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A longitudinal analysis of rural adolescents' perceptions of success : a multicultural perspective.

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A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF RURAL ADOLESCENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS: A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

A Dissertation Presented

by

DEBORAH A. MARSHALL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1996

Department of Psychology

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A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF RURAL ADOLESCENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS: A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

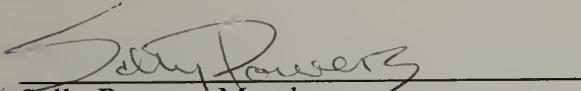
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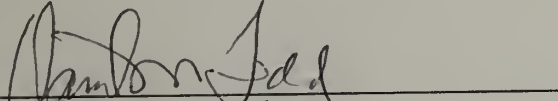
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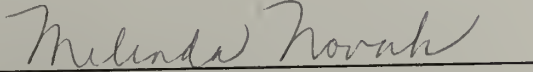
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A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS OF RURAL ADOLESCENTS'
PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS: A MULTICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

MAY 1996

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Researchers have traditionally evaluated success and achievement by examining prescribed constructs and their relationship to specific behaviors, performance skills, or cognitive abilities. The adolescents that have been studied were primarily from urban or metropolitan environments, and these studies did not factor in the influence of cultural context on variations in adolescent success strivings. This longitudinal investigation attempted to expand upon existing studies by not only focusing on a rural, southern high school sample, but also by allowing the students to generate their own criteria for defining success.

A 12 category questionnaire, which was developed for this research project, and the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children were administered on two occasions to the same group of subjects. The first study (T1) was conducted at middle adolescence, when participants were ninth graders; the second study (T2) was conducted at late

adolescence during the twelfth grade. At T1, 149 students, ages 14-16 participated. Eighty were African American (AA); 54 were Caucasian (C). At T2, 152 students, ages 16-19 completed the assessment. Fifty-nine in this study were C and 75 were AA.

At both T1 and T2, participants consistently identified three criteria when they generated their own success definitions: accomplishments/recognition, personal attributes and work/career. This was true across the variable of race though some variation was noted in comparison of gender-specific responses. The most frequently cited component of success, accomplishment/recognition, was described as setting and achieving goals, being their best, working hard and achieving fame. Comparison of self-concept scores between T1 and T2 showed a significant increase in self-esteem across variables of race and gender.

These data provide a profile of rural, southern adolescents viewed from a cultural and longitudinal perspective. The definitions generated by these adolescents can be valuable in the assessment of their success oriented behaviors. Further investigations of adolescents' perceptions of success can contribute to the development of plans and strategies for parents, educators and counselors to assist adolescents with their strivings for success.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Most of the literature on adolescents and success has used academic achievement as the criterion measure of success (Fyans, Maehr, Salili, and Desai, 1983). If a student has good grades and does well in school, he or she is considered successful. Failure is perceived as the opposite: If a student does poorly in school, he or she is considered unsuccessful. Yet, we know that success is more than good grades and academic excellence. Haynes, Hamilton-Lee, and Comer (1988) noted that many high school students who may not do well academically do achieve social success and derive positive reinforcement from peers, family and community.

Success is more than a combination of motor abilities, social rewards, cognitive mastery or academic achievement. It is probable that definitions of success vary from culture to culture and depend upon what is valued in the respective cultural context. The arena(s) in which an individual seeks to excel and the degree to which this activity is successful will depend on individual values, aspirations, self-concept, social and cultural values (Haynes, Hamilton-Lee and Comer, 1988).

Fordham and Ogbu (1986) suggested that, in the case of African Americans (AAs), the disproportionately high rate of poor school performance is a kind of adaptation to limited social and economic opportunities available in adult life. That is, the poor school performance is an adaptive response to the requirements of cultural imperatives within the AA students' ecological structure. The authors suggest that within their ecological structure, White Americans have controlled education and AAs traditionally have been provided with substandard schooling. For AAs, education is therefore not a means to success. It follows then, given the influence of culture,

situational and contextual analyses of achievement are likely to provide a fuller understanding of success-related behavior as it varies from culture to culture.

Culture

Previous research has not investigated cultural and personal meanings of success, failure, and achievement (Fyans, Maehr, Salili, and Desai, 1983; Maehr, 1974). However, there is growing recognition of the importance of understanding various cultural factors which influence achievement strivings (Pieke, 1991; Duda and Allison, 1989; Lee, 1985; Fyans, Maehr, Salili, and Desai, 1983). This is due, in part, to the increase in social scientists' awareness that an individual's concept of success reflects to some degree the norms and values of the social environment in which he or she lives. Another factor which has contributed to this shift is the acknowledged need to dispel the myths and stereotypes which have influenced past research, as well as sociopolitical and educational policy development regarding ethnic minority populations.

Culture is defined as a total pattern of human behavior and standardized social characteristics peculiar to a specific group, occupation or profession, sex, age, grade, or social class (Slaughter-Defoe, Nakagawa, Takanishi, and Johnson, 1990). The products of a culture are embodied in thought, speech, action, and artifacts. They are dependent upon human capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations through the use of tools, language, and systems of abstract thought. These customary beliefs, social forms, material traits and objects constitute distinct traditions of a racial, religious, or social group; they include knowledge, beliefs, morals, law, customs, opinions, religion, superstition and art.

At the core of cultural group identity is a strong emphasis on shared norms, expectations, and values. These values serve as a normative guide and control for the behavior of individual members. They exert normative pressures on individuals to act in a manner proscribed by the collective. Individuals learn to think and act as the group

thinks. Internalized norms exert long-term influence on the behavior of members.

Although a strong culture cannot assure specific individual behaviors, it can enhance members' commitment to a group mission or goal (Wiener and Vardi, 1990). If culture embodies and influences the patterns of human behavior and expectations, it stands to reason that what or how success is defined in a culture will also serve as a normative guide for the individuals within that culture. It would also follow that conceptions of success for individuals of one culture cannot always be compared with those of individuals from other cultures.

Maehr and Nichols (1980) suggested that conceptions of achievement are multidimensional and culturally dependent. They argued that success and failure are psychological states and are not always equated with objective, competitive outcomes. In their view, criteria underlying subjective success and failure vary as a function of social group membership and situational variables. Individuals tend to behave in a way that maximizes the experience of success and minimizes the experience of failure as they define their experiences and identify the domains that give rise to them. Following this line of reasoning, then, a personal definition of success can reflect the cultural affiliation of that individual, and clusters of these individual definitions may become a critical element in understanding cross-cultural variations in achievement (Duda, 1980).

Likewise, Ogbu (1988) proposed a theory of cultural development which suggested that members of different cultures encounter different cultural tasks. These tasks vary from culture to culture because, over time, different populations have worked out different solutions to common problems in life, such as how to live, how to make a living, how to organize domestic life and reproduce, and so on. These different solutions to common tasks are in response to different physical or social environments. Each culture responds to these contextual factors by promoting unique repertoires of competencies or skills. Mastery of these skills maximizes the experience of success within the respective culture.

Situational and Contextual Analyses

Lee (1985) researched factors related to the academic and social success of rural, southern, AA adolescents using personal interviews. Students were asked questions concerning their home and family lives, their interests and activities, plans for the future, personal attitudes, values, and self-perceptions. Lee found that this sample of adolescents defined a successful person as "one who persevered, accomplished goals, had strong religious values, provided for their family and helped others." The results of this study highlight the idea of success as promoting a blend of personal, family and community values rather than academic pass/fail. Lee's study revealed the importance of investigating success by casting a wider net than the narrow focus on academic performance. He showed that by allowing the students to articulate their own definitions, it was possible to view success in the broader context of social and cultural values which had personal relevance to his participants.

In a similar study, Marshall (1994) highlighted cultural variability in success and achievement definitions. She examined demographic variables, personal expectations and self-esteem in their relationship to definitions of success provided by southern, rural adolescents. Participants' definitions were not based on the traditional, one dimensional notion of academic excellence frequently used as the primary criterion of success and failure by educators and social scientists. Instead, self-generated criteria of success were defined based on the students' internalized situational and contextual influences. Following this line of reasoning, then, a personal definition of success can reflect the cultural affiliation of that individual, and clusters of these individual definitions may become a critical element in understanding cross-cultural variations in achievement (Duda, 1980).

Self-esteem

The self-esteem literature also sheds light on the importance of cultural context. Self-esteem is conceptualized as positive or negative self-evaluations which are influenced by culture. It indicates whether or not an individual believes him/herself to be capable, significant, successful, and worthy (Diaz, 1984). These component aspects of self-esteem influence behavior in almost every situation, including success and achievement related behaviors. Research suggests that self-esteem is closely and positively associated with success (Elmen, 1991; Haynes, Hamilton-Lee, 1988). Research comparing Caucasian (C) and AA children has consistently found that AA children do less well academically. Yet, research also suggests that AA children have equal or higher self-esteem than do C children. Thus, for some populations, academic achievement may not be an accurate or relevant measure of success.

Adolescence As A Culture

Adolescence is a period of human development which denotes the transition from childhood to adulthood. It normally marks a change from dependence on parents to independent living and decision-making. During this time, the adolescent is charged with continually defining his or her place in society in relation to the myriad of biological, physiological and social changes that occur simultaneously (Elmen, 1991). She/he must also learn to manage individual issues of behavior, self-control, values and self-esteem.

In order to achieve this, adolescents study what is acceptable, valued, or rejected in their culture. They usually strive to acquire attributes they admire and to rid themselves of attributes that are devalued or absent in their belief system. Thus, contextual social comparisons play a major role in adolescent development (Haynes, Hamilton-Lee and Comer, 1988).

Adolescence is also a time when choices are made which impact future educational and career plans. These decisions may be affected by how the adolescent

defines success, his/her self-esteem, school grades, community resources, etc., or they may be influenced by all of these. In turn, these decisions may have an effect on adolescents' perceptions, grades, use of community resources, etc. Cognitive, affective, and social changes during this period may also provide additional influences. These internal and external contextual factors appear to have an ongoing, evolving effect as the adolescent matures. It follows that the culture which provides the forum for these factors will remain influential as adolescents ritualize the prevalent values and construct their perceptions of success.

Marshall's 1994 Study

A study by Marshall (1994) represents both a departure from earlier reliance on conventional definitions of success and a justification for further exploration of the impact of culture and other environmental factors. Marshall posited that personal, family and community values represented by adolescents may vary with the specific demographic context of the individual adolescent. Her contextual portrait blended factors including race, gender, grade, family income, and self-esteem. Cultural variations in rural teenagers' success criteria were then investigated. The following summary of Marshall's study details the scope of cultural factors and established the groundwork for the current study.

Community Information

The following overview of the general cultural environment is presented because it is a fundamental means of introducing the contextual influences affecting the adolescent participants of the study. The community chosen for the 1994 study was selected because it provided an opportunity to examine a culture often omitted in psychological literature.

Atmore is located in southeastern Escambia County, Alabama. Escambia County is located on the Alabama-Florida border directly north of Pensacola, Florida and northeast of Mobile, Alabama. Atmore, originally known as Williams Station, was founded in the 1860's, following the Civil War. Williams Station, originally a shed alongside the railroad, was a supply stop for a logging operation 10 miles away in Florida. It later became a thriving saw mill town and rest stop for train passengers as well as a fuel and water stop. In 1887, the town was named Atmore, in honor of Charles P. Atmore, the General Ticket Agent on the Louisville Nashville Railroad.

In Atmore, as in many other American cities, the railroad tracks serve as a dividing line which separates people by race and socioeconomic status. Historically, AAs live on one side of the tracks and Cs live on the other side. This barrier is slowly becoming permeable as a result of enforcement of desegregation laws in the early 1970's. Also, recent industrial growth and new job opportunities have brought new people and different ideas to the community. Combined efforts of County and City governments, and private citizens working for the good of the community have contributed to improving the quality of life for its citizens. The establishment of a Community Center, the revitalization of downtown, the openings of several major retailers, the construction of the Rail Welcome Center and the celebration of Williams Station Day have contributed to Atmore's rejuvenation.

