percent overweight) with the 135 who are not overweight (0 to 25 percent underweight), we find that 11.9 percent of the overweight complain as compared with 25.3 percent of the nonoverweight ($P < .01$). It does appear that the fatter were less troubled by the effects of time changes on eating than the thinner flyers (*16*).

These persistent findings that the obese are relatively insensitive to variations in the physiological correlates of food deprivation but highly sensitive to environmental, food-related cues is, perhaps, one key to understanding the notorious long-run ineffectiveness of virtually all attempts to treat obesity (*17*). The use of anorexigenic drugs such as amphetamine or of bulk-producing, nonnutritive substances such as methyl cellulose is based on the premise that such agents dampen the intensity of the physiological symptoms of food deprivation. Probably they do, but these symptoms appear to have little to do with whether or not a fat person eats. Restricted, low-calorie diets should be effective just so long as the obese dieter is able to blind himself to food-relevant cues or so long as he exists in a world barren of such cues. In the Hashim and Van Itallie study (*8*), the subjects did, in fact, live in such a world. Restricted to a Metrecal-like diet and to a small hospital ward, all the obese subjects lost impressive amounts of weight. However, on their return to normal living, to a man they returned to their original weights.

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18. Much of the research described in this article was supported by grants G23758 and GS732 from the National Science Foundation.


# Family and Social Pathology in the Ghetto

## Jobs and income are urgently needed to strengthen ghetto families and to reduce civil disorder.


Hyman Rodman


The importance of the family is universally recognized. There are of course many differences in family structure and organization, and in family influence, from society to society and from one period of time to another within the same society. In the changing United States family, for example, certain of the educational, recreational, protective, and economic functions of the family have been taken over by other institutions. The nuclear family is a small and residentially separate unit, and especially in urban areas it is relatively anonymous. Outside agencies—whether neighbors, kinsmen, friends, or police—know less about the families in the community and the individuals within the families. As a result the degree of observation and control of individuals within the United States has lessened as the country has become more urbanized.

The American family has not merely lost functions—it has also added to its functions an increasing responsibility for the emotional welfare and affectional satisfaction of the members of the family (*1*, pp. 249–292). Since individual development and satisfaction have been increasingly emphasized, the strong formal bonds tying together husband and wife regardless of mutual satisfaction, or the ties sanctioning strong authoritarian control over children, have lessened. As a result, divorce and other structural forms of family instability have increased, and the amount of authoritarian control families exert over their children has decreased. The family's responsibility for fostering internalized control on the part of the children has therefore become increasingly important.

All families within the United States are to some degree affected by these historical changes. More anonymity and a greater emphasis upon the individual have also made a considerable difference in the interdependence of family and community life. Instances in which people have ignored others in need of help, often dramatically reported by the mass media, are far outnumbered by situations in which individuals ignore deviant behavior because of the difficulty of distinguishing between help and interference. Will an attempt to curb rowdy behavior on the part of teen-agers be met with abuse from these teen-agers and their parents, or with obedience from the teen-agers


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and gratefulness from their parents? Community norms about rowdy behavior are far from being well developed, and similarly, community norms about what is help and what is interference are not well developed. This throws the individual family to a greater extent upon its own resources in monitoring the behavior of its members.

## The Ghetto:

## Deprivation and Discrimination

Although all families and all communities are influenced by the general changes in American society, such that the issues of family stability and child control are problematic, there are nevertheless special and added problems faced by the predominantly black families within the slums and ghettos of our nation (*2–6*).

First and foremost there is deprivation. This deprivation has been documented in the economic, housing, educational, political, and judicial areas. Ghetto residents have fewer resources than others have in a society where such resources are highly valued. Moreover, the portrayal of resources through the mass media is at a fever pitch, and these pictures are disproportionately received within the ghetto, where there is more television viewing than in other segments of the community.

