school and apparently had extensive social contacts. He participated in most of the social activities that young Black people participate in while he was in high school and apparently had a series of girl friends. "K's" contacts with girls centered around movies, discos, and house parties.

Contact With Whites in the Community. "K" seems to have developed a fairly good rapport with whites while in school even though he was participating in athletics a great deal of the time. He was able to secure summer employment between school terms for three out of his four years in high school. "K" followed the general education curriculum, taking the path of least resistance. The record shows that his average was about 2.5 on a 4.0 scale in the general track. He reports there were no difficulties until after he had graduated from high school. He received an all expense athletic scholarship to a local university but returned home at the end of his first year and never returned. In conversations, it is apparent that there was a significant difference between what "K" expected at the university and the reality on the campus.

When I signed my letter of intent to attend the university, I was promised tutoring assistance. You know that in high school I only had business math and applied science. When they threw me in chemistry and algebra classes, I was lost. My first semester grades were okay, I guess. At least I was eligible for athletics. Near the middle of the second semester, I could see the handwriting on the wall. There was not going to be any assistance and I was going to fail. I think I was carried so I could play. Besides, there was no social life at all for Black students. I decided to hell with it. I could survive alone only on a diet of PE. That wasn't for me.

"K" found no role models other than his athletic coach. The record shows that "K's" parents did not attend any

activity other than athletics during his tenure in high school. There was an involved-other in his life, his grandmother. "K" was not considered to be a disciplinary problem but reports that there was no teacher who believed in him. On a scale of one to five, "K" showed confidence at approximately a four level, as far as could be seen. However, there is no way of determining how much of this was bravado. His one broadly defined skill was athletics.

Recreational Activities. "K" spends quite a bit of his time with the group at the Community Center playing basketball. Occasionally he takes in a movie. Of late, "K" has become interested in a new arrival in the community and is spending considerable time talking to this young lady.

Influence of Black Leaders. "K's" attitude toward Black leaders can best be described as indifferent. He reports that he has never had contact with any, he has never seen any, and he is not sure that they really exist. He has heard that there are Blacks who are physicians and engineers but believes in Black television announcers only because he has seen them on TV. However, he has never met any and is not quite sure that he could ever become one. "K" expresses some hostility towards Black ministers. He feels that they are parasites feeding off the Black community.

Summary

"K's" father is indifferent to higher education and "K's" feelings appear to be ambivalent. His mother seems

to be caught in between. "K" participated only in athletics in high school and was fairly popular with the opposite sex. He expresses some degree of confidence. Apparently "K" was ill-prepared for the experience of the local state university. He was not considered a disciplinary problem in high school and had no involved-other in his life, other than his grandmother, and no teacher who believed in him. He is now employed in County Seat.

SUBJECT "L"

"L's" family occupies a four bedroom, brick home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The family consists of Mr. and Mrs. "L" and six children, four sons and two daughters. This home was built by the couple after the birth of their oldest child.

The Parents

Mrs. "L" is a tall hefty woman, approximately fifty-five years of age with a shrill voice. She appears to have some concern about the welfare of her children, but no knowledge of how to enhance their life chances. Her activities center around those that are church sponsored or school athletic events. Mrs. "L" and "K's" mother are sisters. Mrs. "L" is a firm believer in strong discipline for her children, an attitude that is confirmed with conversations with her neighbors.

Mr. "L" is a tall, thin man, of medium brown complexion. Unlike his wife, it is very difficult to engage Mr. "L" in any type conversation. His brother is similar in manner. Mr. "L" is employed on the assembly line of a light manufacturing concern in County Seat; he was previously employed as a laborer in the surrounding area. Mr. "L" is most emphatic in his contention that education beyond high school is a waste for Black youths. According to Mr. "L": "when a white kid goes away to college and does reasonably well, the response is 'that Johnny is a smart boy; we must do what we can to help him'. When a Black kid goes away to college and does exceptionally well, the response is: 'that's a smart nigger; we'd better watch him.'"

Mr. "L" goes on to point out the difficulties that Black youths have in finding employment, and contends that the better trained or educated Black youths are, the less likely their chances are of being hired, because whites control the system and they don't want any Blacks who can think in positions of responsibility. His activities involve socializing with some male neighbors over a bottle of wine. He has little patience with church activities even though his wife participates in them.

Parent's Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "L" are products of the segregated school system in County Seat. Mr. "L" dropped out of school in about the fifth or sixth grade. Mrs. "L" dropped out of school at about the eighth grade. Both attended school when cotton was king in the area and

had to stay out of school and in the fields until the middle of October. As a result they always started five to six weeks behind the rest of the students. Apparently, neither Mr. or Mrs. "L" had anything that they did sufficiently well to compensate for the built-in disadvantage of entering school so late, year after year.

Subject "L's" Attitudes and Activities

"L" is the third of six siblings, with two older sisters and three younger brothers. He is a tall, slim young man weighing approximately one hundred sixty pounds. In conversations it becomes apparent that he cares very much for the members of his family. He cares for his mother because of her consistency: "You always know where mom is, even if you disagree with her." He cares for his father because he stayed with his mother and did not disappear under pressure." The old man could have booked long ago, but he stayed and worked shitty jobs, and took shitty treatment and supported us. It would have been much easier for him to run away." "L" appears to care for his sisters and brothers because they are his brothers and sisters.

Relations With Girls. "L's" relations with girls can best be described as congenial. His rapport with them seems to have been fairly established during all of his high school years. "L" was almost continually linked, in a romantic sense, with one young woman or another during the course of

this study. We can surmise that he was sexually active as one of the young women that he was associated with became pregnant.

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community. "L's" contacts with whites in the school and community seems to have been cordial and uneventful except for an incident which occurred during his junior year in high school. According to "L", a teacher selected him out of a group of approximately ten students after lunch and said "boy, go to class." After this one word led to another and the next thing that happened was that he found himself in the principal's office for disciplinary action. Fortunately, the complete incident had been observed by another teacher, so no action was taken against him. "L's" grades while in high school averaged C to C+ on the general track curriculum. He accepted an athletic scholarship to a local university upon graduation from high school. "L" completed his first year at the university and never returned. Getting him to talk about his time on the university campus is very difficult. However, he is not reluctant at all to talk about his years in high school. "L" contacts with whites during his years in high school seem to have been limited primarily to classroom teachers and the coaching staff at County Seat High School. Unlike "K", "L" would not talk about his experiences at the University.

Recreational Activities. "L's" recreational activities, as with most of the young men in this study, center around athletic contests at the Community Center. Occasionally, he will attend a house party or a movie. Almost always, however, he has a young women waiting for him when the athletic contests are finished.

Influence of Black Leaders. The influence of Black leaders in "L's" life seem to have been minimal. His attitude appears to be almost hostile. "The only Black leaders that I see are preachers; the only thing they do is come preach a half-asses sermon on Sunday, pat a few behinds, get their pay, and go."

Summary

In summarizing the case of "L", a few items literally jump at you. First of all, he was reared in an atmosphere where a significant other, his father, was, and is, hostile to post-secondary education. Secondly, "L's" relations with whites were relatively uneventful. He was not considered to be a disciplinary problem in school. His parent's showed no interest in activities other than athletics for "L" or his siblings. "L" does not mention, nor did interviews in the community reveal, any involved-other or teacher who believed in him. "L" is now employed in County Seat.

SUBJECT "M"

The "M" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "M" and seven children, four brothers and three sisters, live in a four bedroom, frame house in the University Estates in Central County Seat. This home is owned by them.

The Parents

Mrs. "M" is a tall, thin, intense woman, light brown in complexion. Mrs. "M" gave birth to all of her children at home. She is a hardworking woman who has provided the majority of support for her family. Mrs. "M" is very suspicious of post-secondary education; indeed, she seems to be suspicious of all education gained outside the church. All of Mrs. M's activities center around the church. In talking with Mrs. "M", one soon gets a clear picture of one who is hostile to education:

The only thing education does is help children get into devilment (mischief) and think they are better than their parents. I don't know of a single soul who did not become a fool after getting educated.

Mr. "M" is a thin, emaciated man of medium height, dark brown in complexion. He has been in poor health for the past several years. As a result, he has had to change from his normal occupation of farmer to doing odd jobs in the community. After talking with Mr. "M" for awhile, it becomes evident that his opinions parallel Mrs. "M's". Like his wife, Mr. "M's" activities center around the church.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "M" terminated their educations at the elementary school level. Since then, their education has consisted almost entirely of reading the bible.

"M's" Attitudes and Activities

"M's" attitudes towards his family seem to be that the family exists to gratify his desires. He is the fourth of seven siblings, with two older brothers, one older sister, two younger sisters and one younger brother. In over five weeks of conversations with this young man, I never once heard him mention or allude to any responsibilities that he felt were his.

Relations With Girls. "M's" relations with girls can best be described as limited. He very seldom can be seen in an interactive situation with girls, which can be described as comfortable.

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community.

"M's" contacts with whites in the school and community can best be described as limited. Because of his involvement in athletics and the classroom, little time was left for other kinds of relationships. "M" was a general curriculum student with a C+ to B average. The record reveals that neither of his parents ever attended a parent-teacher conference. No member of the staff could ever recall his parents being at school for any reason, including athletic contests. There is no evidence that "M" was any kind of

disciplinary problem and he participated in no activities other than athletics.

Upon graduation from high school "M" accepted an athletic scholarship to a private four year college. He returned home before he had been enrolled for ten weeks. During the time of his enrollment, "M" could be seen around County Seat often. According to "M", "I didn't like the coach, so I couldn't play for him."