Community Demographics

The information in this section was abstracted from information that was compiled by the Escambia County Industrial Development Authority, Atmore, Alabama. Unless specified, the information was updated in January 1995.

Since 1990, the population has increased from 8095 to 8518 in 1994 (est.). During the 1980's there was a population decline of more than 700 people. Currently, Cs comprise 57.19% of the population; AAs make up 39.8%; 2.49% are American Indian;

Asians and Pacific Islanders represent 0.12% of Atmore's citizens, and 0.04% are classified as Other. Approximately 45% of the population are male and 55% are female. Approximately 6% of Atmore's population are between the ages of 15-17. See Table 1 and Table 2 for education, income housing and occupation demographics.

There are two public elementary schools which have 886 students, one public middle school with 797 students, and one public high school which has 665 students. There is one Christian school with 40 students, grades 1-12 and another private (pay) secondary school (K-12) with 271 students. The private school was organized following enforced desegregation in 1970.

Atmore has one 52 bed medical hospital, two clinics, 10 doctors, four dentists, four motels (120 rooms), one library, and 75 churches (74 are protestant and 1 is Catholic). Recreational facilities include one amateur theater, eight ball fields, one country club, one movie theater, three parks, one skating rink, three swimming pools, and eight tennis courts. There are two local newspapers (one, a bi-weekly newspaper, was founded in 1927, the other started in 1994), two radio stations, and one Post Office. There are three commercial savings banks.

Atmore government is comprised of a mayor and city council; there are 26 police personnel and 10 full-time and 8 volunteer fire department personnel. There is no public ground transportation; there is a municipal airport which supports only small aircraft (5,000 foot runway) .

As of November 1994, Escambia County had 16,040 people in the civilian labor market: 14,870 were employed, 1,170 were unemployed. This reflects an unemployment rate of 7.3%. The number of people in Atmore's labor force (16 years and older) is 2,954. Atmore's major industries are Vanity Fair Mills, Inc. (est. 1950, 751-900 employees), Masland Carpets (est. 1958, 200-250 employees), and Touch 1 Communications (est. 1989, 300 employees).

Table 1

Fact Sheet

Mean education levels of persons over 25 are:

Elementary	17.43%
Some High School	23.53%
High School Grad	31.47%
Some College	12.45%
Associates Degree	4.32%
Bachelors Degree	7.00%
Graduate Degree	3.80%

Income:

Average household income	\$26,934
Median household income	\$19,534
Income per capita	\$10,896

Percent of household income:

under \$5,000	19%
\$5,000 to \$14,999	24%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	17%
\$25,000 to \$49,999	36%
\$50,000 to \$99,999	12%
over \$100,000	2%

Housing:

The average number of persons per household:	2.61
Percent of houses owner occupied:	66%
Percent of rental properties:	33 %
Median property value:	\$39,650
Median rent:	\$149

Caucasians own 1,138 housing units (2/3 of total units), average value, \$52,184.
African Americans own 489 units, average value, 32,879.
American Indians own 49 units, average value, \$40,898.

Table 2

Population Distribution by Occupation

Executive and Manager	8.94%
Professional	10.26
Technical Support	1.91
Sales	12.92
Admin. Support	12.18
Service: household	2.24
Service: protective	4.8
Service: other	10.62
Farming, Forestry & Fishing	3.07
Precision Product & Craft	10.37
Machine Operator	12.51
Trans & Material Moving	6.63
Laborers	3.55

To understand the respective cultural contexts in which participants lived, Marshall administered a questionnaire which resulted in a comprehensive profile of the participants in her study. Participants completed "The Adolescent Perceptions of Success Questionnaire", a 12 category survey developed by the researcher (Appendix). The categories included demographic information, attitudes about school, sports, membership in social organizations, attitudes about dating and sex, drug/alcohol use, employment, future expectations, possible jobs and family support.

Two formats were utilized to assess students' perceptions of success. In the first, participants were presented with a list of potential elements of success that were assessed according to perceived importance using a four-point Likert Scale. In addition, participants were provided an open-ended format to respond to the question, "What is your personal definition of success?" These personal definitions were categorized by two independent raters; interrater reliability (percent agreement) was calculated at .73.

Responses to this question were clustered, then rated, using the following categories:

1. Education (grades, college, graduating, etc.)
2. Personal Attributes (friendliness, happiness, pride, self-image, intelligence, likeability, etc.)
3. Financial/Personal possessions (wealth, nice car, etc.)
4. Independence (self-supporting, doing what you want to do, etc.)
5. Accomplishments/Recognition (making it, being your best, setting goals, achieving goals, fame, working hard, etc.)
6. Relationships (marriage, children, family, being close to someone, being a friend, role model, social network, love, etc.)
7. Work/Career (prestige, pay, having a job they like, good job, career success, being well-paid, making money, etc.)
8. Health
9. Miscellaneous (abstinence, just because, sports figure, religion, comedian, kicking ass and taking names, etc.)

The sample was comprised of 245 students; 66% of the ninth and twelfth grade classes. Of these participants, 148 were from the ninth grade (80 African American; 54 Caucasian; 13 Native American; one subject did not disclose his/her race; 89 female and 59 male), and 97 were from the twelfth grade (55 African American; 37 Caucasian; 2 Latino; 2 Native American; one subject did not disclose his/her race; 42 female and 55 male).

Participants ranged in age from 14 to 19 years. The ages of ninth grade participants ranged from 14-16, with a mean of 15 years. The ages of twelfth grade participants ranged from 17-19, with a mean of 18 years.

Participants reported that their mothers, more than their fathers or their peers, provided the most significant influence on their development and were their primary

sources of emotional support. In responding to whether or not they themselves would be satisfied with working at the same jobs as their mothers, however, the majority of students said they would not. This may be due to the fact that the jobs held by most of their mothers were primarily low in pay and status. A greater percentage of students reported that they would be satisfied with employment similar to those of their fathers, although there was an even split between satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

Students' views of what constitutes success reflected minor variations from what they perceived as their parents' criteria. In rating the 16 categories that were presented as options, students selected the same choices for their own as well as their perceptions of parental criteria for success, although they ranked them differently. The seven most popular responses were happiness, education, a good job, family closeness, enough money, health and independence.

In self-generated definitions of success, participants' responses were consistently characterized by three criteria: Accomplishments/Recognition, Work/Career and Personal Attributes. This was true across all variables of race, gender, age, grade and family income.

The Health category was the least popular of the student's self-generated responses. In contrast, this category was ranked fourth when students used the forced-choice format. Students also perceived "Health" as an important criterion for their parents' perceptions of success. One might speculate that issues of health were not a definition of success in self-generated responses because degree of health is not viewed as easily controlled by the subject; one is either healthy or not healthy. This low frequency selection may also reflect feelings of invulnerability often expressed by adolescents who may not therefore be concerned with health related issues, whether they relate to success or not.

A notable discrepancy was found between participants' criteria for success when comparing forced-choice responses and self-generated responses. Recognition by others

was the least popular choice among forced-choice responses, but it was the most popular category for self-generated definitions of success. One possible reason for this discrepancy is that although recognition is of primary importance to these adolescents, it may not be socially acceptable for them to state this in a straightforward manner.

Twelfth grade students selected Work/Career definitions of success significantly more often than ninth grade students did. Concerns about employment are perhaps more relevant to twelfth graders and reflect awareness of their changing status as they near graduation. Twelfth grade females chose education as an important criterion of success significantly more than did males. This may be in reaction to unequal pressure exerted on young men to earn money.

The responses of ninth grade students differed significantly by gender and race (Table 3). Both C and AA ninth grade females and ninth grade AA male (AAM) participants believed that Accomplishments/Recognition was the most important definition of success. Caucasian male (CM) participants chose financial status as the most important definition of success. This may suggest that these young people are in the process of internalizing dominant societal values and boundaries. For example, CM have not experienced a job ceiling as have Caucasian female (CF), AAM and African American females (AAF). As a consequence, CM may be more likely to perceive success as financial security because this is a realistic possibility for them. Only 2% of AAF participants chose this category as compared to 26% of CM subjects. While the choices of success criteria were more evenly distributed among CM, CF and AAM participants, 53% of AAFs chose Accomplishments/Recognition. Many generations of AAs have faced barriers to the opportunity structure as well as employment ceilings. Thus, they have come to believe that more than education, individual effort and hard work (Accomplishments/ Recognition) are required for them to succeed (Ogbu, 1990). The choices made by these young people therefore reflected the strategies and the expectations of their respective cultural experiences.

Table 3

Self-generated Success Criteria
by Race, Grade and Gender
N= 136

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Female</u>		<u>Male</u>	
	African American (n=47)	Caucasian (n=35)	African American (n=35)	Caucasian (n=19)
Education	4 (.09)	7 (.20)	1 (.03)	2 (.11)
Personal Attributes	6 (.12)	10 (.29)	2 (.06)	2 (.11)
Financial	1 (.02)	6 (.17)	4 (.12)	5 (.26)
Independence	2 (.04)	5 (.15)	1 (.03)	2 (.11)
Accomplishments/ Recognition	25 (.53)	12 (.34)	8 (.24)	2 (.11)
Relationships	3 (.06)	7 (.20)	1 (.03)	1 (.05)
Work/Career	4 (.09)	8 (.22)	4 (.12)	2 (.11)
Health	0	0	1 (.03)	0
Miscellaneous	2 (.04)	2 (.06)	2 (.06)	1 (.05)
# of responses	47	57	24	17

Twenty-nine percent of the CF participants chose Personal Attributes. This is consistent with Duda and Allison's (1989) finding that success or failure could be equated with personal characteristics. Predominant culture emphasizes and values personal characteristics such as friendliness, likeability and attractiveness in females. However, only 12% of AAF chose this category. While no empirical research has established a link between skin color and variables such as intelligence and attractiveness, these results may reflect the fact that stereotyping by color among C and AA populations persists well into the 20th century (Russell, Wilson, Hall, 1992).

Participants in Marshall's study (1994) also completed the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children, subtitled "The Way I Feel About Myself" (Piers and Harris, 1984), a brief self-report measure designed to aid in the assessment of self-esteem of

children and adolescents. Participants were shown a number of statements describing how some people feel about themselves, and were asked to indicate whether each statement applied to them, using dichotomous "yes" or "no" responses. The Piers-Harris focuses on children's conscious self-perceptions, rather than attempting to infer how they feel about themselves from their behaviors or the attributions of others.

Results were consistent with previous research findings that suggest: 1) AA adolescents have equal or higher self-esteem than C adolescents; 2) Girls of both groups demonstrate lower self-esteem than do boys, with C girls exhibiting the lowest self-esteem (Martinez and Dukes, 1991; Simmons, Brown, Bush and Blyth, 1972).

Current Study

This study focused on the demographic variables of race and gender, as well as success categorizations (as identified at T1) of AA and C adolescents. The author examined changes in definitions of success of the same group of students who were in ninth grade at the time of the first assessment and in twelfth grade at the time of the second assessment. This longitudinal approach offered the opportunity to explore the stability of student's perceptions of success from the time of the initial administration to the time of reexamination three years later.