There has been a pronounced movement of blacks from rural to urban areas, in quest of better jobs and more income. The absolute level of income is higher for urban blacks than rural blacks, but relative deprivation is more pronounced in the urban areas—that is, the discrepancy between white and black income is greater in urban than in rural areas (*7*). Furthermore, the discrepancy between poor blacks and middle-class blacks is more visible in urban areas where the ghettos are increasingly becoming the place of residence of the very poor—and the very poor are the ones that have profited the least from rising levels of income (*8*).

Deprivation is in large part due to a second characteristic that marks the ghetto—discrimination. There is discrimination against ghetto residents in many areas, including employment, education, and housing. This discrimination is increasingly felt within the ghettos, and as the possibility of eliminating discrimination rises there is more organization within the ghettos to combat discrimination and other community problems. Such organization can manifest itself in various ways—in nonviolent directions as the walls of discrimination crumble and opportunities open, or in violent directions as discrimination remains strong and opportunities limited.

Dissatisfaction with one's neighborhood and community is also characteristic of the ghetto. In certain white ethnic groups, such as the Italian ghetto reported on by Gans and others, there is a considerable degree of satisfaction with neighborhood and community, and most individuals are not desirous of leaving the community (*9*). This is not true of the black ghetto, where a very large majority of the population is dissatisfied with the ghetto and would like to move (*10*). Once again, part of the difference between black and white community stems from discrimination —in this case, housing discrimination (*11*). The possibilities of moving out of an Italian ghetto or a Jewish ghetto are high; those who wish to move are able to do so. The possibilities of moving out of a Negro ghetto are low.

What are some of the results of deprivation, discrimination, and dissatisfaction in the ghetto? In the first place there is the development of alternative and often illegitimate ways of obtaining resources. Since resources are highly valued and their availability is widely advertised through the mass media, there is much pressure to acquire them. As a result, there is more crime and delinquency within the ghetto. Whether or not discriminatory police or court practices contribute to these higher figures, the evidence suggests that such biases are not alone responsible for the differences in the figures between ghetto communities and other communities. Many ghetto residents do not engage in delinquent or criminal activities. Among the reasons that have been offered is the better self-image that some individuals develop due to their successful performance in conventional areas, such as the schools. This kind of success suggests the possibility of advancement in conventional terms; the possibility of obtaining resources in legitimate ways therefore helps to shield the individual against involvement in delinquent activities (*12*). But for many within the ghetto the possibilities of escape are slim, and the delinquent gangs that frequently form within the ghetto are responsive to a situation where many individuals faced by similar problems come together in order to try to solve some of these problems. The actions of the gang members are considered deviant by the middle-class community; they are not necessarily considered deviant within the lower-class community, where there is a good deal of attitudinal variation on such matters.

Another development within the ghetto, on the part of some individuals, is withdrawal and anomie. Rainwater has written of a depressive strategy of survival, in addition to an expressive strategy and a violent strategy (*4*). Goals are restricted, individuals are apathetic, and there is little hope for change. The literature, however, is marked by conflicting reports about trends in the ghetto. Do we find hope or despair? Aggression or nonassertiveness? Apathy or rising expectations? There is undoubtedly a good deal of variability, as Rainwater's characterization would suggest. Part of the reported variation, however, may reflect a change through time. Are hope, expectations, aggressiveness, and civil disorder all rising within the ghetto? More will be said about this point later on.

Finally, within the black ghettos there is a reaction to the problems of deprivation, discrimination, and dissatisfaction that covers a broad spectrum of protest movements in the civil rights field, from developing one's own police functions (*13*), to the "moderate" civil rights groups, to advocates of violence and revolution.

In this sense the ghettos represent a special problem within our society. The reactions and developments within the ghetto, however, are responsive to conditions in the society at large. Each of the developments mentioned in the ghetto—such as delinquent gangs or anomic withdrawal or militant advocacy—makes sense; that is, each makes sense as one kind of reaction which attempts to deal with the problems that press in upon residents of the ghetto community. As the society at large formulates its policies, ghetto conditions carry an important implication—what happens within the larger society and how it deals with the issues posed by the existence of ghetto communities, which are marked by deprivation, dissatisfaction, and discrimination, has an important influence upon the development of the various approaches to protest within the ghettos.