Recreational Activities. "M's" recreational activities seem to center around occasional athletic contests at the Community Center and reliving his exploits on the football field. Periodically he will become involved in some church activity. Very infrequently, he will be involved in some activity (such as a disco party) with girls. After observing for some time, it finally dawned on me that "M" can't dance. It is possible that his contributes to his obvious discomfiture around girls in a socializing situation.

Influence of Black Leaders. "M's" attitude towards Black leaders appears to be very much influenced by the attitudes of his parents. Any Black leader that is not a minister is suspect, because his "thinking is likely to be contaminated."

Summary

It is clear that "M's" parents have a very low opinion of higher education. It is also clear that this parental attitude has had some influence on "M's" attitude toward

higher education. His parents provided no support of any kind toward his school activities, including athletics.

"M" was not considered to be a disciplinary problem and was a better than average student in general track. He returned home from college where he was on an athletic scholarship because he "didn't like the coach." The apparently overwhelming religious influence was a major factor in "M's" development and decision-making. "M" is unemployed in County Seat as of this writing.

SUBJECT "N"

The "N" family lives in a three-bedroom single family dwelling, framed in trees in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The home has been lived in by succeeding generations since the late 19th century. Mr. "N" remained in the home after the demise of his father and his mother and the migration of his brothers and sisters to northern cities.

The Parents

Mrs. "N" is a statuesque women of medium height, weighing approximately 150-155 pounds. She attended school in County Seat, where she was born and reared. At approximately the ninth grade she dropped out of school to go to work and never returned. Mrs. "N" is the second of four siblings; she has one older brother, two younger sisters, all of whom have migrated to northern cities. Mrs. "N"

participated in few activities when she was a student but appears to be concerned about "N's" development. During his time in high school, Mrs. "N" paid numerous visits to the school and to the office of the principal to see if there was some way that she could influence "N's" development.

Mr. "N" is the third of four siblings. He has one older brother, one older sister, and one younger brother, all of whom have migrated to northern cities. Mr. "N" has remained in County Seat during his high school years and the only time that he left was during his period of military service in Korea.

Mr. "N" was an athlete for the all-Black high school during the period of segregation and he was the captain of the team that produced the only championship for County Seat during the decade prior to the 1970's. Mr. "N" was active in a few activities while in high school. He sang in the choir in addition to playing basketball and he participated in drama. He appears to be concerned about "N's" development, however, he also takes the position that his son is responsible for his own development and that as parents, the best that he and Mrs. "N" can do is to provide him with the opportunity and the encouragement, but that they cannot make "N" achieve. To quote Mr. "N", "You can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink. You can send a fool to college, but you can't make him think."

Parents' Activities. The "N" family's activities center around church sponsored activities and occasional house parties.

"N's" Attitudes and Activities.

Toward Family. "N's" attitude toward his family seems to be a prime example of what is popularly known as the generation gap. He believes that people of that age just do not know what is happening in 1979. This was the attitude that "N" exhibited during the entire course of interviews. As an only child he exhibits the confidence expected in one who did not have to compete for familial attention.

Relations With Girls. "N's" relations with girls can best be described as continual. "N" never seemed to be at a loss for female companionship. At all activities, "N" would be in the company of some young lady.

Contacts With Whites. "N's" contacts with whites in the school and in the community, from all available evidence, must be described as congenial. He seems to have had no adverse relationships during the time that he was in high school. Over the course of interviewing "N", not once did he reveal any type of relationship that could be described as less than cordial. Nor did he name any incident or series of incidents which would indicate that his relationships with whites were less than desirable.

"N" was a general education curriculum student in high school maintaining a "C" average. Upon graduation from

high school, "N" enrolled in a local college. He remained in college during his first semester, and returned home in the middle of his second semester. He re-entered the following year and returned home before the end of the semester. He has never gone back.

Recreational Activities. "N's" recreational activities center around athletic contests, primarily basketball at the Community Center, house parties and an occasional movie. A review of the school records indicated that the only activity that "N" participated in was athletics. The manifested interests of his parents indicate that half of the family has showed an interest. His mother had numerous conferences with his teachers, with the principal and with other personnel at the school while his father left it largely up to "N" to go one direction or the other. There appears to be a number of involved-others in the subject's life in that a number of teachers expressed concern to and about "N". "N" is now employed in light industry in County Seat.

SUBJECT "O"

The "O" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "O" and seven "O" children still at home (the two oldest siblings have departed and established their own households), occupy a frame four-bedroom home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The home was built by Mr. "O" after his marriage.

The Parents

Mrs. "O" is a once attractive woman of medium height, weighing about 130 pounds. She was born and reared in County Seat where she attended school during the era of segregation. She graduated from high school in County Seat and the record indicates that she was an active student, participating in many activities. Mrs. "O" is the third of five siblings, all girls. Her parents are deceased and her sisters have moved away from County Seat.

Mr. "O" is a tall, heavy individual whose robust appearance camouflages his chronically poor health. He has a heart condition and must undergo kidney dialysis regularly. Mr. "O" was born and reared in County Seat. He married Mrs. "O" upon his return from military service during World War II.

Educations. Both Mr. and Mrs. "O" are products of the all-Black high school that was located in County Seat. While Mrs. "O" is a high school graduate, Mr. "O" was drafted while still in high school and never returned after his release from military service.

Activities. For the "O" family center around the church and community. Community activities are normally restricted to social gatherings of one kind or another.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Both Mr. and Mrs. "O's" attitude towards education and their children seems to be supportive, and, in the case of Mrs. "O"

confirmed by the record. The record shows that she attended numerous conferences about "O". She was observed at all activities in which "O" participated.

"O's" Attitudes and Activities

"O" pays lipservice to caring for his family. His actions, however, indicate either a lack of understanding of what caring means or that he really does not care. I have observed him watching one of his younger sisters being physically abused and he did not lift a finger. He does not hold his father in high esteem despite his father's physical condition.

Relations With Girls. "O's" relationships with girls can best be described as non-existent.

Contacts with Whites in the School and Community. "O's" contacts with whites in the school and community were nonexistent except through athletics and the classroom. As stated before, he participated only in athletic which required long periods of practice and allowed very little time for other than actual classroom attendance. There's no evidence of role models in "O's" life with the exception of athletic coaches. His mother manifested interest in his development through her attendance at teacher conferences and through her constant inquiry as to "O's" progress. His father, apparently because of his health, showed little interest. There was apparently no involved-other in "O's" life except for his mother. He was not considered to be a

disciplinary problem in high school. There was no teacher who believed in him and apparently he had no broadly defined skills beyond playing basketball and football.

"O" stands approximately 6' tall and weighs approximately 250 pounds. Even though he was a remedial student in high school, he was given an athletic scholarship to one of the local universities upon graduation. "O" remained in college for the first year. During his second year of college he was indicted along with several others and charged with a felony. The case never came to trial; however, "O" did drop out of college and has not returned. "O's" grade point average while in high school hovered between a D and C on the remedial track. He participated only in athletics and his social involvement was minimal. At dances or social activities, one could observe "O" acting as a loner and when interaction with other people did occur, it occurred with other males.

Influence of Black Leaders. According to "O", he doesn't know any Black leaders, so therefore, he can't really comment on whether they have had any influence on him. He has seen some on television, but he's not sure if they exist in reality. To quote "O", "Jesse Jackson might be a rip-off artist because I never see anything he's doing, except making a speech."

Summary

"O's" parents, at least his mother, have shown an interest in his development. She has attended numerous

conferences concerning "O" and has followed his development throughout his high school years. "O's" attitude toward his family shows that there is a contrast between his stated caring for his family and his actual performance. "O's" relations with girls are nonexistent and he had very little contact with whites either in the school or the community, because of athletic participation. "O's" recreational activities seemed to center around athletic contests at the Center with an occasional party thrown in. All the evidence seems to indicate that as soon as "O" left the basketball court or football field, he became an invisible entity, only to rise again at the next contest. He has departed County Seat and, at this writing, is still absent.

SUBJECT "P"

The "P" family, consisting of Mrs. "P" and two children, live in a brick, two bedroom, single family dwelling in the University Estates in Central County Seat. This home was purchased by Mr. "P" prior to their separation and subsequent divorce.

The Parents

Mrs. "P" is a buxom woman, five feet seven inches tall, around sixty years of age, weighing approximately one hundred-eighty pounds. Mrs. "P" expresses a profound concern for the development of her children. However, the record indicates that she attends only athletic events.

There is no record of her ever having a conference with "P's" teachers. Mrs. "P" indicated that she would like her son to attend college, however, she balked at allowing him to attend a small college where remediation was a major element.

Mr. "P" is a thin man of medium height, approximately sixty-five years of age. He has been employed in various jobs in County Seat. It has been impossible to interview Mr. "P" at a time when he was not under the influence of alcohol.

Parent's Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "P" are products of segregated school systems, ending their educations at about grade eight. The term "ending" is used here rather than "dropping out", because there was no high school for them to attend at the time.

Activities. Mrs. "P's" activities seem to center around church sponsored functions and school athletic contests. Mr. "P's" activities seem to center around the fellowship found at the few taverns located in County Seat.

Attitude Towards Education and Children. Mrs. "P's" attitude towards education and children seems to be that she is all for education of her children, if it will provide some prestige for her and not cost too much in the way of money or her involvement. Mr. "P" did not appear to have an attitude during the course of this study. His continual intake of alcohol made it impossible to get any coherent conversation.

Subject "P's" Attitudes and Activities

"P's" attitudes toward his family can best be described as contemptuous. He holds his mother in contempt because he sees her as the reason for the divorce from his father. He also feels that his mother was so busy trying to please whites that she had no time to see what was happening to "P" or his sister. He holds his father in contempt because of his father's drinking which in "P's" estimate is excessive. Additionally, his father's alcoholic stupors (in "P's" view) left no one to be concerned about what happened to him or his sister.