Hypotheses and Analyses

The current study investigated four hypotheses:

1) There would be differences in the expectations of success responses ("possible jobs" questions (66-92) and "future expectations" questions (95-105)) among AAF, AAM, CF and CM. This assumption was based on the different experiences these samples have in the dominant culture;

2) The definitions of success category "Accomplishments/Recognition" would remain stable from testing Time 1 to testing Time 2. This assumption was based on the

notion that culture and cultural norms exert a strong, long-term influence on individuals, and on the assumption that, as adolescents mature, they will internalize and incorporate the values and norms of the dominant as well as their respective cultures;

3) The category "Work/Career" would be selected significantly more at testing Time 2 than at testing Time 1 by all groups. At this stage of development (twelfth grade), participants would be more concerned with moving into adult roles, which include work and career objectives, than they were as ninth graders;

4) There would be no difference in self-esteem from testing Time 1 to testing Time 2. Although self-esteem increases with age during adolescence, this increase was not expected to be significant in the present study: that is, the distribution found in Marshall's (1994) study would remain stable.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Participants

Participants were recruited from Escambia County High School, Atmore, Alabama. At Time 1, 737 students were enrolled and 218 were in the ninth grade. At Time 2 there were 755 students enrolled and 159 were in the twelfth grade. One hundred forty-nine students participated in the study at Time 1 (80 African Americans, 54 Caucasians, 13 Native Americans, one subject did not disclose his/her race; 89 female and 59 male). One hundred fifty-two students participated in the study at Time 2 (75 African American, 59 Caucasian, 13 Native American, 3 participants did not disclose their race; 79 females and 73 males). Sixty-six percent of the twelfth grade students who participated at Time 2 were identified as ninth grade participants in the first study. The interval between test administrations was two years, nine months.

Participants in the initial study ranged in age from 14 to 16 years, with a mean age of 15 years. Students in the second study ranged from 16 to 19 years, with a mean age of 17 years. Due to the small number of Native American participants, this subsample was not included in this study.

Procedure

Written permission to conduct this study was requested by the researcher and granted by the principal of the high school. As requested, the (two) twelfth grade English teachers agreed to provide their class times for students to participate in the study. Students were required to obtain written parental or guardian permission prior to participation. Permission forms were distributed by and returned to the English teachers. These forms were then presented to the researcher. Teachers informed the students of the

date and time of the data collection, that participation was voluntary and that results were confidential.

Participants were excused from their English classes, but received no other incentive to participate. Volunteers reported to the school auditorium where the survey was administered by the researcher and two volunteer assistants who were not affiliated with the school. Students were told verbally and on the written consent form that they were participating in a study of the concept of success, and were assured that disclosures would be kept confidential. Students were given the opportunity to ask general questions about the study both before and after administration of the questionnaires. Average time for completion was 35 minutes.

Instruments

Participants completed the 12 category "Adolescent Perceptions of Success Survey", developed by the researcher (Appendix). Categories include a range of information from the following areas: demographic information; attitudes about school; sports; social organization involvement; attitudes about dating and sex; drug/ alcohol use; employment; future expectations; possible jobs and family support.

To assess students' perceptions of success, first, participants were provided with an open-ended format to respond to the question, "What is your personal definition of success?" Definitions were then clustered into the categories identified during the first study (See page 11).

Participants' definitions of success were further enhanced by examination of their career projections. They also rated a list of potential life events according to perceived likelihood, using a four-point Likert Scale. Responses were summarized to identify patterns and themes at Time 1 and Time 2.

Participants also completed the "Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children", subtitled "The Way I Feel About Myself" (Piers, Harris, 1984), a brief self report measure designed to aid assessment of self-concept in children and adolescents. Participants were shown a number of statements describing how some people feel about themselves, and were asked to indicate whether each statement applied to them by choosing dichotomous "yes" or "no" responses. The Piers-Harris focuses on children's conscious self perceptions, rather than attempting to infer how they feel about themselves from their behaviors or the attributions of others. The term "self-concept" is used interchangeably with the terms "self-esteem" and "self-regard" in this scale. The "Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children" has been widely used and has reported test-retest reliability of between .42 (with an eight-month interval) and .96 (with an interval of 3 to 4 weeks). The median test-retest reliability is reported to be .73. Validity coefficients ranging between .34 and .73 have been reported (Piers-Harris, 1984).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Data Analysis

Responses from the surveys at Time 1 and Time 2 were coded and summarized by the researcher. Frequency tables were used to create a profile for race and gender samples. Chi-square analyses were used to determine the strength of response relationships between Time 1 and Time 2. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. The objective of this qualitative study was to gather information to provide a broader spectrum for comparison rather than to categorically compare predefined criteria. Thus, the alpha level was not adjusted for family-wise error.

Sample Demographics and Attitudes (Time 1)

Home and Family Life

Reported family size ranged from 1 to 14 members (mode=3). Fifty-eight percent of participants' parents were married; 17% were divorced; 19.4% were never married; 8.7% were separated and 3.4% were widowed. Of the participants who reported that their parents were unmarried, 26.2% live with their mother; 5.4% lived with their father and 8.1% had alternate living arrangements (i.e., with grandparents, aunt, etc.). See Table 4 for a summary of participants responses.

The mean educational level reached by both mothers and fathers was high school graduate. Forty-one percent of mothers and 37% of fathers graduated high school; seventeen percent of mothers and 20% of fathers had not completed high school. Eleven percent of the students reported their mothers' education, and 4% reported their fathers'

education as "some college". Three percent of their mothers and 5.4% of their fathers completed vocational school. Twenty-three percent reported their mothers and 21% of their fathers had completed college or attended graduate or professional school.

Table 4
Demographics and Attitudes Comparison Table

	<u>Time 1</u>	<u>Time 2</u>
Family size	3	3
Marital status		
Married	0.58	0.51
Never married	0.19	0.12
Separated	0.09	0.09
Divorced	0.17	0.22
Widowed	0.03	0.05
Education		
Mother	HS 0.41	
Father	0.37	
Family income	\$10,000- \$20,000	\$10,000- \$20,000
Public assistance		
Yes	0.75	0.87
No	0.16	0.09
Employment		
Mother	0.69	0.66
Father	0.69	0.70
Religion		
Protestant	0.76	0.66
Catholic	0.06	0.07
Jewish	0.02	0.07
Other	0.04	
Attendance at services		
>1 Month	0.67	0.66
Never	0.08	0.05

Continued, next page

Table 4 Continued

	<u>Time 1</u>	<u>Time 2</u>
Developmental Influence		
Mother	0.36	0.5
Father	0.21	0.23
Source of Emotional Support		
Grandparent	0.43	Mother 0.43
Friend	0.24	Friend 0.24
Why Attend High School		
To get a Job	0.65	College 0.72
To go to College	0.64	Work 0.68
Extracurricular Activities		
School Sports	0.57	0.43
Non-school sports	0.83	0.81
School clubs	0.58	0.68
Non-school clubs	0.51	0.41
Hobbies	0.57	0.55
Dating and Sexual Attitudes		
Go out on dates	0.49	0.68
Had girl/boyfriend	0.54	0.58
Sexual Experience	0.54	0.66
Age-1st sexual exp.	3-15 years	8-18 years
# sexual partners	m=2, range=1-25	m=3, range=1-32
Same sex partner	0.02	0.05
Safer sex		
Yes	0.37	0.59
No	0.23	0.16
Birth Control	0.1	0.32
STD	0.01	0.006
Child	0.06	0.13
Drugs/Alcohol Use		
Yes	0.3	0.43
Alcohol	0.28	0.42
Marijuana	0.06	0.16
Addiction	0.05	0.006
Employment		
Part-time	0.14	0.47
Hours/week	6	16-20

In reporting family income, 13.4% (n=20) indicated that family income was \$5,000 or less, 13.4% reported family income in the \$5,001 to \$10,000 range(n=20), 13.4% indicated family income between \$10,001 and 20,000 (n=20); 9.4% indicated that family earnings were between \$20,001 and \$40,000 (n=14); 7.4% reported family income between \$40,001 and \$60,000 (n=11); and 6% reported family income equal to or greater than \$60,001 (n=9).

One hundred eleven respondents (74.5%) stated that their families did not receive public assistance; 24 students (16.1%) affirmed that they did receive it; fourteen participants (9.4%) did not respond to the question.

An equal number of participants said that their mothers and their fathers were currently employed (n=102, 68.5%). Thirty-four (22.8%) indicated that their fathers were unemployed and 45 (30.2%) indicated their mothers were unemployed.

The majority of students (n=113; 76%) identified themselves as Baptist or as belonging to another Protestant denomination; 9 (6%) were Catholic; 3 were Jewish (2%); and 24 (16%) did not respond. Ninety percent indicated that they attend religious services or other church activities; with over 67% stating they attend more than once a month. In contrast, 8.1% of the sample reported they never go to religious services and 16.8% said they go to church 2 to 10 times annually. Eighty percent of the participants stated that religion is somewhat important (n=42) to very important in their lives (n=77).

Students most frequently identified their mothers as the significant adult influence in their development (36.2%); grandparents provided their greatest source of emotional support (42.8%). Fathers were cited second as most influential in development (20.8%) and friends were mentioned as the second source of emotional support (24.2%). Most families were portrayed as "very supportive" (60.4%). Only 3.3% of participants viewed their families as "unsupportive". Sixty percent deemed their family's emotional support to be "very important", whereas 4.6% viewed family emotional support as "unimportant".

Attitudes About School

Using a four-point Likert scale, students rated their reasons for attending school as follows: "to get a job", "to get into college", "to study and learn", "to please (their) parents, "to see (their) friends", and to participate in extracurricular activities.

Extracurricular Activities

Fifty-seven percent of the sample acknowledged participation in school sponsored sports. Eighty-three percent stated that they were involved in sports outside of school. Fifty-eight percent of the students indicated participation in school-sponsored clubs or activities; Fifty-one percent participated in clubs or activities outside of school. Fifty-seven percent of the participants had hobbies they enjoy outside of school.

Dating and Sexual Attitudes

Seventy-three (49%) of the students reported some dating; Eighty students (53.7%) had a steady boyfriend or girlfriend. Eighty-one students(54.4%) reported having had a sexual experience (undefined). The number of sexual partners ranged from 1 to 25 (mean=2, mode=1). The age range of first sexual experience was from 3 to 15 years (mode=13). Three students acknowledged having had sexual relations with a same sex partner.

Fifty-five participants (36.9%) reportedly practiced safe sex, while 34 (22.8%) denied using safer sex methods and 60 (40.3%) did not respond. Fifteen respondents (10.1%) stated they used some form of birth control, whereas 65 (43.6%) stated they did not use birth control. Three students (1.3%) acknowledged having had a sexually transmitted disease; 9 students (6%) stated they had at least one child.

Attitudes About Drug/alcohol Use

Forty-four students (29.5%) acknowledged using controlled substances and alcohol. Alcohol was the substance used most often (n=42, 28.2%); marijuana ranked second in usage (n=9, 6%). Curiosity accounted for at least 11.4% (n=17) of the reasons given to try drugs. Two students acknowledged possible drug addiction, whereas seven participants (4.7%) stated they had a possible alcohol addiction.

Employment

Twenty-one participants (14.1%) were employed part-time; the most frequently cited job was baby sitter (n=5). Of the employed students, 10 (6.7%) stated they were "satisfied" with their present jobs; four (2.7%) stated they plan to continue the same type of work after high school. Participants worked an average of 6 hours each week and reported earning \$2.00 to \$20.00 per hour.

Sample Demographics and Attitudes (Time 2)

Home and Family Life

Reported family size ranged from 1 to 13 members (mode=3). Fifty-one percent of participants' parents were married; 22% were divorced; 11.8% were never married; 8.6% were separated and 5.3% were widowed. Of the participants who reported that their parents were unmarried, 34.9% live with their mother; 3.9% lived with their father and 9.2 had alternate living arrangements (i.e., with grandparents, aunt, etc.). See Table 4 for a summary participant's responses.

The mean educational level reached by both mothers and fathers was high school graduate. Slightly more than one percent (1.3%) of mothers and 3.9% of fathers had not completed high school. Seventeen percent of the students reported their mothers' education, and 14.5% reported their fathers' education as "some college". Five percent of

their mothers and 7% of their fathers completed vocational school. Fifteen percent reported their mothers and 14% of their fathers had completed college or attended graduate or professional school.