## The Family in the Ghetto I

In the United States, as well as in many other countries, the primary role of the man is as breadwinner. This ties together the man's position within the work world and the world of the family. The esteem of the man within his family and the status of the family within the community are strongly and importantly influenced by the man's breadwinner role, or his occupational-earner role. However, if we are talking about lower-class or low-income or ghetto families, we are talking about families in which the occupational-earner role of the man has very frequently been damaged. These men, by definition, have had relatively little education, have relatively low job skills, and as a result are frequently unemployed or in poorly paid employment (*3*). It is because of the extreme importance of the occupational-earner role for the man, and because the ghetto man has a great deal of difficulty with this role, that the ghetto family faces so many problems.

One consequence of the man's difficulty with the occupational-earner role is his inability to maintain his family financially and therefore the low esteem he has in the eyes of his wife and children. As a result the man frequently plays a marginal role within the family. He may leave the family or be forced out of the family, as has frequently been noted. Moreover, many women develop a negative attitude toward men and marriage in general (*5*, pp. 93–95; *14*), partly as a result of actual experience and partly as a result of prevalent community attitudes. Alternative marital and quasi-marital relationships develop within the community, because these relationships make it easier for men and women to enter and leave a relationship in accordance with the changing occupational-earner circumstances of the man or woman, or both (*15*).

The variety of marital and family patterns that develop within the ghetto community represents an attempt to come to terms with the circumstances of ghetto life. These patterns involve the ghetto community in more consensual marriages, more separation and divorce, a higher proportion of illegitimate childbirth, more deserting fathers, and more female-headed households (*6*). Popularly, these patterns, disproportionately found within the ghettos, are looked upon as problems of the lower class. But the analysis and interpretation offered here is that they are solutions of the lower class to the basic occupational-earner problem faced by the man (*1*).

What happens to the woman? In Trinidad, we find a great deal of child-shifting, and a child may be raised by its mother's mother, mother's sister, or some other female relative, friend, or neighbor. In part, the solution within the black ghetto in the United States is of this kind. Beyond that, in the United States there is also Aid to Dependent Children, and as a result of that program the degree of child-shifting is lower than in Trinidad. But the program has many drawbacks, notably the influence it has in breaking rather than maintaining the marital bond.

The pressures of circumstances are powerful within the ghetto, and they therefore have an important impact upon the family. Since so much of ghetto life is marked by instability and uncertainty there is a search for stability. Public assistance grants to individuals within the ghetto are therefore important, and represent a means of maintaining at least an island of stability within a sea of chaos. Payments from Aid to Dependent Children are important to a woman in that they can be relied upon, in contrast to the unreliability of support from a man (*16*). Other forms of public assistance such as aid to the disabled are also important stabilizing factors. This financial assistance serves to stabilize relationships within the family, especially when the man is entitled to the assistance. In short, not only is a job important, but failing that, the importance of income is marked. Maisel has shown that availability of income (whether through a job or through other sources) is more important in determining a man's ability to stay out of a mental hospital after discharge than are judgments about the normality or abnormality of his behavior (*17*). Yancey has also pointed to the importance of income in maintaining stability within the ghetto (*18*).

In short, we are pointing to employment and income as two of the basic causal factors which influence the form and function of the family. The family patterns that develop within the ghetto can be seen as adaptive responses to deprived circumstances that center about the man's occupational-earner difficulties.

## The Family in the Ghetto II

Family patterns in the ghetto have been interpreted as solutions to basic occupational and economic conditions, and not as problems. But some of the patterns that we have interpreted as solutions may bring about further problems. For example, the instability of family relationships, the broken homes, and the lesser degree of marital and familial satisfaction may have consequences for the members of the family. In other words, the family patterns can be seen as dependent variables responsive to the influences of employment and income opportunities within the ghetto; and they can also be seen as independent variables that may influence the socialization processes within the family.