Relations with Girls. During the time that he was in high school, "P" had very little to do with girls. Observed at dances, he was almost always to be found with a group of males who observed but did not interact with girls. Only recently has "P" began to show an overt interest.

Relations With Whites in School and Community. "P's" relations with whites were uneventful. The record indicates that he was placed in a Special Education group in elementary school and remained there until his graduation from high school. He was a starting player on his high school athletic team which won its regional championship. After graduation from high school, "P" accepted an athletic scholarship to a private college. He came home in the middle of the first semester and has not returned to school. In reviewing "P's" elementary and secondary school record, there seems to be

no evidence of any organic or genetic deficiency which would justify his continual Special Education classification. While his scores on a number of standardized intelligence tests hovered in the low average range, there is no indication of any attempt by the system to mainstreaming "P". There is no indication that he was considered to be a disciplinary problem. Separated from his performance on the athletic field, he seems to be almost nonexistent.

Influence of Black Leaders. "P" doesn't feel that Black leaders at the local level are any good. This perception is possible due to "P's" understanding of his parent's divorce. He feels that his parent's divorce is due to the inflammation of an already volatile situation by the minister in his church. "If all Black leaders are like that guy, I want no part of them."

Summary

It would be fairly accurate to say that "P" had little, if any, family support for other than athletics during his elementary and secondary school years. That, at least in "P's" perception, his mother was more concerned with impressing whites than with the children's development. "P's" father has a problem with alcohol and has been ineffective in providing support. There is no record of either Mr. or Mrs. "P" attending any school conference. "P" has only begun to develop relationships with girls since his graduation from high school. He was largely invisible in high school, except for his participation in

athletics. He does not believe that Black leaders are any good because of the influence of the family minister on his parent's divorce. "P" is, at this writing, unemployed in County Seat.

Subject "Q"

The "Q" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "Q", occupy a four bedroom, single family dwelling in the University Estates in Central County Seat. It is a comfortable home in which Mr. "Q" grew up. It was owned by his parents before their death; Mr. "Q" purchased it from the estate. The neighborhood in which the "Q" family resides is predominantly Black, but has always had one or two white families somewhere on the block. Most of the families on this street own their homes. They are described as a two member family because at this writing all children have reached their majority and left home.

"Q's" Parents

Mrs. "Q" is a statuesque woman of medium height weighing approximately one hundred seventy pounds, and about fifty years of age. She gave birth to five children, three boys and two girls. She was born and reared in County Seat and is the oldest of three children. Her mother is deceased; her father lives in County Seat in the family home.

Her younger sister migrated to the West Coast after graduating from high school, her younger brother is employed in middle management with a midwestern corporation.

Mr. "Q" is a short, medium built man, light brown in color. He is fifty-one years of age and was born and reared in County Seat. Mr. "Q" was something of a ladies' man in his younger days. He has managed to acquire ownership of a service station in County Seat, with a building large enough to house a restaurant. Mr. "Q" is a friendly person, but easily angered.

Educations. Both Mr. and Mrs. "Q" are graduates of the all-Black high school in County Seat. Mrs. "Q" has taken a number of courses at the various public universities in the state. Both Mr. and Mrs. "Q" participated in athletics in high school, sang in the chorus, and were active in drama. Mrs. "Q" was captain of the girl's basketball team.

Activities. The "Qs" participate in few activities away from their occupations, except for church activities. They belong to churches of different denominations.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Mr. "Q's" attitude toward education seems to best be described as ambivalent. While he pays lip service to the value of education and provides financial support, the record also shows that during "Q's" secondary school years, he did not attend one parent-teacher conference nor a single non-athletic activity.

Mrs. "Q" seems to be content to follow Mr. "Q's" lead in most situations.

"Q's" Attitude and Activities

Toward Family. "Q" is a young man of medium build and height, with muscles that have been developed over long periods of time when "Q" was participating in athletics. He still works out with weights two or three times per week.

He is the youngest of five siblings with two older brothers and two older sisters. One brother (second oldest) is a college graduate employed as a middle management executive in a national corporation. "Q" talks easily about his family. He very quickly will tell you that his next oldest brother is his favorite member of the family. He loves his mother but considers her to be "weak" because she lets his father dominate her. He doesn't care a great deal for his father because he doesn't know him: "He was never at home when I was growing up and when I did see him all he did was get on my case."

Relations With Girls. "Q" apparently had his first sexual experience after his marriage. During the entire time of the study, there was never a reference by the others to any sexual activity by "Q". He personally stated that the price before marriage could be very high and "I'm not ready to pay it." His contact with girls centered around movies, discos and house parties.

Contacts With Whites In The School and Community.

While in school "Q" spent most of his energies in being a good athlete. As a result his contacts with whites outside athletics was minimal. He followed the path of least resistance in high school studying in a general education curriculum. "Q's" relations with whites seem to have been uneventful until he and some of his friends were having a weekend picnic at a local recreation area. According to "Q", a group of white youths decided to crash the picnic. One word led to another and soon the whole group was embroiled in an altercation that required police intervention to break up. This same group followed "Q" and his friends back to a local drive-in, resulting in another altercation that required police intervention again. The following morning this hostility was carried to the single high school in the city. The end result was that, according to "Q", the Blacks were all searched as they entered the school premises; the whites were ignored.

"Q's" voice fairly crackles with anger and resentment as he recounts this incident. His resentment seems to center around: (1) the fact that he and his friends were not the aggressors, yet were the only one's searched; (2) the fact that there were no adult Blacks involved anywhere in this interaction. "Q" continues:

Right after that incident, I started to have problems in my English class. Mrs. X started picking on all the Blacks in class. She would come in class and start discussing something that happened with one or two of her favorite white students. Everybody else starts talking, but as soon as a Black opens his mouth she runs to the office with him. She ran me to the office for insubordination when all I did was ask her what she expected in her class.

"Q" enrolled in a local university following high school, but did not return after one year. The evidence is that he was failing academically.

Recreational Activities. "Q" spends most of his spare time with the group at the Community Center with time out for weight lifting. Occasionally, there was a movie, disco, or party.

Influence of Black Leaders. "Q's" attitude toward Black leaders can best be described as hostile.

During one of our slow periods, "Q" began talking about a movie that he had seen, "Lawrence of Arabia." He made the point that Arab Sheiks in this movie very much resembled the Black preachers at the various churches in the area. They all were closely guarding their turf without regard for the needs of the total community. "Q" also made the point that, unlike the Arab Sheiks who were an integrated part of their people, all of the Black preachers in the area were weekend visitors--in for a couple hours on Sunday, and departing as soon as they were paid.

To tell the truth, I get absolutely nothing from church. The minister is about as useless a creature as could possibly be found. He seldom knows what he is talking about. His sermons are lacking in intelligence and half the time you can't tell what he's talking about. I hate for anyone to try to appeal to my emotions. He picks a verse of the Bible and rambles till he's tired and everybody's upset and no one understands what he's talking about. I'd just as soon stay home. For the past two years, he's done nothing but put down educated people. The church offers less than anyplace I know. Most of the people seem to go there to see and be seen. They sure don't do anything, except beg for money.

"Q's" perception of the limited involvement of Black preachers in the community was verified.

"Q" indicated that there was no involved-other in his life from the time he entered elementary school. He feels that interest was shown in him only when it involved his athletic prowess, or lack of it.

He had no broadly defined, unique skill; he was an exceptional athlete only in a local setting. He states that there was no teacher who indicated (to him) that they believed in him.

Summary

"Q's" father is ambivalent toward higher education or at least his actions are not consistent with his statements; Mrs. "Q" simply follows her husband's lead. The subject did not participate in a demanding curriculum in high school and left college for academic failure. There apparently is no Black figure in "Q's" life, including his father, that

he looks up to. One altercation with whites during and subsequent to a picnic has had lasting effects on "Q's" emotional make-up. He is now employed in light industry in County Seat.

SUBJECT "R"

The "R" family, consisting of Mrs. "R" and the two "R" children, occupy a two-bedroom home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The home is located in an all-Black neighborhood. "R" has an older brother who has since departed the home and lives in the northern city so that actually there would be four "Rs" if they were all at home. "R's" father is deceased. The home in which the "Rs" live was purchased by Mrs. "R" upon the death of Mr. "R" in the Korean conflict.

The Mother

Mrs. "R" is a tall woman of medium weight, approximately 140 pounds and is about 50 years of age. She is extremely verbal and she has a nervous laugh that is used to cover her nervousness. Mrs. "R" was born and reared in County Seat. She is the oldest of three children and her mother is deceased. There was no information about her father. Mrs. "R" attended the all-Black high school in County Seat. She apparently dropped out in about the ninth grade.

Activities. Mrs. "R" is extremely active in the church. She has very few other activities.

"R's" Attitudes and Activities

"R" is a young man, very tall, slim, with smooth muscles, and athlete. He is the middle of three siblings with one older brother who has departed the household and one younger sister. "R" is reticent in talking about his family. One has to draw conclusions in many cases what "R" does not say, as well as about what he says. It is apparent that he loves his mother and his sister. He never mentions his father because he never knew him.

Relations With Girls. "R" was a popular young man with the opposite sex. He was constantly in their company during his high school years. He never attended a social function without a girl. As with the other young men in this study, most of his contact with girls centered around movies, discos, and house parties.

Contacts With Whites in the School and the Community. White in school, "R" spent most of his energies on being a good athlete. As a result, his contacts with whites outside basketball was minimal. "R" followed the path of least resistance in high school, studying in a general education curriculum. "R's" relations with whites appear to have been uneventful.