In reporting family income, 15.1% (n=23) indicated that family income was \$5,000 or less, 11.2% reported family income in the \$5,001 to \$10,000 range (n=17), 12.5% indicated family income between \$10,001 and 20,000 (n=19); 20.4% indicated that family earnings were between \$20,001 and \$40,000 (n=31); 7.9% reported family income between \$40,001 and \$60,000 (n=12); and 8.6% reported family income equal to or greater than \$60,001 (n=13).

One hundred thirty-three respondents (87.5%) stated that their families did not receive public assistance; 13 students (8.6%) affirmed that they did receive it; six participants (3.9%) did not respond to the question.

One hundred seven participants (70.4%) said their fathers were currently employed; 101 (66.4) reported that their mother were currently employed. Thirty-one (20.4%) indicated that their fathers were unemployed and 45 (29.6%) indicated their mothers were unemployed.

The majority of students (n=100; 65.8%) identified themselves as Baptist or as belonging to another Protestant denomination; 10 (6.6%) were Catholic; one was Jewish (0.7%); and 6 (3.9%) other (unspecified). Eighty-six percent indicated that they attend religious activities; with over 66% stating they attend more than once a month. In contrast, 5.3% of the sample reported they never go to religious services and 13.8% said they go to church 2 to 10 times annually. Eighty-six percent of the participants stated that religion is somewhat important (n=46) to very important in their lives (n=86).

Students most frequently identified their mothers as the significant adult influence in their development (50.7%), as well as their greatest source of emotional support (42.8%). Fathers were cited second as most influential in development (23%) and friends were mentioned as the second source of emotional support (24.3%). Most

families were portrayed as "very supportive" (63.2%). Only 2% of participants viewed their families as "unsupportive". Sixty-one percent deemed their family's emotional support to be "very important", whereas 5.3 percent viewed family support as "unimportant".

Attitudes About School

Using a four-point Likert scale, students ranked their reasons for attending school as: "to get into college"; "to get a job"; "to study and learn"; "to please (their) parents; "to see (their) friends" and "to participate in extracurricular activities".

Extracurricular Activities

Forty-three percent of the sample acknowledged participation in school sponsored sports. Eighty-one percent stated that they were involved in sports outside of school. Sixty-eight percent of the students indicated participation in school-sponsored clubs or organizations; forty-one percent participated in clubs or activities outside of school. Fifty-five percent of the participants had hobbies they enjoy outside of school.

Dating and Sexual Attitudes

One hundred and four (68%) students reported some dating; eighty-eight students (58%) had a steady boyfriend or girlfriend. One-hundred students (66%) reported having had a sexual experience. The number of sexual partners ranged from 1 to 32 (mean=3.2, mode=1). The age range of first sexual experience was from 8 to 18 years (mode=15). Eight students acknowledged having had sexual relations with the same sex partner.

Eighty-nine (58.6%) reportedly practiced safe sex, while 24 (15.8%) denied using safer sex methods and 39 (25.7%) did not respond. Forty-eight respondents (31.6%) stated they used some form of birth control, whereas 50 (32.9%) stated they did not use birth control. One student acknowledged having had a sexually transmitted disease; 20 students (13.2%) stated they had at least one child.

Attitudes About Drug/alcohol Use

Sixty-six students (43.4) acknowledged using nonprescribed drugs and alcohol. Alcohol was the substance used most often (42.1%); marijuana ranked second in usage (15.8%). Curiosity accounted for at least 23% of the reasons given to try drugs. No student acknowledged possible drug addiction, whereas one subject stated they had a possible alcohol addiction.

Employment

Seventy-one participants (46.7%) were employed part-time; the most frequently cited job was restaurant worker (n=22 (15%)). Of the employed students, 13 (8.6%) stated they were "somewhat satisfied" with their present jobs; five (4.6%) stated they plan to continue the same type of work after high school. Participants worked an average of 16-20 hours each week and reported earning \$2.00 to \$13.00 per hour.

Career Choices

The careers selected most frequently by all participants at Time 1 were lawyer , doctor, military, business manager, and athlete. The five most frequently selected at Time 2 were business manager, Health professional, doctor, small business owner, and lawyer. The least frequently selected careers at Time 1 were homemaker, (non-degree) Health professional, factory worker, sales representative, laborer. and domestic service. The five least frequently selected careers at Time 2 were homemaker, food service, farm owner, professional artist, laborer, and (non-degree) health professional.

Using chi square analyses, significant differences (df=1) were observed in six of the students' career preferences from Time 1 to Time 2 (Table 5).

Gender

The most frequently selected careers by female participants at Time 1 were lawyer, doctor, sales clerk, business manager, health professional, and small business owner. The most frequently selected careers by male participants at Time 1 were athlete, military service, doctor, lawyer, and business manager. See Table 6 for career choices by gender.

Female participants at Time 2 most frequently selected health professional, doctor, business manager, lawyer, and teacher. Male participants selected: business manager, skilled worker, small business owner, doctor, and military service at Time 2.

Table 5

Career Choices
(N1=149, N2=152)

Category	T1	T2	χ^2
Domestic service	.01	.06	4.4
Health professional	.13	.27	8.55
Lawyer	.32	.18	8.4
Performing artist	.15	.05	8.43
Professional artist	.09	.03	5.24
Athlete	.20	.09	7.20

Table 6

Career Choices by Gender

Career Choices	Time 1		Time 2	
	F (N=89)	M (N=59)	F (N=79)	M (N=73)
Business manager	.07	.07	.09	.11
Clerical/office	.04	.01	.04	.02
Clothing/textile	.03	.02	.04	.02
Doctor (MD, DDS, PhD)	.09	.09	.11	.07
Domestic service	-	.01	.03	.02
Factory worker	.01	.04	.01	.04
Farm owner, manager	.02	.04	-	.03
Homemaker	.02	.02	.02	.01
Food service	.03	.01	.02	.02
Health Care (non-degree)	.02	.03	.01	-
Health Professional	.06	.11	.13	.05
Human service	.04	.02	.05	.01
Laborer	-	.02	.01	.01
Lawyer	.11	.08	.06	.06
Military service	.05	.09	.04	.07
Small business owner	.06	.05	.04	.09
Performing artist	.06	.03	.02	.02
Personal service	.03	.03	.05	.01
Police, fire, rescue	.02	.05	.04	.03
Professional artist	.02	.03	.01	-
Professional athlete	.03	.11	.01	.06
Sales clerk	.04	.02	.05	.01
Sales representative	.02	.01	.02	.01
Skilled worker	.02	.05	.01	.10
Teacher	.07	.03	.06	.03
Transportation	.01	.04	-	.04
Other	.03	.05	.03	.04

Chi square analyses revealed significant differences ($df=1$) in career selections of male and female participants at Time 1 and Time 2 (Table 7).

Table 7

Significant Differences in Career Choices
by Gender

<u>Time 1</u>			
Career Choices	Female (N=89)	Male (N=79)	χ^2
Clerical worker	.04	.01	13.06
Factory worker	.01	.04	5.84
Health professional	.06	.01	8.81
Personal service	.03	.03	9.72
Athlete	.03	.11	14.6
 <u>Time 2</u>			
Career Choices	Female (N=59)	Male (N=73)	χ^2
Factory worker	.03	.12	5.4
Health professional	.3	.13	12.6
Health professional (non-degree)	.2	.02	7.03
Small business owner	.17	.26	4.39
Personal service	.18	.02	6.06
Athlete	.03	.16	8.77
Sales clerk	.11	.04	4.37
Skilled worker	.03	.27	18.95
Transportation	0	.11	9.13

Race

Caucasian participants selected lawyer, military, doctor, athlete, health profession, and other as future career choices at Time 1. The most frequently selected career choices of C participants at Time 2 were health professional, doctor, business manager, small business owner, and skilled worker.

Table 8

Career Choices by Caucasian Participants

Career Choices	CF		CM		C TOTAL	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Business manager	.06	.12	.03	.07	.05	.10
Clerical/office	.02	.04	.02	.01	.02	.03
Clothing/textile	.01	.03	-	.01	.01	.02
Doctor (MD, DDS, PhD)	.09	.11	.06	.10	.08	.10
Domestic service	-	.02	-	-	-	.01
Factory worker	-	-	.02	.06	.01	.02
Farm owner, manager	.03	.01	.08	.06	.05	.03
Homemaker	.02	.02	.03	.01	.02	.02
Food service	.02	-	-	-	.01	-
Health Care (non-degree)	.03	.01	.02	-	.04	.01
Health Professional	.08	.14	.03	.10	.06	.12
Human service	.05	.06	-	.01	.03	.04
Laborer	-	.02	.02	.03	.01	.02
Lawyer	.09	.04	.08	.03	.09	.04
Military service	.06	.01	.14	.07	.09	.04
Small business owner	.07	.07	.03	.07	.05	.07
Performing artist	.07	.03	.03	-	.03	.01
Police, fire, rescue	.02	.06	.02	.04	.02	.05
Professional artist	.04	.01	.05	.01	.04	.01
Professional athlete	.03	-	.17	.06	.08	.02
Sales clerk	.05	.02	-	-	.03	.01
Sales representative	.02	.02	-	-	.01	.01
Skilled worker	.01	.01	.05	.13	.02	.06
Teacher	.05	.07	.03	.01	.04	.05
Transportation	.02	-	-	.03	.01	.01
Other	.05	.04	.09	.04	.06	.04

Chi square analyses revealed significant differences (df=1) in C participants'

selection of the following career preferences:

Career Choices	T1	T2	χ^2
Lawyer	.09	.04	5.77
Military	.09	.04	5.77
Performing artist	.06	.02	3.57
Athlete	.08	.02	7.71

The most frequent career selections of AA participants at Time 1 were: doctor, lawyer, business manager, teacher, small business owner, and athlete. At Time 2, AA students selected: business manager, doctor, health professional, lawyer, and military.

Table 9 presents career selections for AA participants.

Table 9
Career Choices by African American Participants

Career Choices	AAF		AAM		AA TOTAL	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Business manager	.08	.08	.08	.16	.08	.12
Clerical/office	.04	.04	.01	.02	.02	.03
Clothing/textile	.04	.06	.03	.03	.04	.05
Doctor (MD, DDS, PhD)	.09	.11	.11	.08	.10	.10
Domestic service	-	.03	.02	.03	.01	.03
Factory worker	.01	.02	.04	.02	.02	.02
Farm owner, manager	.01	-	.02	.01	.01	-
Homemaker	.02	.02	.02	.01	.02	.01
Food service	.05	.04	.02	.03	.03	.03
Health Care (non-degree)	.01	.01	.03	.01	.02	.01
Health Professional	.05	.11	-	.03	.03	.07
Human service	.04	.04	.02	.01	.03	.02
Laborer	.01	-	.02	-	.01	-
Lawyer	.11	.07	.07	.08	.09	.07
Military service	.05	.06	.06	.06	.05	.06
Small business owner	.05	.03	.06	.12	.05	.07
Performing artist	.04	.02	.03	.02	.04	.02
Personal service	.02	.08	.02	.02	.03	.05
Police, fire, rescue	.02	.03	.05	.01	.03	.02
Professional artist	.02	.02	.02	-	.02	.01
Professional athlete	.04	.02	.08	.06	.05	.04
Sales clerk	.04	.07	.02	.02	.03	.05
Sales representative	.02	.02	.02	.01	.02	.01
Skilled worker	.03	.01	.05	.09	.04	.05
Teacher	.08	.03	.02	.05	.06	.04
Transportation	.01	-	.06	.03	.03	.01
Other	.03	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02

Chi square analyses revealed a significant difference ($df=1$) in the AAs' career choices:

Career Choices	T1	T2	χ^2
Lawyer	.09	.07	3.95
Performing artist	.04	.02	5.12

Race and Gender

CF participants' career selections at Time 1 were doctor, lawyer, health professional, performing artist, and small business owner. Their career selections at Time 2 were health professional, business manager, doctor, small business owner, and teacher. Using chi square analyses, there was a significant change from Time 1 to Time 2 in the selection of military service as a career preference (Fisher's exact, $df=1$).