For example, what are the consequences of a broken home upon the emergence of delinquency on the part of the children? A broken home is only an outward characteristic of the family that does not tell us much about the nature of relationships within the family. For example, if there is much dissatisfaction within the marital pair, a separation or divorce (that is, a broken home) may actually be beneficial to the children within the home. Nevertheless, despite these qualifications, the evidence is very clear that children growing up within broken homes are likelier to become delinquent. Glueck and Glueck (*19*), Browning (*20*), and Slocum and Stone (*21*) all reported that a higher proportion of delinquents than of nondelinquents comes from broken homes. Monahan reported that delinquents coming from broken homes are more likely to be recidivists than delinquents from unbroken homes (*22*). The evidence also suggests that broken homes have a differential effect —being greater for giris and for younger delinquents (*23*).

Not only are broken homes more characteristic of ghetto communities, but also of family relationships in which there is less reported consensus and satisfaction. Moreover, family relationships of this kind are likelier to produce delinquent children. Using a variety of measures for marital adjustment, family agreement, and family solidarity, a number of studies have pointed out that these are all significantly and inversely related to various measures of delinquency (*19–21, 24*).

Perhaps the most important family variables in causing delinquency are

those that center about the parent-child relationship. It is within this relationship that external control is initially exercised, that reward and punishment for different behavior are meted out, and that norms and values are learned in a way that fosters internal control. Due to deprivation, families in the ghetto have fewer resources, present or future, with which to attract and control their children. Moreover, with fewer fathers present and with more children on the average, meager resources must be spread out very thinly. Indeed, when one examines the evidence, it turns out that parental discipline and parental affection are importantly related to delinquency. And the family practices that are more frequently found among ghetto residents are the ones that are related to higher rates of delinquency (*23*, *25*).

The family is a link between the generations, and the ghetto family has fewer of the resources needed to prepare a child for successful school performance and upward mobility. Parental aspirations for children are high, but they are difficult to attain within the ghetto. Family residence determines educational opportunities and achievement within the public schools; since the characteristics of other students in the school are more important than factors such as school facilities or class size, the ghetto child is not only handicapped by the deprivations of his own family but also by the fact that deprived families are effectively segregated, and that he is not stimulated to achieve by peers who come from families of higher educational or occupational background (*26*).

In short, ghetto residents are hemmed in by conditions of deprivation and discrimination. Under such conditions, the family patterns that have developed, however deviant some of them may appear to a middle-class observer, must be seen as adaptive responses. They therefore represent one of the strengths of ghetto life, one of the features that permits ghetto residents to cope with their basic problems. Unfortunately, many of these patterns that are well adapted to occupational and economic difficulties are not well adapted to the task of socializing the children for achievement in middle-class terms. As a result, ghetto family patterns frequently contribute their own part to the "tangle of pathology," and to the continuation of poverty through the generations.

## The Culture of Poverty

Briefly, up to now, we have seen that the lack of resources in the ghetto community and in the ghetto family has multiple consequences, many of which are considered undesirable. Since unemployment and the lack of income are major causal factors, one important issue is whether solving these problems of unemployment and income would also alter the structure of the community and of the family.

Obviously, with full employment and with a comprehensive income-maintenance program it would be possible to eliminate the problem of poverty. However, as Lewis has pointed out, there is a distinction between poverty and a culture of poverty (*27*). If there is a culture of poverty which is at variance with the dominant culture, we are faced with the question of whether jobs and money would overcome the handicaps that might be imposed by that culture. The policy implications of the concept that there is a culture of poverty are therefore important. If the values comprising the culture of poverty are clearly different, jobs and money are not enough. Indeed, many editorialists have picked up this particular theme, and it has been bandied about a great deal. But the issues behind this theme and behind the concept of a culture of poverty are complex and need to be elaborated (*28*). The behavioral differences between ghetto residents and nonghetto residents are clear enough; the cultural or value differences are not clear. Values, or culture, may not be at the heart of the problem, and thus the argument that jobs and money are not enough may merely be a convenient rationalization. For evidence of value differences or similarities, we can look at aspirations, at attitudes toward illegitimacy and consensual marriage, and at attitudes regarding delinquent and nondelinquent patterns.