While in high school, "R" participated only in athletics. He reports that other than athletic coaches, there were no role models for him to emulate. The record shows that "R's" mother attended no functions in high school other than athletic contests. According to "R", there was no involved-other in his life. No one ever asked how he was doing. No one was concerned with his academic performance. "R" was never considered to be a disciplinary problem, and as far as he knew, there was no teacher who believed in him. During his high school years, except when he was on the athletic field, "R" apparently showed very little self-confidence. The one unique skill that "R" had was his ability as an athlete.

"R" enrolled in a local college following high school graduation. He flunked his first semester and returned to County Seat where he has remained since.

Recreational Activities. "R" spends most of his spare time with the group at the Community Center. Other times he spends with a young lady who he has been seeing more and more frequently.

Influence of Black Leaders. "R's" attitude toward Black leaders can best be described as indifferent. "R" states that he doesn't know any Black leaders and those that he does see don't impress him too much. Specifically he is talking about Black ministers. As with "K", he feels that Black ministers are parasites feeding off the Black community.

Summary

"R" is from a one-parent family, father deceased, mother shows very little interest in other than athletic or church activities. He has participated in no activities in high school except for athletics. There were no role models in his life. The parent took no interest in his activities other than athletics. There was no involved other. The subject was not considered a disciplinary problem. According to "R", there was no teacher who stated that they believed in him. He showed very little confidence in other than athletics, and his only broadly defined unique skill was basketball. He is now employed in a city near County Seat.

SUBJECT "S"

The "S" family consisting of Mrs. "S" and six children occupy a three-bedroom single family dwelling in the University Estates in Central County Seat. It is a home that was purchased by Mr. "S" prior to his demise. The neighborhood is predominantly Black. Most of the families on this street own their own home.

The Mother

Mrs. "S" is a tall, statuesque woman weighting approximately 170 pounds and about 39 years of age. She gave birth to six children, five boys and one girl. Mrs. "S" was born

and reared in County Seat and is the sister of Mrs. A. Her mother is deceased; her father migrated to a northern city after the death of her mother. Her oldest sister has also migrated to a northern city. Since the death of her husband, Mrs. "S" has had a series of live-in male friends.

Education. Mrs. "S" graduated from the all-Black high school in County Seat prior to desegregation. Since that time she has been employed at various types of jobs in the county. During her time in high school she participated in dramatic activities, in the school chorus, and in basketball.

Activities. Her activities seem to center around the church and visitations within the community.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Mrs. "S" seems to be indifferent towards education. Mrs. "S's" participation in school activities in terms of showing a manifested interest in her children's accomplishments, her children's development seems to have centered around athletic activities only. There is no record of Mrs. "S" ever visiting the school for any reason other than an athletic contest. Interesting to note that the same fracas that is described elsewhere involving "A" also involved "S". While Ms. "A" was very aggressive in protecting her children, Mrs. "S" seemed almost indifferent.

Subject "S's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. This writer became acquainted with "S" upon arrival in the community. During his senior year

in high school he was a tall, slim young man who seemed to be a loner. Its very difficult to get any indication of "S's" attitude toward his family. Indeed, its very difficult to get any indication of "S's" attitude toward anything. "S" is a most reticent young man.

Relations With Girls. "S" seems to have had a congenial relationship with girls. The prime reason for the fracas described in the case of "A" was the girl who was enamoured of "S".

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community. Due to the fact that "S" is such a reticent young man, it is necessary to describe his relations with whites upon the basis of his activities viewed from a distance. "S" was on the general educational track in high school and was a "C" student. Upon graduating from high school he accepted a basketball scholarship to a local college. "S" returned home at the end of his first year and never returned to college. He has had several encounters with law enforcement people. On one occasion he was charged with forgery. The charges were dropped when restitution was made. On another occasion, he was charged with a felony. Apparently through plea bargaining, he received a suspended sentence. "S" has dropped out of the Center and never comes around. During the time that he was participating in Center activities, however, he was very secretive. He never entered into the general conversations.

Summary

One very clear point about "S" is his reluctance to talk to people, this interviewer in particular. Some other conclusions that we can draw about "S" are his mother's lack of involvement in activities and development of the children for other than athletic reasons during his developmental years in high school. His frequent encounters with law enforcement people may have influenced his attitude toward life in general. "S" was an average student and apparently, except athletics, he was invisible. He is unemployed in County Seat at the time of this writing.

SUBJECT "T"

The "T" family consisting of Ms. "T" and the three children reside in an apartment complex with two bedrooms in University Estates in Central County Seat. Ms. "T" is a well-built woman of approximately 120 pounds, about 39 years of age, having given birth to all of her children out-of-wedlock. She has no marketable skills and remains on welfare. Miss "T" was born and reared in County Seat and is the oldest of three children. Her mother lives down the street in another unit in the same apartment complex. Her mother also never married. Ms. "T" graduated from the all-Black high school in County Seat prior to desegregation. During the time that she was a student, Ms. "T" participated

in no activities, including athletics. Her activities seem to center around various and sundry live-in boyfriends.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Ms. "T's" attitude toward education and children seems to be that she wishes they would go away. She attempts to ignore the fact that they exist. She has shown resentment in every way possible without actually stating that she resented being asked about her family. When I asked Ms. "T" directly, if she resented my questions, her answer was, "Yes, because my family is nobody's business but mine."

Subject "T's" Attitudes and Activities

"T" is a very angry young man. He resents having been born out-of-wedlock. He resents the live-in boyfriends and he resents the fact that he has two sisters in the same house, both of whom are pregnant and no marriage in sight.

Relations With Girls. "T's" relations with girls seem to be better than average in that for almost all social functions and at other times "T" has feminine companionship. Since most of the young men at the Community Center are reluctant to discuss their sex lives, one can only surmise the level of sexual involvement.

"T's" Contacts With Whites in the School and Community. "T" lives in a neighborhood which is all Black, he has few contacts with whites outside of school. "T" has no social involvement at school. He participated in no activities.

As stated previously, his mother has no interest in "T's" activities or those of his sisters. "T" could be described as being invisible during his high school years. He had no discipline problems and he shows very little self-confidence now. "T" was a "C" student on the general track and had no broadly defined skills that would distinguish him from any other student. His social involvement came largely away from school. "T" had a part-time job at a service station after school, but, as he describes it, "it was only a way of making money and I didn't think about it." "T" enrolled in a community college offering a trade. He returned home at the end of the first semester and did not go back to school.

Recreational Activities. "T's" recreational activities are largely limited to athletic contests at Community Center during which he attempts to show some of the former high school stars that he too could have been an athlete had he wanted.

Influence of Black Leaders. "T's" attitude toward Black leaders can best be described as indifferent. From his point of view, there are no Black leaders in the community and those who pretend to be leaders are no more than "Toms."

Summary

"T" appears to be a young man with a long history of neglect, both by his mother and by the system. No one has really seen "T". He was on the general track in high school, he participated in no activities, and indeed one finds it

very difficult to find someone in his high school who even remembers what he looked like. "T" is employed in one of the industries in County Seat as of this writing.

Non-Matriculating Students

SUBJECT "U"

"U's" family, consisting of his mother and three other children, occupy a three bedroom apartment in an apartment complex in University Estates in Central County Seat. Ms. "U" moved into this complex after the birth of her first child and has remained there (moving into progressively larger apartments) since.

The Mother

Ms. "U" is a tall, thin, nervous woman, weighing approximately 120 pounds. Ms. "U" is approximately 43 years of age and exhibits a poor self-concept. She is a chain-smoker who lights a fresh cigarette from the one that is already burning. Miss "U" is unable to face the person she is talking to (at least she was unable to look at the writer directly during the interviews).

Education. Ms. "U" attended elementary and high school in County Seat, where she was born and reared, during the time of segregation. She ended her formal education when she became pregnant with her first child, a girl, at about the ninth grade when she was 15 years of age.

Parent Activities. Ms. "U's" activities seem to center around the various live-in male friends that she collects from time to time. By her account, all of her children have different fathers. She is not involved in any church type activities, nor is she involved in any community type activity.

Parent's Attitude Towards Children and Education. Ms. "U's" attitude toward children and education seems to be indifferent. She has never attended a single parent-teacher conference. Her response, when asked about helping her children become self-sufficient was: "nobody every helped me."

"U's" Attitudes and Activities

"U" is indifferent towards his mother, resenting the constant parade of live-in male friends to whom he and the sisters remaining at home are expected to show respect. The indifference that "U" shows towards his mother camouflages a rage that occasionally bubbles to the surface where it can be observed. On one occasion, the live-in male friend was about to punish one of "U's" sisters for some offense; "U", then 17, solemnly promised him that if he touched her ("U") would kill him. According to "U": "the only reason that I still stay at home is because of my sisters. When the youngest leaves, I'm gone. Then she (his mother) can do whatever the hell she wants."

Relations With Girls. "U" seems to have cordial relationships with girls, even though he has not been connected with any single girl. Occasionally he will take one to a movie or a party. It appears, however, that his experiences at home have made him wary of any close relationships.

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community. "U's" contacts with whites in the school and community seem to have been uneventful. He appears to have been invisible. Were it not for the record, his passing through the system would have gone completely unnoticed. He could not be described by a single faculty member at County Seat High School two years after his graduation. "U" did not participate in athletics or other extracurricular activities while in high school; he followed a general education curriculum. There is no record of any type of disciplinary action, no record of parent-teacher conferences. There was no indication from "U" that there was any particular person during his school years (in the school system) who expressed an interest in him. "U" secured employment in light industry in County Seat upon graduation from high school and has worked at the same place since.

Recreational Activities. "U's" recreational activities center around an occasional visit to the Community Center. Most of his time is spent giving his sisters support (the two younger sisters are referred to here; the older has departed County Seat and lives in a distant city). According to "U": "if they end up like my mother did, it will be by choice, not because they had to."