The most popular responses by CMs at Time 1 were: athlete, military, other, farm owner, and lawyer. Career preferences of CMs at Time 2 were skilled worker, doctor, Health professional, business manager, military, and small business owner. Chi square analyses revealed significant decreases ($df=1$) from Time 1 to Time 2, in the CM participants' career selections of military service ($T1=.14$; $T2=.07$, $\chi^2=3.73$) and athlete ($T1=.17$; $T2=.06$, $\chi^2=8.43$)

AAF students selected lawyer, doctor, teacher, business manager, military service, and small business owner as future career choices. At Time 2 they chose health professional, doctor, business manager, personal service, lawyer, and sales clerk (Table 9). Chi square analyses revealed a significant increase from Time 1 to Time 2 in their selection of personal service as a career preference ($\chi^2 = 3.73$, $df=1$).

AAM participants selected doctor, athlete, business manager, lawyer, military service, small business owner, and transportation as future career choices at Time 1. At Time 2 they chose business manager, small business owner, skilled worker, lawyer, and

doctor (Table 9). Chi square analyses of AAMs' responses revealed a significant decrease from Time 1 to Time 2 in their selection of police, fire, and/or rescue (Fisher's exact, $df=1$).

Future Expectations

Participants rated 13 life event scenarios as: 1) very unlikely; 2) somewhat unlikely; 3) somewhat likely; or 4) very likely. Scenarios most frequently cited by all participants as "very likely" at Time 1 were to graduate from a four-year college ($n=68$), attend graduate or professional school ($n=34$), or work full time ($n=29$). At Time 2, participants stated they were "very likely" to graduate from a four year college ($n=70$); graduate from a two year college ($n=40$); or attend graduate or professional school ($n=32$). The scenarios considered "very unlikely" at Time 1 were: marry more than once ($n=85$); depend on one's spouse for support ($n=86$); or get divorced ($n=90$). At Time 2 scenarios most considered "very unlikely" were: get laid off ($n=103$); military service ($n=103$); or to depend on one's spouse for support ($n=104$).

Future scenarios most frequently cited by C participants as "very likely" at both Times 1 and 2 were to graduate from a four-year college ($n_1=26$, $n_2=28$); to attend graduate or professional school ($n_1=12$, $n_2=18$); or to attend technical or vocational school ($n_1=7$; $n_2=16$). The scenarios considered "very unlikely" at Time 1 were: military service ($n=33$); marry more than once ($n=33$); or get divorced ($n=37$). At Time 2 the scenarios considered "very unlikely" by C participants were: get laid off ($n=40$); marry more than once ($n=41$); or have difficulties supporting a family ($n=43$).

AA participants' most frequently cited: to graduate from a four-year college ($n=35$; $n_2=38$); attend graduate or professional school ($n_1=20$; $n_2=17$); or work full time ($n_1=18$; $n_2=16$) as "very likely" future scenarios. Events selected as "very unlikely" at Time 1 by AAs were to depend on one's spouse for support ($n=45$); to have difficulties

supporting a family (n=45); to get married more than once (n=45). At Time 2, scenarios considered "very unlikely" were to get laid off (n=52); to have difficulties supporting a family (n=54); or to get divorced (n=54).

Scenarios most frequently cited by CF participants as "very likely" at Time 1 were: to graduate from a four-year college (n=20), to attend graduate or professional school (n=8); or attend a technical or vocational school (n=4). At Time 2, they were "very likely" to graduate from a four year college (n=21); graduate from a two year college (n=14); or attend graduate or professional school (n=10). The scenarios considered "very unlikely" by CFs at Time 1 were: marry more than once (n=28); get laid off (n=24); or have difficulties supporting a family (n=25). At Time 2 the scenarios considered "very unlikely" were to get laid off (n=23); marry more than once (n=26); or get divorced (n=26).

Scenarios most frequently cited by CM students as "very likely" at Time 1 were to graduate from a four-year college (n=6); to attend graduate or professional school (n=4); or work full-time (n=4). At Time 2, they were "very likely" to attend a technical or vocational school (n=10); graduate from a four year college (n=7); graduate from a two year college (n=4). The scenarios considered "very unlikely" by CMs at Time 1 were to: marry more than once (n=10); attend graduate or professional school (n=10); or get divorced (n=12). At Time 2 the scenarios considered "very unlikely" were to marry more than once (n=15); military service (n=15); or to have difficulties supporting a family (n=16).

Future scenarios most frequently cited by AAFs as "very likely" at Time 1 and Time 2 were to: graduate from a four-year college (n1=20, n2=23); to attend graduate or professional school (n1=12, n2=11); or to work full time (n1=11; n2=10). The scenarios considered "very unlikely" at Time 1 were: depend on a spouse for Financial support (n=26); marry more than once (n=27); or get divorced (n=27). At Time 2 the scenarios

considered "very unlikely" by AAF participants were: to have difficulties supporting a family (n=28); get laid off (n=28) or to depend on a spouse for Financial support (n=30).

Future scenarios most frequently cited by AAMs as "very likely" at Time 1 were to: graduate from a four-year college (n=16); to attend graduate or professional school (n=8); or to work full time (n=7). At Time 2, the scenarios considered "very likely" were: to graduate a four year college (n=14); to graduate a two year college (n=7); or work full time (n=6). The scenarios considered "very unlikely" by AAM participants at Time 1 were: to marry within two years (n=17); to get divorced (n=18); to get laid off (n=18). At Time 2 the scenarios considered "very unlikely" by AAMs were: to get laid off (n=24); to get divorced (n=25); or to depend on a spouse for Financial support (n=26).

Success

Forced-choice Criteria

Students' responses to forced-choice inquiry of their perceptions of their mothers', fathers, as well as their own criteria for success (Time 1 and Time 2) are presented in Table 10. These data reveal variations in criteria rankings as well as differences in the frequency of criteria selection among the three samples. At Time 1 the five most popular criteria for their mothers were being happy", "having a good education", "having a good job", "helping others" and "having enough money"; at time 2 they were: "being happy", "having a good education", "being close to family", "having a good job" and "having good health".

The five most popular responses of participants' perceptions of their fathers criteria of success at Time 1 were: "having a good education", "having a good job", "having enough money", "being happy" and "having good health". At Time 2 the criteria were: "having a good job", "having a good education", "having enough money", "being happy" and "having good health".

Table 10

Success Criteria
(Forced-choice Responses)
(N1=149, N2=152)

Success Criteria	Students'		Mothers'		Fathers'	
	N1	N2	N1	N2	N1	N2
Recognition, fame	44	48	58	58	58	54
Being a parent	43	57	81	76	61	52
Having enough money	105	113	100	98	90	93
Helping others	68	73	103	99	58	67
Physical appearance	76	67	72	78	56	41
Being happy	112	126	117	125	87	87
Being independent	94	114	89	99	64	82
Having a good education	118	131	117	122	93	100
Being religious	75	80	81	93	50	49
Family closeness	93	102	100	110	76	73
Romantic relationship	61	62	44	38	37	24
Having a good job	118	134	106	110	92	110
To influence others	63	59	58	82	50	60
Being married	44	52	64	60	53	39
Friends and a social life	74	66	88	81	69	58
Having good health	112	114	94	108	77	85
Other	4	0	11	3	9	3

The five most frequently selected as their own criteria for success at Time 1 were: "having a good job", "having a good education", "being happy", "having enough money" and "having good health. At Time 2 participants' selected "having a good job", "having a good education", "being happy", "being independent" and "having enough money".

At Time 1 the majority of the participants (54.5%) perceived themselves as "somewhat successful"; fewer students perceived themselves as "very successful" (27.5%; fourteen participants (9%) believed they were "somewhat unsuccessful" or "unsuccessful". At Time 2 the majority of the participants (61.8%) perceived themselves

as "somewhat successful"; fewer students perceived themselves as "very successful" (28.9%); 5.9% participants stated they believed they were "somewhat unsuccessful" or "unsuccessful".

Students' predictions of future successes indicated that most believed they will be "very successful" (n_1 and $n_2 = 93$); only 4 participants at Time 1 and no participants at Time 2 predicted being "unsuccessful".

Self-generated Definitions of Success

In the student-generated definitions of success, responses were clustered and summarized using nine categories: Education; Personal Attributes; Financial; Independence; Accomplishments/ Recognition; Relationships; Work/Career; Health and Miscellaneous. The five most popular responses at Time 1 were Accomplishments/ Recognition, Personal Attributes, Work/Career, Financial, and Education. The five most popular response categories at Time 2 were Accomplishments/Recognition, Personal Attributes, Work/Career, Independence, and Relationships. Participants' responses were rank ordered in Table 11.

C participants' total number of responses increased by 21.6% ($n_1=74$, $n_2=90$). AA participants' total number of responses increased by 30.5% ($n_1=72$, $n_2=94$). C participants' mean number of responses increased 16 percent, while the mean number of responses per AA subject increased 37.2%. Table 12 provides a breakdown of participants' responses by race and gender.

Chi-square analyses of self-generated definitions of success revealed a significant increase in Independence ($\chi^2 = 7.35$, $df=1$) and Personal Attributes ($\chi^2 = 3.64$, $df=1$) categories. There were no other significant differences in the definitions of success by all participants from Time 1 to Time 2.

Education. Total number of responses identifying Education as a criterion of success decreased 22.2% (T1=18, T2=14). Total number of responses by female participants and male participants decreased by 23.1 and 50% respectively. Cs' responses decreased by 66.7%, whereas AA participants' responses increased 33.3%. Chi square analyses revealed a significant decrease in C participants' responses (T1= 9, T2=3), $\chi^2=3.98$, $df=1$. There were no significant differences by gender or in AA participants' selection of Education from Time 1 to Time 2.

Table 11

Definitions of Success Response Categories

TIME 1 N=149		TIME 2 N=152	
Category	N (%)	Category	N (%)
Accomplishments/ Recognition	51 (34)	Accomplishments/ Recognition	66 (43)
Personal Attributes	24 (16)	Personal Attributes	38 (25)
Work/Career	22 (14)	Work/Career	28 (18)
Financial	19 (12)	Independence	27 (18)
Education	18 (12)	Relationships	19 (12)
Relationships	14 (09)	Education	14 (09)
Independence	11 (07)	Financial	11 (07)
Miscellaneous	5 (03)	Miscellaneous	6 (04)
Health	1 (007)	Health	1 (007)

The number of CF participants who identified Education as a criterion of success decreased 57.1% from Time 1 (7) to Time 2 (3). CMs' number of responses decreased 100% (t1=2, t2=0). AAFs' responses increased 75% from Time 1 (4) to Time 2 (7). The number of responses by AAMs decreased 50% from 2 (Time 1) to 1 (Time 2). Chi square

analyses revealed no significant differences by race and gender covariables in the selection of Education as a criterion for success from Time 1 to Time 2.

Personal Attributes. The number of responses identifying Personal Attributes as a criterion of success increased 58.3% (t1=24, t2=38). The total number of responses by female participants and male participants increased 15.8% and 220% respectively. C participants' responses increased by 50%, and AA participants provided a 62.5 % response increase. Chi square analyses revealed a significant increase in the number of responses of all students from Time 1 to Time 2 ($\chi^2 = 3.64$, df=1); male participants' responses ($\chi^2 = 4.71$, df=1); and AAM participants (Fisher's exact, df=1). There were no significant differences in the definitions of success by female or C participants' selection of Personal Attributes from Time 1 to Time 2.

The number of CFs who identified Personal Attributes as a criterion of success increased 20% from Time 1 (10) to Time 2 (12). CM participants' number of responses increased 200% (T1=2, T2=6). AAF participants' responses decreased 75% from Time 1 (6) to Time 2 (5). The number of responses by AAMs increased 300% from 2 (Time 1) to 8 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed a significant difference in the selection of Personal Attributes as a criterion for success for AAM participants (Fishers exact, df=1). There were no significant differences by race and gender covariables in the selection of Personal Attributes from Time 1 to Time 2.