If the aspirations of ghetto residents are low, such aspirations may prevent them from taking advantage of opportunities and may keep them from working as hard as others do in seeking school and job success. The issue, however, is complicated. Low aspirations may be a reaction to the low level of opportunity that has historically been available. This would help to explain low aspirations; however it does not alter the fact that culturally developed low aspirations may impede advancement as conditions change and as opportunities become available. But the evidence that points to low aspirations is spotty and is marked by a serious methodological flaw. For example, Hyman's much cited article, based on secondary data, has supposedly demonstrated that lower-class people have lower occupational, educational, and income aspirations (*29*). But in every single question that was used to get information on aspirations, only a single response was obtained. A typical lower-class reaction to lower opportunities may be to stretch one's range of aspirations rather than merely to lower it (*30*). In order to get information to test such a hypothesis it is necessary to give each respondent an opportunity to make more than a single response. To illustrate, a ghetto resident may aspire to complete high school, to start college, to complete college, to start graduate or professional work, and to complete this work—what is more, he may be satisfied with any level of achievement within that range. To ask him to state a single level of aspiration, as is so frequently done, is to seriously limit what one can learn. As a result, the data we now have on ghetto residents fit the conception of lower aspirations or of a wider range of aspirations equally well. Insofar as the latter may turn out to be correct, the top of the range of aspirations of lower-class individuals may be as high as those of other individuals within the society. In this respect, the issue is less one of altering aspirations and more one of making opportunities available and of making knowledge about the opportunities and about how to take advantage of them available.

Several studies have pointed to equal levels of educational aspiration on the part of Negro and white youth (*31*). This clearly suggests that Negro residents of the ghetto can hardly be characterized as having low aspirations. In this area, therefore, the values or aspirations of ghetto residents would not compromise the availability of additional resources and opportunities; indeed, such resources and opportunities would permit many ghetto residents to actualize aspirations that they already hold.

Are the attitudes of lower-class individuals or ghetto residents different toward certain deviant family patterns? There is some evidence available regarding illegitimacy and consensual marriage. In the Caribbean area, for example, it has been shown that lower-

class status is related to a greater degree of normative acceptance of illegitimacy and consensual marriage (*32*). The same trend has been shown for Detroit, but the degree of normative acceptance is lower in Detroit (*32a*). However, this is far from the total picture. Once again the lower-class value stretch is relevant. Not only are lower-income people readier to include illegitimacy and consensual marriage within their normative range, they also include legitimate childbirth and conventional marriage within their normative range, and indeed prefer these conventional patterns. In this sense lower-income people share the middle-class values, and some have stretched these values in order to adapt to the pressures and circumstances of life. Once again, therefore, the basic issues does not center around altering values. There is already a high valuation placed upon conventional marital and familial patterns.

Gordon, Short, Cartwright, and Strodtbeck, in research on delinquency, provide a similar test of lower-class attitudes or values (*33*). The value stretch closely fits the results that have been obtained. Lower-class gang delinquents show more acceptance of delinquent patterns than nongang lower-class boys do, whereas middle-class boys show the least acceptance. However, there are no differences among these three groups of boys—Negro or white—in their evaluation of conventional patterns. Therefore, insofar as favorable attitudes to delinquent patterns may be reactions to blocked opportunities, there is good reason to expect a considerable lessening of delinquent attitudes and delinquent behavior if additional resources and opportunities were dramatically made available.