Influence of Black Leaders. There is one Black person in the community that "U" holds in high esteem, and apparently is trying to emulate. This is an old man who took an interest in "U" when he was a small boy and listened to him when he needed someone to talk to. Other influence from Black leaders seems to be non-existent.

Summary

"U" grew up in a one-parent family with almost no developmental support from his mother. He has developed a resentment for the live-in male friends of his mother's. During his school years, he was virtually invisible. Some support was given to him by an old Black man who would listen when he needed someone to talk to. His only reason for remaining at home is concern for his younger sisters. "U" is currently employed by the same firm that hired him after high school.

SUBJECT "V"

The "V" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "V" and six children, live in a frame, three-bedroom, single-family dwelling in University Estates in Central County Seat. This home was built by Mr. "V's" father prior to his death. Mr. "V" inherited the home as a result of the migration of his three siblings and the demise of his mother.

The Parents

Mrs. "V" is a large woman, approximately 5'6" tall, weighing 200 pounds. Mrs. "V" is about 47 years of age and is very opinionated. She expresses and exhibits a profound concern for the development of her children. Her record of support as indicated by parent/teacher conferences, by attendance at all activities in which her children are involved, is extensive. The record also indicates that she is somewhat myopic as far as her children are concerned. They can do no wrong; even when the evidence says otherwise. In conversations with Mrs. "V", it is fairly evident that she has visions of achievement for her children and that she will go to any lengths to support them in what they do. There is also evidence in talking with Mrs. "V" that she will not accept criticism, no matter how constructive they may be, nor will she accept any evaluation which would indicate that her children are less than perfect.

Mr. "V" is a short, balding man, weighing approximately 180 pounds and is 50-60 years of age. Mr. "V" is a stepfather for all of the "V" children and is employed as a maintenance man at a local factory. In talking to Mr. "V", it becomes fairly evident that he is very concerned about the development of the "V" children. It is also evident that he will support them in any way that he feels is possible. However, Mr. "V" has never been observed at any activity in support of the children.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "V" are products of the segregated school system in County Seat. Mr. "V" ended his education at approximately the third grade, as did most of his peer group because of crop conditions and possible because he did not want to go to school. Mrs. "V" graduated from the high school in County Seat and has since gained a specialty as a computer technician.

Activities. Mrs. "V's" activities seem to center around church activities and some school activities. Mr. "V's" activities seem to center around things that requires him to be at home.

Parents' Attitudes Toward Children and Education. Mrs. "V's" attitude toward education and her children seems to be that she is all for the education of her children and will do all that is possible to help them. As I previously stated, however, Mrs. "V" finds it very difficult to accept an evaluation that is at odds with her own. Mr. "V" seems content to support Mrs. "V" in her support of the children and to provide them with the security that comes from having a father in the home.

Subject "V's" Attitude and Activities Toward His Family.

"V's" attitude toward his family can best be described as unconcerned. He accepts his family as existing, but has no responsibility to it.

Relations With Girls. During the time that he was in high school, "V" seemed to be very popular with girls. He

was an accomplished dancer, and could be observed at school activities and in community activities having a good time. At dances, he was almost always evident by his activities on the floor.

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community.

"V's" relations with whites in the school and community can best be described as turbulent. The record indicates that "V" was placed on probation a number of times, that he was suspended from school on at least four occasions, and that he is well remembered by the staff as being a disciplinary problem. While "V" was a gifted basketball player, the record shows that he and the basketball coach were almost constantly at odds, and he was put off the team.

Academically, "V" was a D+ student on the general track. Upon graduation from high school, "V" accepted a job with a local corporation and has continued to be employed there since. Oddly enough, "V" had a speech impediment while in high school and, even though he has not been treated for it, the impediment seems to have disappeared once he graduated from high school. "V" participated in no activities in high school but he appeared at all dances.

Recreational Activities. "V's" recreational activities seem to center around athletic contests at the Community Center, dances, parties, anything in the way of manufactured entertainment, particularly activities where girls are present.

Influence of Black Leaders. "V" has not had time to be concerned or to be aware of Black leaders. To quote him, "I am too busy trying to survive to worry about this sort of thing."

Summary.

"V" has had considerable support from his family, particularly his mother, throughout his high school years. It is evident that his mother could not accept evaluations that were at odds with her own and that were not complimentary. "V" was considered to be a disciplinary problem while in high school and he is very well remembered for this. He was a D+ student and there is a record of Mrs. "V" giving considerable support of "V" and his siblings in terms of parent/teacher conferences and attending other activities. "V" is, at this writing, unemployed.

SUBJECT "W"

"W's" family occupies a three-bedroom, half-brick home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The family consists of Mr. and Mrs. "W", "W's" grandparents, and "W". This home was built by Mrs."W's" parents around the turn of the century.

The Parents

Mrs. "W" is a tall, thin woman, approximately 65 years of age with a shrill voice. She has a great deal of concern

about the welfare of her grandson, but no knowledge of how to enhance his life chances. "W" is the son of Mrs. "W's" daughter. He was left with Mrs. "W" by his mother when he was approximately two years of age. As far as "W" is concerned, Mrs. "W" is his mother. She believes in discipline for her children, but apparently she is the victim of a sort of tradition in County Seat that grandparents do not discipline grandchildren.

Mr. "W" is a short, rotund man of medium brown complexion with all of his teeth missing and most of his hair. Mr. "W" is approximately 60 years of age. He has held various jobs in and around County Seat of a laboring type. Apparently Mr. "W" is interested in very little except where his next drink is coming from.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "W" are products of the segregated school system in County Seat. Mr. "W" dropped out of school in about the eighth grade. Mrs. "W" dropped out of school at about the fifth grade. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. "W", however, they did not drop out of school because of cotton in the area. They also did not drop out of school because of finances. Both Mr. and Mrs. "W's" families were relatively well-to-do in County Seat.

"W's" Attitudes and Activities

Toward Family. "W" is a tall, robust young man, dark in complexion with a ready smile. "W" is not hesitant about stating most emphatically that he cares very much for his grandmother and very little for his grandfather. His

grandfather, it appears to "W", spends most of his time looking for his next drink when not at work. Mrs. "W", on the other hand, has the responsibility for keeping the family together and is forced by the situation to make all of the major decisions in the family. This, "W" resents. "W" describes his grandfather as "shitty".

Relations With Girls. "W's" relations with girls can best be described as nonexistent. During his high school years, he almost never was in the company of girls.

Contacts With Whites in the School and the Community. "W's" contacts with whites in the school and community can best be described as non-productive. "W" played the part of a clown for most of his years in high school and for those years that he stayed around County Seat after high school. "W" enlisted in the National Guard and went away for a period of approximately six months after graduation from high school. Upon his return, however, he resumed the role of clown and shortly thereafter, departed County Seat. There was no way to get at "W's" attitude toward Black or other type leaders.

Recreational Activities. "W's" recreational activities centered around providing the foil for the humor of the other participants at the Community Center. "W" always participated on the edge of activities, never in the middle.

Influence of Black Leaders. As stated before, there was no way to get at "W's" attitude toward Black leaders because of his tendency, no, his need, to clown.

Summary

"W" found it necessary to play the part of the clown during and subsequent to high school. He was by and large invisible except when clowning. "W" had little or no relations with girls. He considered his grandfather to be "shitty". "W" joined the National Guard, but upon his return to County Seat, departed for a larger city. At his writing, "W" is still absent from County Seat.

SUBJECT "X"

The "X" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "X" and four children live in a small farm located on the north edge of University Estates in Central County Seat. Their home is of frame construction, three bedrooms, with fairly recently installed conveniences by Mr."X". While living on a farm, because of its location and because of the size of the land surrounding the homestead, the "X's" still do not farm professionally. Both Mr. and Mrs. "X" are employed in industry in County Seat.

The Parents

Mrs. "X" is a tall, buxom woman, approximately 175 pounds, about 60 years of age. She gave birth to all of her children at home and apparently bears the scars as a result of minimal medical care. Mrs. "X" was born and reared in County Seat. She is the oldest of nine siblings.

Her mother and father are deceased. Her siblings have migrated to other areas of the country, including some northern cities.

Mr. "X" also was born and reared in County Seat. He is the oldest of five siblings. All of his siblings have since migrated to northern cities. Both of his parents are deceased. Mr. "X" is employed in one of the automotive industries in County Seat and has been for the past several years. Both Mr. and Mrs. "X" graduated from an all-Black high school located in the county surrounding County Seat prior to desegregation. During their years in high school, apparently they participated in no activities other than chorus.

Activities. The activities of the "X" family away from work seem to center around church activities, and infrequently, visiting with their neighbors.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. In talking to Mr. and Mrs. "X", it becomes very obvious that they are concerned about their children and their educations. In fact, the record reveals that "X" was denied the opportunity to participate in athletics because his parents desired that he concentrate on his studies. According to Mr. "X", "Good things only happen to a very few athletes. The rest have nothing once their last game is played." To quote Mr. "X", "My kids can't eat athletics." The record reveals that Mr. and Mrs. "X" attended numerous parent/teacher conferences concerning "X", that not all of these conferences were

concerned with low grades or a disciplinary problem, but just with his general development. It is apparent in the "X" family that Mr. "X" is the dominant figure within this family. Almost all decisions during our interview were referred to Mr. "X" for resolution. Mrs. "X" wants "X" to get all the education he can because he's going to need it.

"X's" Attitudes and Activities.

"X" is the eldest of four siblings, all boys. He is a slim, young man of medium height, weighing approximately 145 pounds. In conversations with "X", it becomes apparent that he very much cares for the members of his family. He cares for both his mother and his father because of the hardships that they have endured to keep the family together. "X" has stated on more than one occasion that he intends to seek employment just as soon as he finished high school so that he can help his family with the finances.