Financial. Subject responses that included Financial as a criterion of success decreased 42.1% (T1=19, T2=11). The number of Financial category responses for female participants decreased by 44.4% (T1=9, T2=5), whereas male participants' responses decreased 40%. The responses by C participants decreased 54.5% and AA participants' responses decreased 20%. Chi square analyses revealed no significant differences by race or gender in the selection of Financial criteria from Time 1 to Time 2.

Table 12

Definitions of Success by Race and Gender

Category	TIME 1			
	CAUCASIAN		AFRICAN AMERICAN	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
	35	19	47	35
	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)	N(%)
Education	7 (12)	2 (12)	4 (09)	2 (08)
Personal Attributes	10 (18)	2 (12)	6 (13)	2 (08)
Financial	6 (11)	5 (29)	1 (02)	4 (15)
Independence	5 (09)	2 (12)	2 (.04)	1 (04)
Accomp/recog.	12 (21)	2 (12)	25 (53)	8 (31)
Relationships	7 (12)	1 (06)	3 (06)	1 (04)
Work/Career	8 (14)	2 (12)	4 (09)	5 (09)
Health	0	0	0	1 (04)
Miscellaneous	0	1 (12)	2 (04)	2 (08)
TOTAL	56	17	47	26

Category	TIME 2			
	CAUCASIAN		AFRICAN AMERICAN	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
	34	25	38	37
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Education	3 (05)	0	7 (13)	1 (02)
Personal Attributes	12 (20)	6 (19)	5 (10)	8 (19)
Financial	2 (03)	3 (10)	2 (04)	2 (05)
Independence	6 (10)	7 (23)	7 (13)	5 (12)
Accomp/Recog.	17 (29)	9 (29)	21 (40)	13 (31)
Relationships	7 (12)	3 (10)	3 (06)	4 (10)
Work/Career	11 (19)	3 (10)	7 (13)	3 (07)
Health	0	0	0	1 (02)
Miscellaneous	1 (02)	0	0	5 (12)
TOTAL	59	31	52	42

The number of CFs who identified finance as a criterion of success decreased 66.7% from Time 1 (6) to Time 2 (2). CMs' number of responses decreased 40% ($t_1=5$, $t_2=3$). AAF responses increased 100% from Time 1 (1) to Time 2 (2). The number of responses by AAMs decreased 50% from 4 (Time 1) to 2 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed no significant difference by race and gender covariables in the selection of finance as a criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2.

Independence. The number of students who identified Independence as a criterion of success increased 145.4% from Time 1 to Time 2 ($T_1=11$, $T_2=27$). Female participants' responses increased 85.7% ($T_1=8$, $T_2=15$); male participants responses increased 300%. C participants' responses rose from 7 to 13, an increase of 87.5%. The number of responses by AAs increased 300% from Time 1 (3) to Time 2 (12). Chi square analyses revealed significant differences between Time 1 to Time 2 for: 1) All participants ($\chi^2 = 7.35$, $df=1$), 2) male participants ($\chi^2 = 4.42$, $df=1$); and 3) AA participants ($\chi^2 = 6.90$, $df=1$). There were no significant differences in the definitions of success by female or C participants' selection of Independence from Time 1 to Time 2.

The number of CFs who identified Independence as a criterion of success increased 20% from Time 1 (5) to Time 2 (6). CM participants' number of responses increased 250% ($T_1=2$, $T_2=7$). AAFs' responses increased 250% from Time 1 (2) to Time 2 (7). The number of responses by AAM participants increased 400% from 1 (Time 1) to 5 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed significant difference in the selection of Independence as a criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2 by AA participants overall ($\chi^2 = 6.90$, $df=1$), and for AAF participants (Fisher' exact, $df=1$). There were no significant differences in the definitions of success by C (male or female) or AAM participants' selection of Independence from Time 1 to Time 2.

Accomplishments/recognition. The number of responses identifying Accomplishments/Recognition as a success criterion increased 29.4% from Time 1 (51) to Time 2 (66). Female participants' responses increased 2.6% (T1=39, T2=40), whereas male participants' responses increased 116.7% (T1=12, T2=26). Cs' responses increased 85.7% (T1=14, T2=26) and AA participants' increased 3% (T1=33, T2=34). Chi square analyses indicated significant increases in the responses of males ($\chi^2 = 4.14$, $df=1$) and Cs ($\chi^2 = 4.05$, $df=1$). There were no significant differences in the category of Accomplishments/Recognition in female or AA participants from Time 1 to Time 2.

The number of CFs who identified accomplishments/ recognition as a criterion of success increased 41.7% from Time 1 (12) to Time 2 (17). CMs' number of responses increased 350% (T1=2, T2=9). AAFs' responses decreased 16% from Time 1 (25) to Time 2 (21). Responses by AAM participants increased 62.5% from 8 (Time 1) to 13 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed a significant increase in the selection of Accomplishments/Recognition as a criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2 for CMs (Fisher' exact, $df=1$). There were no other significant differences in Accomplishments/Recognition responses by race and gender covariables from Time 1 to Time 2.

Relationships. The number of students who identified Relationships as a criterion of success increased 26.3% from Time 1 (14) to Time 2 (19). The increase in the number of responses by female participants was 9.1% (T1=11, T2=12), and the increase in the number of responses by male students was 133.3% (T1=3, T2=7). The number of responses by C participants increased by 25% (T1=8, T2=10) and the responses of AAs increased 75% (T1=4, T2=7). Chi square analyses revealed no significant difference by race or gender in the selection of Relationships as a criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2.

The number of CF participants who identified Relationships as a criterion of success remained stable from Time 1 to Time 2 (3). CMs' number of responses increased

200% (T1=1, T2=3). AAF students' responses remained stable from Time 1 to Time 2 (7). The number of responses by AAM participants increased 300% from 1 (Time 1) to 4 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed no significant difference by race and gender covariables in the selection of Relationships as a criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2.

Work/career. Total number of responses identifying Work/Career as a criterion of success increased 27.3% from Time 1 (22) to Time 2 (28). Female participants' responses increased by 26.8% (T1=14, T2=18); there was no change in the number of responses by male participants (T1 and T2 = 9). The number of responses from C participants increased 40% (T1=10, T2=14), while AAs' responses rose from 9 to 10, an increase of 11.1 percent. Chi square analyses revealed no significant differences in the selection of Work/Career as a criterion of success.

The number of CFs who identified Work/Career as a criterion of success increased from 37.5% from Time 1 (8) to Time 2 (11). CM respondents increased 50% (t1=2, t2=3). AAF responses increased 75% from Time 1(4) to Time 2 (7). The number of responses by AAM participants decreased 40% from 5 (Time 1) to 3 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed no significant differences in the selection of Work/Career as a criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2.

Miscellaneous. Subject responses identifying Miscellaneous as a criterion of success rose 20% from Time1 (5) to Time 2 (6). The number of female participants' responses decreased 50% (T1=2, T2=1), whereas male participants' responses increased 66.7% (T1=3, T2=5). There was no change in the number of responses for C participants (T1 and T2=1). The decrease in the number of responses for AA students was 33.3% (T1=6, T2=4). Chi square analyses revealed no significant differences in the selection of the Miscellaneous criterion from Time 1 to Time 2.

The number of CF participants who identified the Miscellaneous criterion of success increased 100% from Time 1 (0) to Time 2 (1). CMs' number of responses decreased 100% (T1=1, T2=0). AAF respondents decreased 100% from Time 1(2) to Time 2 (0). The number of responses by AAMs increased 150% from 2 (Time 1) to 5 (Time 2). Chi square analyses revealed no significant differences in the selection of the Miscellaneous criterion of success from Time 1 to Time 2.

Self-concept

Of the 149 participants who participated in the study at Time 1, 144 completed the "Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children"; at Time 2, 147 of the 152 participants completed this questionnaire. The sample mean for the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale at Time 1 was 52.74, SD=12.16; the mean score for Time 2 was 58.16, SD=11.45. There was a significant increase in the sample mean self-concept scores from Time 1 to Time 2 ($\chi^2 = 194.72$, $df=51$). See Table 13 for self-concept scores.

The mean self-concept score of female participants at Time 1 (n=48) was 52.72, SD=12.32; the mean score at Time 2 (n=80) was 57.12, SD=11.43. The mean score of male participants at Time 1 (n=52) was 51.92, SD=12.41; the mean score at Time 2 (n=67) was 59.38, SD=11.42. There were significant increases in self-concept scores based on gender (Table13). There were no significant differences in self-concept scores of female and male participants at Time 1 or at Time 2.

The mean score of C students at Time 1 (n=52) was 51.15, SD=12.92; the mean score at Time 2 (n=60) was 57.91, SD=11.83. The mean score of AAs participants at Time 1 (n=72) was 53.41; the mean score at Time 2 (72) was 57.52, SD=11.59. There was a significant increase in self-concept scores for both C and for AA participants, as well as by race and gender.

Table 13
Self-concept

	Mean	SD	N	χ^2	df
All Students (T1)	52.74	12.16	144	194.72	51
	58.16	11.45	147		
Caucasian	51.13	12.92	52	90.96	43
	57.91	11.83	57		
Females	51.51	13.10	35	38.93	25
	56.58	12.01	36		
Males	50.35	12.9	17	38.93	25
	59.91	11.51	24		
African American	53.41	11.86	72	96.5	48
	57.52	11.59	72		
Females	53.25	11.53	43	57.27	37
	56.75	11.51	37		
Males	53.65	11.53	29	47.87	38
	58.34	11.78	35		

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

This longitudinal study was designed to examine success as a subjective construct. The author investigated cultural differences in success criteria and career aspirations of a rural adolescent population from the southeast region of the U.S. This population has seldom been examined in psychological literature.

The investigator identified 66% of the participants at T2 as participants at T1. Because disclosure of names was voluntary, many students chose not to disclose their identities. Therefore, the opportunity for definitive matching of subjects was not feasible. The longitudinal nature of this study therefore rests in the likelihood that a majority of participants at T2 did participate at T1 and that the demographic profiles of the T1 and T2 groups remain consistent.

It was hypothesized that there would be differences in the expectations of success responses by sample and among race and gender subsamples from T1 to T2. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that each subsample has different experiences and values due to their role within their respective cultures. As expected, there were significant differences in participants' career choices by sample, by gender and by race. In general, there were many changes in the preferred careers selected by participants. At T1, the 5 most frequently selected careers were (in descending order): Lawyer, doctor, military, business manager, and athlete. At T2 the most frequently selected careers were (in descending order): business manager, health professional, doctor, small business owner, and lawyer.

There were significant increases from T1 to T2 in the overall number of participants who selected domestic service and health professional as career choices.

Significant decreases were observed in the number of participants who selected careers as lawyer, performing artist, professional artist and professional athlete.

There was a shift in the career selections of female participants from T1 to T2, with the most notable change in the selections of lawyer and health professional. At T1 39% of female participants selected lawyer and 20% selected health professions. At T2 this trend was reversed, with 39% of female participants selecting health professions and 18% selecting a career as a lawyer.

Male participants' career selections also reflected a notable change. The most frequently selected category at T1 was athlete and at T2, the most frequently selected career was business manager. The second most frequently selected career by male participants was military service (T1) and skilled worker (T2).

There were remarkable differences between the responses of female and male subjects at T1 and T2. At T1 female participants selected careers as clerical workers and health professionals more frequently than did males. At T2, female participants were more likely to select careers as health professionals, in personal service occupations, or sales clerk positions than their male contemporaries. Male participants were more likely to choose careers as a factory worker and as an athlete as opposed to female participants' selections of those same career fields. At T2, male participants were more likely to select careers as factory workers, small business owners, professional athletes, or in transportation than were female participants.

At T1, Caucasian participants were equally as likely to choose a career as a lawyer or in military service as their first career choice. The same was true for their second career choice either as a doctor or as a professional athlete. However, responses at T2 reflected variations in Caucasian participants' career selections. C participants most frequently selected careers as a health professional, as a doctor, or as a business manager. There were significant decreases in the number of C students who selected lawyer, military service, performing artist and athlete. AA participants' responses at T1 and T2

reflected a change in career choices as well. At T1, AA subjects selected careers as a doctor or lawyer; at T2 they selected careers as business managers and as a doctor. Significant increases in AA participants' responses were observed in the number of students who were interested in careers in the health professions, as well as a decrease in the number of students interested in becoming a lawyer or performing artist.

In summary, there were some major shifts in preferred career choice categories by all participants, as well as when these students were grouped by gender or race. Choices indicated more realistic aspirations at T2, with less emphasis on pursuing talents and more emphasis on education and training. Although careers chosen both times reflect a desire for status or recognition of achievement, at T2 preferred careers were characterized by greater autonomy, and opportunity for financial stability as compared with T1. This reflects a greater desire for independence and a pragmatism which are indicative of changes due to maturation from the idealistic hopes of younger adolescents to the more circumspect plans made by older adolescents.

Female participants chose careers consistent with the overall sample. Health professional and teacher categories showed the biggest growth of interest; this may reflect greater awareness of secure job opportunities available in the surrounding community. A comparison of male preferences shows more private sector interest by older males whose choices include small business owner, business manager and skilled worker. While there appears to be a greater range of public and private sector career choices by the female participants, male participants tend to make choices in the private sector, consistent with stereotypical gender expectations.

Review of career choices by race yields some interesting disparities among AA and C participants. Ranking of Caucasian choices at T2 reflects a preference for a career as a doctor, as well as the private sector jobs selected by male participants mentioned above. There is also a sharp increase in interest in being a health professional, similar to the response trend of the female subsample. Among AA participants, there is also an

increase in the career choice of health professional. Private sector positions of small business owner and skilled worker are absent from the most highly ranked career selections, although business manager is valued by more participants. Military service is also a top choice of AA students at T2, though it is missing from their top choices of AA participants at T1. Results appear to reflect an realistic of access to career options and education and training.

In 1990, a new wing was added to the local community hospital which resulted in increased demand for health care professionals. The increase in participants' selection of the "health care professional" in the career choice category reflects an acknowledgment of this change in career opportunities. In addition to an increase in hospital jobs (i.e., chemotherapy, and imaging specialization), there has been an increase in home health care agencies which provide employment for approximately 100 people (primarily female) who provide basic health care (i.e., nurse's aides). It may be that this availability of jobs which offer status, security, and the satisfaction of working with the extended community. Thus, these criteria are most attractive to females and AA participants because of its consistency with the values they identified as constituting success.

Accomplishments/Recognition was the most popular response category among all participants, by race, and by gender at T1 and T2. Personal Attributes was again the second most popular category. Independence and Personal Attributes were the only categories in which there was a significant increase in the number of overall student responses. Work/Career was the third most popular category. Responses categorized as Relationships, Health and Miscellaneous categories were selected least frequently and reflected the least amount of change from T1 to T2. Education and Financial were the only response categories which decreased from T1 to T2.

It was hypothesized that the definition of success category "Accomplishments/Recognition" would remain stable from Testing T1 to T2. Indeed, no differences emerged between the participants' responses from T1 to T2. This may indicate stability in

the participants' desire for accomplishments and recognition, even if how these are achieved varies over time and the maturation process. In fact, this suggests a possibly fundamental component of their success connotation, in that success may be measured as a positive response by others rather than as dependent on any concrete attribute.

AAF responses were consistently highest in this category, however there was a sharp decrease from 53% (T1) to 40% (T2). Additionally, AAF were the only subgroup whose endorsement of this category declined in frequency. This emphasis on Accomplishments/Recognition is important, as is the trend for less emphasis by the older AAFs. Although this may suggest that Accomplishment/Recognition is seen as an attractive attribute, there is growing awareness that they will have to work concurrent with having and raising children. Another explanation might be their growing awareness of the negative impact of racism and sexism may be reshaping their image of achievable goals. Hooks (1993) stated, "I found that many black women I interviewed had far superior skills than the jobs they were performing called for, but were held back because of their 'lack of education', or in some cases, 'necessary experience'".

At this developmental stage, these AAFs are making choices which may be most dramatic in terms of their cultural values. Accomplishments and recognition may also be seen by them now as attained by the female heads of household in these students' families and community, who have functioned as providers of necessities and are those who instill the spiritual and practical values by which these young women live. Their connotations of these values, then, may be undergoing a change from an expectation of receiving recognition due to accomplishments in the larger community to viewing themselves as able to become the future providers and caregivers like those who were instrumental in their development.

Another hypothesis stated that the category "Work/Career" would be selected significantly more at T2 than at T1. This hypothesis was not supported. Although there

was a 27% increase from T1 (n=22) to T2 (n=28), chi square analysis indicated that this increase was not significant.

Of interest in considering this finding is that 47% of participants at T2 worked at least part-time, as compared with 14% at T1. Actual experience working, both as employee and as a chance to observe others in the workplace, may act as a mediating factor in their view of the importance of Work/Career as a component of success. This may also be effected by the type of work these participants have been exposed to. A major category of their experience to date is in customer service (60%), working in restaurants and sales. In these jobs, there is a focus on the participants' role helping the customer feel good about him/herself, not about recognizing the worker. Therefore, if Accomplishments/Recognition is, in fact, a fundamental definitional criteria of success, it is not being satisfied by these adolescents' current work experiences.

It is interesting to speculate about the relationship between this recent work experience and the career choice selections made by the participants. Although this study does not explore this issue, it raises questions about if and how early jobs influence these students' later choice of careers.

Although not hypothesized, there was significant increase in choosing Personal Attributes and Independence criteria for success. These differences may be explained in light of adolescent development. According to Silverstone (1989), "adolescence is the span of time from dependence in childhood to autonomy in adulthood", when defining one's identity is an important developmental task. Males of both races increased their selection of the Personal Attributes category more than females. Although all T2 subsamples selected Independence more often as a criteria for success than at T1, CFs had the least increase (1%), as compared with CMs (11%), AAFs (9%), and AAMs (8%). This difference may be representative of CF's continued socialization as dependent on their spouses and families for feelings of self-worth and success.

It was hypothesized that there would be no difference in the self-esteem scores as measured by the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale for Children from T1 to T2. This hypothesis was not supported; there was a significant increase in the mean self-esteem score from T1 to T2. All subsamples evidenced significant increases in this variable, however CM's showed the greatest improvement in mean scores, from 50 at T1 to 60 at T2.

As adolescents are confronted with the challenge of defining themselves, they look to their culture for validation. Contextual social comparisons become based on greater social systems as these adolescents proceed in their departure from the family constellation to school, jobs and social scenarios which do not include family members. The growth of self-esteem, while a byproduct of greater experience and independence, may then be influenced in these students by the degree of validation they felt by their respective cultural communities.

This longitudinal study of rural adolescents' perceptions of success was based on the premise that success is a subjective construct. This belief is grounded in current literature which posits that an individual's concept of success reflects to some degree the norms and values of the social environment in which he or she lives. There is also an awareness of the need to dispel stereotypes which have influenced past research as well as sociopolitical and educational policy development regarding ethnic minority populations.

Participants' career choices, self-esteem and perceptions of success were assessed, with comparison made between responses given during middle adolescence and late adolescence, almost 3 years later. This comparison examined responses by gender and racial categorizations to study how different cultural experiences may correspond to connotations of success. Additionally, this study begins to speculate about how

adolescents' experience of cultural norms and values are impacted by the developmental changes from idealism to pragmatism as they make the transition into adulthood.

This study provides evidence that investigations of constructs such as success and achievement must be viewed comprehensively, including a multitude of factors (i.e. ethnicity, language, geography, gender) which support a final determination. Simply put, it confirms the fundamental concept that in research which measures some attribute or behavior, it is necessary to define the meaning this behavior or attribute may have to the person based on his/her individual context rather than interpret based on a different connotation. This can increase multicultural sensitivity and decrease inaccuracies based on incorrect assumptions about others' beliefs and behaviors. In a pluralistic society such as ours, composed of various cultures, languages and beliefs, it is important to realize that it is not appropriate to assume that goals and the means to achieve them remain the same across our population. Future research may benefit from similar studies which redefine existing approaches to understanding intercultural differences.

This study may also be utilized to further examine how beliefs are internalized and acted upon during adolescent development. This, in turn, can provide ways in which parents, educators and counselors may be guided in their attempts to assist adolescents in setting and achieving their goals.

APPENDIX

PERCEPTIONS OF SUCCESS SURVEY

I appreciate your participating in this study and hope you will find this questionnaire both interesting and fun! The following pages contain a variety of questions about your activities, interests, likes, future plans, etc. I am interested in your opinion about these matters. Please read and answer each item carefully.

ID CODE _____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age _____

2. Sex: _____ Female _____ Male

3. Which of the following ethnic groups are you a member of?

- _____ White, Caucasian
- _____ Black, African-American
- _____ Asian
- _____ Latino, Hispanic-American
- _____ Native American
- _____ Other _____

4. What is the highest level of education your parents received? (For each parent, check one in each column.)

<u>Mother</u>		<u>Father</u>
_____	grade school	_____
_____	some high school	_____
_____	high school graduate	_____
_____	vocational school	_____
_____	some college	_____
_____	college graduate	_____
_____	some graduate school	_____
_____	professional school	_____

5. My parents are:

- _____ a. Married
 - _____ b. Never married
 - _____ c. Divorced
 - _____ d. Widowed
 - _____ e. Separated
 - _____ f. Other (Please be specific)
-

If your parents are married to each other, skip to QUESTION 7.

If your parents are DIVORCED, SEPARATED, REMARRIED, OR NEVER MARRIED, continue here.

6. Which parent do you live with?

- a. Mother
 - b. Father
 - c. Both (about equal time with each parent)
 - d. Other arrangement (specify)
-

7. How many people are in your family?

Write the appropriate numbers in the blanks.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Mother | <input type="checkbox"/> Father |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stepmother | <input type="checkbox"/> Stepfather |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sisters | <input type="checkbox"/> Brothers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stepsisters | <input type="checkbox"/> Stepbrothers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Children (yours) | |

8. How many people live in your home? If you live in more than one household, list them separately.

Household
1 2

Household
1 2

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> brothers | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> sisters |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> uncles | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> aunts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> niece | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> nephews |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> grandmothers | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> grandfathers |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> stepparents | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> other relatives |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> your children | <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> non-relatives |

9. About how much is your current family income each year?

(If you live with only one of your parents, only give the income for the parent that you live with. Include all sources of income.)

- a. \$ 5,000 or less
- b. \$ 5,001 to \$10,000
- c. \$10,001 to \$20,000
- d. \$20,001 to \$40,000
- e. \$40,001 to \$60,000
- f. \$60,001 or more

10. Does your family receive public assistance?
 Yes No

11. My father is employed now. yes no

(IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 14)

12. If yes, what is his occupation?

13. How satisfied would I be with a Job like my father's?
(circle the number)

not at all satisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	somewhat satisfied	very satisfied
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

NOW SKIP TO QUESTION 17

14. Has your father ever worked? Yes No

(IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 17)

15. If yes, what was his occupation the last time he worked?

16. How satisfied would I be with a Job like my father's most recent Job? (circle the number)

not at all satisfied	somewhat unsatisfied	somewhat satisfied	very satisfied
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

ALL STUDENTS CONTINUE HERE

17. My mother is employed now
 yes no

(IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 20)

18. If yes, what is her occupation?

19. How satisfied would I be with a Job like my mother's?
(circle the number)

not at all satisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	somewhat satisfied	very satisfied
1	2	3	4

NOW SKIP TO QUESTION 23

20. Has your mother ever worked? ___ yes ___ no
(IF NO, SKIP TO THE NEXT SECTION, QUESTION 23)

21. If yes, what was her occupation when she worked?

22. How satisfied would I be with a Job like my mother's
most recent Job? (circle the number)

not at all satisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	somewhat satisfied	very satisfied
1	2	3	4

ALL STUDENTS CONTINUE HERE

23. The following questions ask about how important certain
things are to your parents. Please rate each using the
following scale:

not at all important	somewhat unimportant	somewhat important	very important
1	2	3	4

HOW IMPORTANT IS IT TO YOUR PARENTS THAT:

- ___ a. you be employed regularly when you finish school?
- ___ b. you do well in school?
- ___ c. you go to college after high school?
- ___ d. you be popular?
- ___ e. you be good at sports?
- ___ f. you marry and have a family?
- ___ g. you have a successful career?