Relations With Girls. "X's" relations with girls can best be described as distant. In conversations with "X", it becomes apparent that he is assiduously avoiding girls until he can help his family in an economic way.

Contacts With Whites in the School and the Community. "X's" contacts with whites in the school and community seem to have been cordial and uneventful. While his contacts in school were limited to the classroom, he developed other contacts with after-school employment and apparently had no

eventful relations. "X" held a part-time job for over four years that he was in high school and was employed immediately upon graduation from high school with a manufacturing concern and has since had a number of promotions.

Recreational Activities. "X's" recreational activities center around a few visits to the Community Center. He seems to have become involved in church activities; however, as of this data, he has continued to avoid any type of relationship with girls.

Influence of Black Leaders. "X" seems to have been influenced considerably by Black ministers in the community and the minister of his church in particular. His attitude toward ministers seems to be almost diametrically opposed to the attitudes of the other young men in the Community Center.

Summary

In summarizing the case of "X", it becomes apparent that he came from a home where his parents were concerned about him, that he came from a home where his parents were active in parenting, that he received considerable support in high school, evidently, in his pre-high school years he received support also, and that as a result of this he feels an obligation to provide something in return for his parents. He cares for his parents very much. He does not mention his younger brothers very often. His contacts with whites in the community were uneventful in the sense that nothing

happened to color his attitude toward the society around him. He held a part-time job for all of his high school years, he was employed immediately upon graduation from high school and has gainfully employed every since. It is worth noting, however, that "X" was not overly noticeable in high school except for the fact that his parents had considerable conferences with his teachers. At the time of this writing, "X" is employed by the same firm that hired him after high school.

SUBJECT "Y"

The "Y" family, consisting of Mrs. "Y" and "Y" live in a frame, two-bedroom, single-family dwelling in the University Estates in Central County Seat. This home was purchased by Mrs. "Y's" parents prior to their death. Mrs. "Y" was divorced from Mr. "Y" when "Y" was very small, approximately 8 years of age. The eldest daughter in the family is married and has moved to a northern city.

The Mother

Mrs. "Y" is a buxom woman, approximately 5'4" tall, 60 years of age, weighing approximately 155 to 160 pounds. While Mrs. "Y" expresses concern about "Y", her activities do not correspond to that expressed concern. "Y" did not have the benefit of Mrs. "Y's" presence for any activity

during the time that he was in high school. There is no evidence of her ever attending any school activity.

The Father

Mr. "Y" is a tall, thin man, approximately 60 years of age, weighing 170 pounds with graying hair. When talking to Mr. "Y", one notices that his hands continually shake, that he smokes incessantly, and one can surmise that he has a problem with alcohol at this point. One can smell the alcohol on Mr. "Y".

Educations. Both Mr. and Mrs. "Y" are products of segregated school systems in County Seat. Mrs. "Y" ended her education at approximately the third grade. Mr. "Y" attended school until the advent of World War II when he was drafted in his junior year and never returned.

Activities. Both Mr. and Mrs. "Y's" activities seem to center around socialization in an area known as the alley. This is a section where there are number of bars where Blacks congregate for socialization.

Attitudes Toward Children and Education. Mrs. "Y's" attitude toward education and "Y" seem to be that if she had time for it, it would be alright, but she is so busy merely trying to survive that she doesn't have time for such things as education. To quote Mrs. "Y", "I am too busy trying to pay utility bills, trying to put food on the table, trying to pay my taxes and just trying to survive to worry about education, including my own."

"Y's" Attitudes and Activities.

"Y's" attitude toward his family can best be described as one in which he attempts to get as much out of the family or indeed out of his mother as he can. He held a job for approximately six months subsequent to his graduation from high school in 1975 and he has not worked since. He seems to survive by handouts from his mother, by gambling for small stakes and otherwise living by his wits. "Y" seems to feel that life is at best a jungle and you take what you can from it, no matter who the person is from whom you are taking.

Relations with Girls. "Y" had very little to do with girls during the time that he was in high school, spending most of his time observing from the sidelines. Since his graduation from high school, he has begun to develop relationships with various females of his age group.

Relations With Whites in the School and Community. Until his senior year in high school, "Y's" relations with whites in the school and community could best be described as non-existent. The record indicates that "Y" was in a special education group from junior high school through senior high school. "Y" participated in athletics in a reserve role and participated in few games. His role consisted mostly of warming the bench. After graduation from high school, "Y" worked for a short while at a local manufacturing place, approximately six months. At that time, after a dispute with one of his supervisors, "Y" quit his

job and has not been employed since. He exists by use of his wits; games of chance, pitching pennies, poker, blackjack, and other activities that are not readily observable. There is no record of "Y" being a disciplinary problem while in high school, except for his senior year. This was the time that an altercation occurred in a recreation area on the south side of town, and apparently "Y's" disciplinary difficulties stemmed from that one incident. As "Y" was a special education student, he did not come in contact with other members of the faculty while in high school. His contacts appeared to be limited to athletic coaches and his special education teacher.

Recreational Activities. "Y's" recreational activities seem to be limited to kibitzing at the community center while watching others participate in athletic contests. He has begun to show an interest involving girls, but he does not participate very readily in group activities.

Influence of Black Leaders. "Y" has no opinion of Black leaders one way or the other. In conversations with "Y", it has become readily apparent that "Y" is completely out of touch with today's world. If it does not involve games of chance, if it does not involve alcohol, if it does not involve conversations about rather than with girls, it's not worth paying much attention to.

Summary

"Y" had no family support during his developmental years, either in elementary, junior high, or high school. He participated only in athletics. He was not considered

to be a disciplinary problem, except for his senior year. These problems appear to have arisen out of an altercation that happened at a recreational center south of town. His contacts with whites was limited to say the least. In fact, his contacts with people other than athletes and special education students were limited. There is no record of "Y's" mother or father ever attending any event in support of "Y". "Y" has begun to develop some relations with girls, however, he still is unemployed.

SUBJECT "Z"

The "Z" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "Z" and six "Z" children live in a frame, three-bedroom, single-family dwelling in University Estates in Central County Seat. This home was built by Mr. "Z's" father during his lifetime and inherited by Mr. "Z" upon the demise of his mother and father and the migration of the other "Z" siblings to other cities.

The Parents

Mr. and Mrs. "Z" were previously described in the case of V. Parents' educations, parents' activities, parents' attitudes toward education and children were previously described in the case of "V".

Subject "Z's" Attitude and Activities

"Z" seems to be very concerned about living up to the image projected for him by his mother. He is also concerned about not allowing people to take advantage of his concern for his family. One of the things that irritates "Z" about his father is that he is so easy-going.

Relations with Girls. During the time that he was in high school, "Z" was very popular with the girls. Like his brother, he could be observed at dances, both at school and in the community participating in almost every dance.

Relations With Whites in the School and Community. Like his brother, "V", "Z's" relations with whites in the school and community can best be described as turbulent. The record indicates that "Z" also was placed on probation fairly often and he was suspended at least twice for disciplinary infractions. "Z" also was dismissed from the athletic team because he could not get along with his coach. "Z" was a C+ student on the general track. Upon graduation he started to work for a light manufacturer and has continued to work since that time. Approximately two years after graduation from high school, "Z" was accused of burglary of a home and indicted for assault. This case now is quite old and apparently the charges were dropped.

Recreational Activities. Like his brother, "V", "Z's" recreational activities centered around athletic contests at the Community Center, dances, parties, disco, movies, and other activities where girls could be found.

Influence of Black Leaders. "Z" gives the lip service to stating that he would like to emulate Black leaders. However, when one observes his actions, it appears that there is very little difference between his attitude toward Black leaders and that of his brother, "V".

Summary

Like his brother, "V", "Z" had his mother's support in his activities both athletic and non-athletic while in school. It is also apparent that his mother found it very difficult, if not impossible to accept an evaluation that was at odds with her own evaluation of her son's potential or of her son's activities. Any criticism or any evaluations that implied criticism was rejected. "Z" was considered to be a disciplinary problem in high school and the record attests to that. He was a C+ student on the general track and participated in no activities other than basketball where he was dismissed from the team. At the time of this writing, "Z" is employed in a city near County Seat.

SUBJECT "AA"

The "AA" family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. "AA" and five "AA" siblings, live in a three-bedroom, frame home located in the University Estates in Central County Seat in the Newburgh section. Originally, this section was predominantly Black. Now it is a community in transition from

Black to white. This community is in a desirable location with immediate access to outdoor recreational areas while conveniences such as water, natural gas, sewage facilities, paved roads, etc. are available. Indeed, these conveniences are a part of the community.

The Parents

Mrs. "AA" is a short, very dark woman of approximately 60 years of age, weighing about 130 pounds. Mrs. "AA" gave birth to five children, none of whom were born in a hospital. Mrs. "AA" does not work outside the home. She is the fourth of nine children, having two older brothers, one older sister, three younger sisters, and two younger brothers. One of her younger sisters are deceased. Mrs. "AA's" parents are deceased. All of her siblings remain in County Seat.

Mr. "AA" is a tall, intense man of approximately 62 years of age weighing approximately 180 pounds. Mr. "AA" is a skilled craftsman working at various construction jobs in and around County Seat. Mr. "AA" is the middle of three siblings. He has one older brother and one younger brother, both living. His parents are deceased. Mr. "AA" was born and reared in County Seat and except for service during World War II, he has never left the area. Mr. "AA" is concerned about the development of his children and has expressed that concern through attendance at various functions at the schools concerning his children and through his attendance at athletic events. The record shows that over the past several years,

Mr. "AA" has visited the schools on many occasions in reference to his children. Mr. "AA" feels that education beyond the high school level is the only way of survival for today's young man.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "AA" attended school during the period of segregation, so the school that they attended was all Black. Mr. and Mrs. "AA" dropped out of school at about the fifth grade, they're not exactly sure when. They attended school during the time when cotton was king in this area; they were required to pick cotton in the fall and cultivate cotton in the spring in order to survive economically. They both reported that they were so slow in school that they didn't feel it was worthwhile to continue.