RELIGION

24. Do you attend church services?
____ yes ____ no
25. What religion do you belong to?
____ Jewish
____ Catholic
____ Protestant (specify) _____
____ other (specify) _____
26. How often do you attend religious services or other church activities?
____ a. 1 to 2 days a week
____ b. 3 to 4 times a week
____ c. once a month
____ d. once a year
____ e. 2 to 10 times a year
____ f. never
27. How important is religion in your life?
- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| very
unimportant | somewhat
unimportant | somewhat
important | very
important |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

ATTITUDES ABOUT SCHOOL

Below is a list of reasons why many students come to school. Using the scale below, please indicate how important each reason is to you by placing a number next to the statement.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| not at all
important | somewhat
unimportant | somewhat
important | very
important |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
28. ____ to see my friends there.
29. ____ to participate in activities, like band or art.
30. ____ to play sports.
31. ____ to get a job.
32. ____ to get into college.
33. ____ to please my parents.
34. ____ to study and to learn
35. My grades are mostly
____ A's ____ B's ____ C's ____ D's or F's

SPORTS

36. Do you compete in any of the following school teams outside of gym class?

(Check all that apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Baseball | <input type="checkbox"/> Volleyball |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tennis | <input type="checkbox"/> Swimming/Diving |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Softball | <input type="checkbox"/> Basketball |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cheerleading | <input type="checkbox"/> Golf |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Football | <input type="checkbox"/> Wrestling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Track/Cross
Country | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify): | |

37. Do you participate in any of the following sports outside of school?

(Check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Baseball | <input type="checkbox"/> Volleyball |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gymnastics | <input type="checkbox"/> Softball |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Basketball | <input type="checkbox"/> Roller skating |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Soccer | <input type="checkbox"/> Swimming |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Skate Boarding | <input type="checkbox"/> Archery |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Riflery | <input type="checkbox"/> Skateboarding |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Football | <input type="checkbox"/> Golf |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hockey | <input type="checkbox"/> Horseback riding |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Wrestling | <input type="checkbox"/> Tennis |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Racquetball | <input type="checkbox"/> Hiking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hunting | <input type="checkbox"/> Fishing |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aerobics | <input type="checkbox"/> Weight lifting |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dance class | <input type="checkbox"/> Martial arts |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bowling | <input type="checkbox"/> None |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) | |

38. On the average, how many hours a week do you spend on athletic activities?

_____ hours

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

39. Do you participate in any of the following activities or clubs at school? (Check all that apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Student government | <input type="checkbox"/> Science club |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Band, Orchestra or Chorus | <input type="checkbox"/> Math Club |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Debate team | <input type="checkbox"/> Art |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Peer counseling | <input type="checkbox"/> Drama |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Pep club, Boosters, or Cheerleader | <input type="checkbox"/> Computer club |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Career related club | <input type="checkbox"/> FFA/FHA |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yearbook, school newspaper | <input type="checkbox"/> S.A.D.D. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> other (specify) | |

40. Do you participate in any of the following clubs or activities outside of school?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Athletic/recreational club | <input type="checkbox"/> Pop or rock band |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Scouts/Girls or Boys Clubs | <input type="checkbox"/> 4-H |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Junior Achievement | <input type="checkbox"/> Political campaign |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Church group | <input type="checkbox"/> Volunteer/service |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) | |

41. Do you have any other hobbies or interests that you spend a lot of time on?

yes no

42. If yes, please specify:

DATING and SEXUAL ATTITUDES

43. Do you go out on dates? yes no

If yes, how often:

- a. once a week
 b. two or more times a week
 c. once a month
 d. other (specify)

44. Do you have a special girlfriend or boyfriend?
 yes no

45. Have you ever had sex?
 yes no

IF YES, PLEASE CONTINUE, IF NO, GO ON TO QUESTION 54.

46. Do/did you practice safe sex? (use a condom or other method) Yes No

47. Do you use birth control?
 yes no.
If yes, what method?

48. How many sexual partners have you had?

49. Have any of these partners been the same sex as you?
 yes no

50. How old were you when you first had sex?
_____ years old

51. Have you ever had a sexually transmitted disease?
(Such as gonorrhea, syphilis, etc.)
 yes no

52. Do you have any children?
 Yes No

53. If yes, how many _____ and what is the age of your child or children?

_____ months/years.

_____ months/years

ATTITUDE TOWARDS DRUGS/ALCOHOL USE

54. Have you ever used drugs?

_____yes _____no

55. IF YES, CHECK ALL THAT APPLY. IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION# 59.

- _____ a. glue
- _____ b. speed
- _____ c. marijuana
- _____ d. cocaine or crack
- _____ e. heroin
- _____ f. LSD
- _____ g. alcohol
- _____ h. other (specify)_____

56. Why did you try drugs? (check all that apply)

- _____ a. I was curious.
- _____ b. My friends wanted me to.
- _____ c. To feel like an adult.
- _____ d. I thought it would be fun.
- _____ e. Other (specify)

57. How often do you use

- | Drugs? | | Alcohol? |
|--------|--------------------------|----------|
| _____ | a. I did it only once | _____ |
| _____ | b. once a week | _____ |
| _____ | c. more than once a week | _____ |
| _____ | d. once a month | _____ |

58. Do you feel that you are addicted to

- | Drugs? | Alcohol? |
|----------|-----------|
| _____yes | _____ yes |
| _____no | _____ no |

EMPLOYMENT

59. Do you currently have a regular paying part-time Job?
___yes ___no

IF YOU CURRENTLY HAVE A JOB PLEASE CONTINUE. IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A JOB, SKIP TO QUESTION 66.

60. What type of job do you have? If you have more than one job, please answer these questions about the job that you work at most hours each week. (check only one)

- ___ a. restaurant worker
- ___ b. cashier
- ___ c. office worker
- ___ d. manual labor
- ___ e. factory worker
- ___ f. farming
- ___ g. skilled crafts or labor
- ___ h. baby sitter
- ___ i. technical work
- ___ j. other (specify) _____

61. What kind of work do you do at your job?

62. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your present job?

completely dissatisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	somewhat satisfied	very satisfied
1	2	3	4

63. Do you plan to continue this type of work after you finish high school?

___yes ___no ___unsure

64. In an average week, how many hours do you spend working at this job?

___1-5 ___6-10 ___11-15 ___16-20 ___21-25 ___26+

65. How much do you make an hour?

\$ ___./hour

POSSIBLE JOBS

Imagine you are getting ready to start working and are choosing the job or career you will be in for several years.

From the list below, choose three (3) possible jobs or careers that you will most likely enter (not what you would like to enter) by placing a check next to that career.

66. Business manager or administrator
67. Clerical or office worker
68. Clothing/textiles worker
69. Doctor (physician, dentist, psychiatrist, etc.)
70. Domestic service

71. Factory worker
72. Farm owner, manager
73. Full-time homemaker
74. Food service
75. Health paraprofessional (non-degree)

76. Health Professional (registered nurse, physical therapist, etc.)
77. Human Service (social worker or counselor)
78. Laborer (janitor, sanitation worker, farm worker)
79. Lawyer
80. Military service

81. Owner of a small business
82. Performing artist (singer, dancer, designer, etc.)
83. Personal service (barber, beautician, etc.)
84. Police, fire, or rescue service
85. Professional artist

86. Professional athlete
87. Sales clerk in a retail store
88. Sales representative
89. Skilled worker (carpenter, mechanic, electrician, etc.)
90. Teacher
91. Transportation (bus, cab, or truck driver, pilot)
92. Other (please specify)

FUTURE EXPECTATIONS

Using this scale, indicate how you feel by placing a number in the space next to the statement.

very unlikely	somewhat unlikely	somewhat likely	very likely
1	2	3	4

When you think about your future, how likely do you think each of the following will be:

93. ____ I will get technical or vocational training right after high school
94. ____ I will go into the military right after high school
95. ____ I will graduate from a two-year community college
96. ____ I will graduate from a four-year college
97. ____ I will attend graduate or professional school
98. ____ I will get a full time job right after high school
99. ____ I will get married within 2 years after high school
100. ____ I will be laid off from my job
101. ____ I will get divorced
102. ____ I will marry more than once
103. ____ I will have difficulty supporting my family financially
104. ____ I will depend on my spouse to provide most of my support
105. ____ other (please specify)

106. The most significant adult who has influenced my growing up is my: (Check only one)

- a. Father
- b. Mother
- c. Grandparent
- d. Sibling
- e. Teacher
- f. Clergy
- g. Friend
- h. Mentor (role model)
- i. Other (specify)

107. My greatest source of emotional support is my: (check only one)

- a. Father
- b. Mother
- c. Grandparent
- d. Sibling
- e. Teacher
- f. Clergy
- g. Friend
- h. Mentor (role model)
- i. Other (specify)

108. My family is: (circle the number)

unsupportive	somewhat unsupportive	somewhat supportive	very supportive
1	2	3	4

109. How important is your family's emotional support to you? (circle the number)

unimportant	somewhat unimportant	somewhat important	very important
1	2	3	4

110. Which of the following criteria best describe how your parents define success? For each parent, select all that apply by placing a check in the blank.

Your mother		Your father
___	a. Recognition, fame, respect	___
___	b. Being a parent	___
___	c. Having enough money	___
___	d. Helping others	___
___	e. Physical appearance	___
___	f. Being happy	___
___	g. Being independent	___
___	h. Having a good education	___
___	i. Being religious	___
___	j. Being close to my family	___
___	k. Having a romantic relationship	___
___	l. Having a good job	___
___	m. Being able to influence others	___
___	n. Being married	___
___	o. Having friends and a social life	___
___	p. Having good health and/or being physically fit	___
___	q. Other _____	___

111. Using the scale below, indicate how important each issue is for your own success by placing a number on each line.

not at all important 1	somewhat unimportant 2	somewhat important 3	very important 4
------------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------	------------------------

- ___ a. Recognition, fame, respect
- ___ b. Being a parent
- ___ c. Having enough money
- ___ d. Helping others
- ___ e. Physical appearance
- ___ f. Being Happy
- ___ g. Being Independent
- ___ h. Having a good education
- ___ i. Being religious
- ___ j. Being close to my family
- ___ k. Having a romantic relationship
- ___ l. Having a good job
- ___ m. Being able to influence others
- ___ n. Being married
- ___ o. Having friends and a social life
- ___ p. Having good health and/or being physically fit
- ___ q. Other (specify)

112. What is your personal definition of success?

113. What is your personal definition of failure?

114. How successful do you feel you are right now?

Unsuccessful	somewhat unsuccessful	somewhat successful	very successful
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

115. As an adult, how successful do you think you will be?

Unsuccessful	somewhat unsuccessful	somewhat successful	very successful
<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>

116. Who is the smartest person you know personally?
(give name and relationship)

117. What makes you consider that person smart?

118. Who is the most successful person you know personally?
(give name and relationship)

119. What makes you consider that person successful?

120. What have you accomplished that you are most proud of?

121. What have you attempted that you feel that you have failed at?

122. Have you received any awards or recognitions for any accomplishments? (like newspaper articles, trophies or plaques, hold an office in a club, etc.) Please list.

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