Activities. Activities of the "AA" family seem to center around church which is located in the Newburgh community. The only other activities seem to be keeping track of the development of their children and involving themselves in school activities where their children are concerned.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. After talking to Mr. and Mrs. "AA" for awhile, it becomes apparent that they are concerned about the development of their children. They seem to maintain an easy discipline while not alienating their children. Mr. "AA" has erected a basketball goal in his front yard for the recreational activities of his children, and he seems to devote a great deal of his

time toward family life. In the community it is evident that Mr. "AA" enjoys his family because his sons work with him during their time away from school. According to Mr. "AA", the money that the sons earn on their various jobs with him is theirs to keep.

"AA's" Attitude Toward His Family

This writer became acquainted with "AA" upon arrival in the community during his senior year in high school. He was a young man of medium height who seemed to mingle easily with his peers. His peers consisted of other athletes, mostly Black, and a few girls. He smiles readily, talks very little, but gives an impression of one who is at peace with himself. When questioned about his family, "AA" indicates that he loves his family very much. He is particularly vocal about his father because his father has worked for a number of years while being disabled. To quote "AA", "When a construction worker continues to work with a kidney problem because he has to support his family, one must respect him, and my dad has been doing this as long as I can remember." He remembers his mother mostly for the fact that she was always there; whenever he came from school or any other activity, he could be assured that his mother was at home.

Relations With Girls. "AA" relations with girls can best be described as singular. He developed a relationship

with a young lady in the seventh grade; they were married upon graduation from high school.

"AA's" Contacts With Whites in the School and the Community. Since "AA" lives in a neighborhood which is in transition, he has had some contact with whites outside school and athletics. These contacts seem to have been uneventual. "AA" states that he cannot remember any incident which would cause him to be hostile. "AA" was a starting player on the state championship football team, he was a general track student with a "C" average, he participated only in athletics. No other activities are evident. There is no evidence that "AA" was a disciplinary problem, and there is every indication that "AA" had determined what he wanted to do with his life early in his high school years. "AA" enlisted in the Armed Forces upon graduation from high school and was married after he completed basic training.

Recreational Activities. Unlike the activities of other subjects in this study, the recreational activities of "AA" cannot be reported as he is not generally available in the community. He visits the Community Center when he periodically returns to visit his parents and his wife's parents. However, there is no way of knowing that "AA" does while he is in the military community.

Influence of Black Leaders. During the infrequent conversations with "AA" upon his visits to the community, Black leaders seem to center around those wearing the military uniform. He mentions particularly a Black corps commander in Germany. He talks about his person's competence, this person's bearing, and how he too would like to be like this general.

Summary

In summarizing the case of "AA", it is apparent that "AA" grew up in a loving home with supportive parents, that he had few incidents in his development, that "AA" had decided early in his secondary career what he was going to do with his life. It is also apparent that there were few incidents of any kind in "AA's" life and that he was one of the invisible ones during his secondary school years. Other than athletics, there is no evidence that he participated in any other school activities. At the time of this writing. "AA" is still in the Armed Forces.

SUBJECT "BB"

The "BB" family resides in a three-room, brick home in University Estates in Central County Seat. The "BB" family consists of Mrs. "BB" and three "BB" siblings. Originally, the family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. "BB" and seven children, six boys and one girl. Mr. and Mrs. "BB" were

divorced during "BB's" senior year in high school. "BB" has since married and moved out of the household along with his next younger brother.

The Parents

Mrs. "BB" is a tall, dark, heavyset woman weighing approximately 170 pounds. Mrs. "BB" is about 45 years of age. She gave birth to seven children, six boys and one girl, the girl being the fifth in order of birth. Mrs. "BB" was born and reared in County Seat. She is the middle of three children, an older brother and a younger sister. Her mother is still living, her father is deceased. Both of Mrs. "BB's" siblings still reside in County Seat. She is employed in a local manufacturing concern.

Mr. "BB" is a thin, almost emaciated man of medium height, light brown in color. Mr. "BB" is approximately 47 years of age. He, too, was born and reared in County Seat. Mr. "BB", until recently, was employed as a farm worker for approximately four and a half years. Mr. "BB" deviated from working on a farm and worked for some time in light manufacturing in County Seat. Since his divorce from Mrs. "BB", he has returned to working on a farm. Mr. "BB" is a friendly person, open in his conversation, but he will not discuss the reason for his divorce.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "BB" attended the all-Black high school in County Seat. Both Mr. and Mrs. "BB" are high school dropouts. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. "BB" participated in any activities in high school. Mr. "BB's" father was a sharecropper and a janitor. He was known as a heavy drinker with no social participation. The "BB's" participated in few activities away from their occupations, including church activities. Since Mr. and Mrs. "BB's" divorce, it appears that as each male child who is at home arrives at the age of puberty, that he is expected to assume the mantle of head of the household until he leaves.

Attitudes Toward Education and Children. Both Mr. and Mrs. "BB's" attitude toward education can be described as nonexistent. They don't pretend to value education very highly. They never demonstrated any interest in the progress of their children. The siblings who are still in school don't seem to have any familial support either from mother or from father. During "BB's" time in high school, there was never any indication or manifestation of interest on the part of his parents for any activity, including athletics. Since "BB's" graduation from high school, there has been no manifestation of interest on the part of his parents for any of his siblings who are still in school.

Subject "BB's" Attitude and Activities

"BB" is a young man of medium build and height with well-developed, smooth muscles that have been developed over

a long period of participation in basketball. Until his marriage, he was a frequent visitor to the Community Center. Since his marriage, however, he is noted mostly for his absence. "BB" indicates that he is very much attached to his family, but he is not married to it; that he loves his brothers and sisters, he loves his mother and his father, but he has a responsibility to "BB" to do for "BB" the best that he can. Since indicating this attitude, "BB" has married and established his own household across town in County Seat.

Relations With Girls. "BB" apparently was a popular figure while in high school. He attended most of the social functions. He is remembered by others in the community as being a young man who was popular with the girls and as one who could mingle easily.

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community. Most of "BB's" energies while in school were spent on being a good athlete. As a result, his contacts with whites outside athletics were minimal. "BB's" followed the path of least resistance and was a general education curriculum student while in high school. The record indicates that "BB" was a fair student and an exceptional athlete. Upon graduating from high school "BB" joined the National Guard and went away for basic training subsequent to his graduation. When he returned from basic training, "BB" secured factory employment and has held the same job since starting work full-time. "BB" was married the second year after graduation from high school and

apparently his marriage is stable. He maintains his associations with the Community Center on a limited basis and intermittently participates in the basketball games at the Center. Conversation with "BB" indicates that he did exactly what he wanted to do with his life up to this point. "BB" has said in many ways that he never intended to do anything except graduate from high school, get a job and get married. His father has worked ever since he got out of school and "BB" just wants to follow in his footsteps. "BB" says, "Besides, I could never sit still long enough to finish anything. Getting out of high school was enough torture for me. There is no way in hell you are going to get me in anybody's classroom for a long period of time. I just want to work and make good money. Any job that will provide that is OK. I want to have a home of my own and my own car. The record indicates that "BB" had no disciplinary problems at all while in high school. He was involved in only one activity, basketball. His parents manifested no interest in "BB's" development, either athletically or academically.

"BB's" Recreational Activities Before his marriage, "BB" participated in the athletic contests held at the community center and attended the parties that seemed to develop around associations at the Center. Since his marriage, however, "BB's" attendance at the Center has become more and more infrequent, and indications are that within the next several

months, "BB" will discontinue his associations at the Center completely and focus his energies on his family.

Influence of Black Leaders. "BB" gives no indication that he was influenced by any Black leaders simply because there were none. The only people that could be remotely termed leaders according to "BB" are those who are ministers in the various churches around the city or those who are out-of-town. He doesn't see those out-of-town, and the ones who are ministers in the churches don't resemble leaders in any form, shape or fashion according to "BB".

Summary

"BB" can be described as a young man who did exactly with his life that he intended to do; that even though he came from a broken home and that his parents were divorced in "BB's" senior year in high school, he still has high regard for his father and apparently is imitating him. "BB" suffered no emotional traumas in high school, and his relations with whites must be termed as at least uneventful, as evidenced by his joining the National Guard. At the time of this writing, "BB" is still employed with the same firm that hired him upon his return from active military duty.

SUBJECT "CC"

"CC's" family occupies a four-bedroom, frame home in University Estates in Central County Seat. The family consists of Mrs. "CC" and five "CC" siblings, three sons, two daughters. This home was built by Mr. and Mrs. "CC" upon their marriage after high school.

The Parents

Mrs. "CC" is a small, thin woman, approximately 50 years of age, with a pleasant voice. She has a great deal of concern about her children, but no knowledge of how to assist them. Her activities center around those that are church sponsored or church related. Mrs. "CC" has gone to great lengths to keep her family together since the demise of Mr. "CC".

Mr. "CC" was a short, thin man of medium brown complexion. During his lifetime, Mr. "CC" worked at two jobs in supporting his family. At the time of his demise, Mr. "CC" was employed with a bus manufacturing concern and with a lumber manufacturing concern.

Educations. Both Mr. and Mrs. "CC" are products of the segregated school system in County Seat. Mr. "CC" dropped out of school in about the eight or ninth grade in order to help support his family. Mrs. "CC" graduated from the segregated school system in County Seat. Mrs. "CC" believes in the value of education and has actively supported her children in their educational development.

Subject "CC's" Attitudes and Activities

"CC" is the eldest of five siblings with two younger brothers and two younger sisters. He is a short, slim young man, weighing approximately 130 pounds. In conversations with "CC", it becomes apparent that he cares very much for the members of his family. It also becomes apparent that he is very concerned about what will happen to the members of his family since the demise of his father. "The old man and I didn't always get along," "CC" will say, "but he's always there." "CC" is particularly concerned about what will happen to his sisters, considering the environment in which they have to grow up.

Relations With Girls. "CC" could have been considered a ladies' man prior to the demise of his father. Since his father's demise, however, he has less and less associated with girls and has seemed to develop more concern about what will happen to his sisters.

Contacts With Whites in the School and the Community. "CC's" contacts with whites in the school and community can best be described as volatile. "CC" was highly visible for his entire time in high school because he was considered to be a disciplinary problem. "CC" was not hesitant at all to attempt to correct that he considered to be an injustice. A part of "CC's" difficulties in high school could possibly be attributed to the fact that "CC" was placed in a special

education group. A look at the record, however, indicates that "CC", in terms of intelligence scores used as a basis for placement, actually placed in the lower range of average students, the 95-100 bracket. "CC" was not athletically inclined to any degree. His participation in extra-curricular activities was non-existent.

Recreational Activities. "CC's" recreational activities prior to his father's demise centered around his relations with girls. As stated previously, however, subsequent to his father's death, "CC" has had very little to do with members of the opposite sex. Occasionally, he comes around the Community Center and stands on the periphery kibitzing with the other participants. He does not, however, participate in the athletic activities.

Influence of Black Leaders. The influence of Black leaders in "CC's" life seem to center around ministers that he comes into contact with as a result of attending church with his mother. The influence of other leaders, or non-Blacks, seems to be minimal. "CC" concern is a deep mistrust of others than ministers that he has developed over the years.

Summary

In summarizing the case of "CC", a few items become fairly apparent. First of all, he was reared in a caring atmosphere. Secondly, he was profoundly affected by the

death of his father. His relations with whites can best be described as stormy. He was considered to be a disciplinary problem in school. There is no indication in the record that his parents evidenced support for his educational development in terms of their overt activities. "CC" did not participate in athletics. The record does not show there was any teacher or involved other who believed in him. "CC" is currently employed in County Seat as a laborer.

SUBJECT "DD"

"DD's" family occupies a four-bedroom, brick home in the University Estates in Central County Seat. The family consists of Mr. and Mrs. "DD" and six children, four sons and two daughters. This home was built by Mr. and Mrs. "DD" after the birth of their oldest child.

The Parents

Mrs. "DD" is a tall, hefty woman, approximately 55 years of age with a shrill voice. She appears to have some concern about the welfare of her children, but no knowledge of how to enhance their life chances. Her activities center around those that are church-sponsored or school athletic activities. Mrs. "DD" and "K's" mothers are sisters. Mrs. "DD" is a firm believer in strong discipline for her children,

an attitude that is confirmed in conversations with her neighbors.

Mr. "DD" is a tall, thin man of medium brown complexion. As opposed to Mrs. "DD", it is very difficult to engage Mr. "DD" in any type of conversation. Mr. "DD's" brother is "K's" father. Mr. "DD" is employed on the assembly line of a light manufacturing company concern in County Seat. He previously was employed as a farm laborer in the surrounding area. Mr. "DD" is most emphatic in his contention that education beyond high school is a waste for Black youth. According to Mr. "DD": "When a white kid goes away to college and does reasonably well, the response is that Johnny is a smart boy. We must do what we can to help him. When a Black kid goes away to college and does exceptionally well, the response is, that's a smart nigger; we'd better watch him."

Mr. "DD" goes on to point out the difficulties that Black youth have in finding employment and contends that the better trained or educated Black youths are, the less likely their chances are of being hired, because whites control the system, and they don't want any Blacks who can think in positions of responsibility. Mr. "DD's" activities involve socializing with some male neighbors over a bottle of wine. He has very little patience with church activities even though his wife participates in them.

Education. Both Mr. and Mrs. "DD" are products of the segregated school system in County Seat. Mr. "DD" dropped out of school in about the fifth or sixth grade. He's not quite sure which grade it was. Mrs. "DD" dropped out of school at about the eighth grade. Both attended school when cotton was king in the area. Both had to stay out of school and in the fields until the middle of October. As a result, they always started five to six weeks behind the rest of the students. Apparently, neither Mr. or Mrs. "DD" had anything that they did sufficiently well to compensate for the built-in disadvantage of entering school so late year after year.

"DD's" Attitudes and Activities

"DD" is the fourth of six siblings with two older sisters, one older brother, and two younger brothers. He is a young man of medium height with muscles developed through years of weight-lifting, weighing approximately 160 pounds. In conversation with "DD", indeed in conversation with all of the "DD" siblings, it becomes apparent that they care very much for the other members of the family. Their mother is revered for her consistency and his father is revered because of the fact that he stayed under extremely difficult circumstances.

Relations With Girls. "DD's" relations with girls, as "L's" relations with girls, can best be described as

congenial. His rapport with girls appears to have been firmly established during all of his high school years. "DD", while not as flamboyant as "L", almost always was in the company of a girl after athletic events and during athletic events where he was not a participant. There is no evidence of sexual activity on the part of "DD" in that he is reluctant to talk about his sex life and as yet, there are no pregnancies linked to him.

Contacts With Whites in the School and Community.

"DD's" contacts with whites in the school and community seem to have been cordial throughout. There is no record of "DD" having a disciplinary problem; in fact, one could say almost that "DD" was invisible once he left the area of athletics. "DD", as his brother before him, participated on the athletic team that reached the finals of the playoffs. However, he was not offered an athletic scholarship upon graduation from high school.

In conversations with "DD", it is apparent that he made the decision early to get a job as soon as he graduated from high school, rather than attempt to go to college.

Recreational Activities. "DD's" recreational activities centered around occasional athletic contests at the Community Center. Of late, "DD" seems to have taken automobile mechanics as a hobby, and he can almost always be found working on an automobile when not at the Center.

Influence of Black Leaders. The influence of Black leaders in "DD's" life, as in "L's", seems to have been minimal. While his attitude is not as hostile as "L's", it is definately as negative. He has the same impression of preachers, and the way he describes these people is that they are no different from the pimps that one will find on the streets of any large city. They are merely there to rake off money from women.

Summary

In summarizing the case of "DD", the similarity between his attitude and the attitude of his brother, "L", is striking. While not surprising because they grew up in the same household, it is striking. First of all, they were reared in an atmosphere where the father was and is hostile to post-secondary education. Secondly, "DD's" relations with whites was uneventful. He did not have any disciplinary problems in school, and as with "L", his parents showed no interest in other than athletics. There appears to have been on involved-other in "DD's" development. He is still at the same firm where he was employed upon graduation from high school.

APPENDIX B

CASE STUDY OUTLINE

1. Overall description of family
2. Parents
 - Parents Education
 - Parents Activities
 - Parents Attitudes Towards Education and Children
3. Subjects attitude towards his family
4. Subjects relations with girls
5. Subjects contacts with whites in the school and community.
6. Subjects Recreational Activities
7. Influence of Black leaders
8. Summary

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRES

Family Questionnaire (Parents)

(Items A through E to be completed before meeting).

- A. Name _____ B. Telephone _____
- C. Address _____
- D. High School Graduate? Yes () No ()
- E. Local High School or other _____
-
1. How did you enjoy your years in school?
 2. What were your favorite subjects?
 3. What were your favorite activities?
 4. Are you satisfied with your formal education?
 5. Do you want more in the way of education for your son than you have?
 6. Are you willing to contribute financially to your son's higher education?
 7. Do you feel that your son receives as much stimulation from the schools toward achievement as he could?
 8. How many conferences with your son's teachers did you have each year?
 9. How often do you attend church?
 10. Is it required to the whole family?

11. Is there any Black person in this community that you would want you son to emulate?
12. Is there any teacher that you remember with fondness from your years in school?

Individual Questionnaire

Name _____ Telephone _____

Address _____

1. How did you enjoy your years in school?
2. What were your favorite subjects?
3. What were your favorite activities?
4. What track were you on in high school?
5. What made you decide to go beyond high school?
6. What made you decide not to go beyond high school?
7. Is there any teacher that you remember with fondness from your years in school?
8. Do you attend church? How Often?
9. Is there a Black person in this community that you admire?
10. What do you plan to be doing five years from now?
11. On a scale of 1 to 4, with 1 at the top and 4 at the bottom, how do you rate yourself as a student while in high school?
12. Is there any person in the community that you would want to pattern your life after?
13. Was there anyone, while you were in school, who believed in you?
14. Was there any teachers who believed in you?
15. What did you do best while in school?
16. How did you get along with girls?

APPENDIX E

Visibility Rating Sheet

1. Grade Point Average A=4, B=3, C=2, D=1 _____
 2. Social Involvement
Reputation for popularity _____
Sexual popularity _____
 3. Activities of high prestige _____

Athletics	FFA
Honor Society	FTA
Student Council	FHA
Drama	Science Club
Choir	Math Club
Band	
 4. Role models _____
 5. Manifested interest of parents _____
 6. Was there an involved other in subject's life? _____
 7. Was subject considered a discipline problem? _____
 8. Was there one teacher who believed in subject? _____
 9. How much self confidence did subject show in formative years? _____
 10. Did the subject have at least one broadly defined unique skill? _____
- Number of Positive
Responses _____

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