There are apparently four important reactions on the part of lower-class individuals to a situation in which values are promulgated for all members of the society but in which resources and opportunities for lower-class members are limited: (i) development of a separate lower-class cultural pattern while abandoning middle-class patterns (lower-class alternative); (ii) maintaining of middle-class patterns without developing any alternative patterns (middle-class alternative); (iii) maintaining of middle-class patterns while stretching these patterns in order to include patterns unique to the lower class (value stretch alternative); and (iv) pragmatic approach in which no consideration is given to values in a particular situation; rather, individuals are responsive to the powerful logic of circumstances (pragmatic alternative).

It is not known how these different responses are distributed within the ghetto community, and as a result any tendency to use the concept of the culture of poverty in order to refrain from instituting programs around income or employment would not be sensible. This is particularly so because there is evidence that a substantial majority of the ghetto population responds in terms of the value stretch alternative, the pragmatic alternative, or the middle-class alternative. In none of these instances is there a strong anticonventional system of values that would interfere with the kinds of influences that might be hoped for from a program centered around jobs and income.

## Some Additional Evidence

Fleisher demonstrates the important effects of income and unemployment (*34*). Using available data on delinquency in Chicago, in 45 suburbs of Chicago, and in 101 cities across the United States, he carried out a regression analysis by using measures of income, unemployment, racial composition, residential mobility, family stability, and region as his independent variables. In general, he concludes that income has an important negative effect upon delinquency, and that this effect is especially strong among "delinquency prone" groups. He estimates that "in extremely delinquent areas, a 1 percent rise in incomes may well cause a 2.5 percent decline in the rate of delinquency." And further: "These rough calculations indicate that a 10 percent rise in income may be expected to reduce delinquency rates by between 15 and 20 percent when the income change occurs in highly delinquent areas and is of the type that will reduce the number of broken families as well." He also describes the effect that unemployment rates have upon the delinquency rate. These findings on income and unemployment have important policy implications both because of the direct effect that reduced unemployment and higher income can have upon lowering delinquency rates and because of the indirect effect they can have through strengthening family relationships.

What are the characteristics of those who advocate violence and participate in ghetto riots? How are they similar to, or different from, other ghetto residents? Much of this research remains to be published; however, one study carried out 2 weeks after the Bedford-Stuyvesant riots in 1964 has shown some interesting results (*35*). With the use of a modified probability sample of 200 Negro residents, it was found that 74 supported the view that Negroes could attain equal rights through nonviolent means (nonviolence supporters), whereas 17 percent felt that violent means would be needed (violence supporters), and 9 percent were ambivalent. The violence supporters were significantly likelier to be male and to be recent residents of the area. They were also likelier to be younger, poorer, and to have been born in the North, although these differences were not statistically significant. Let us single out the fact that the violence supporters were somewhat poorer and speculate about its meaning. First of all, poor Negroes have been conspicuously absent from the earlier civil rights and desegregation movements. It has been shown, however, that as protest movements grow and show some sign of success the poor, who initially are underrepresented, come to be overrepresented (*36*). Such a development may have ominous overtones for civil order in the United States. If it is true that the poor are increasingly entering the civil rights arena, and if they are disproportionately entering the more violence-oriented movements, then the ghettos and cities of the United States have not yet seen anything in the way of civil disorder.

Perhaps it is this development which clarifies the conflicting reports about hope and apathy, aggressiveness and nonassertiveness, in the ghetto. Nonviolent protest movements have had some results, and the poor have therefore increasingly participated. But the results, especially for the ghetto poor, have been meager and difficult to see. The results of civil disorder and rioting, however, are dramatically clear—in terms of what is visible in the street, in the mass media, and in subsequent community agonizing.

The kind of carnival spirit that has been said to characterize ghetto rioting is probably part of this whole phenomenon. It is an opportunity for the residents to demonstrate their feeling of participation and power in defiant activity that is clearly visible. The importance of this possible trend cannot be underestimated. Riot participation has been engaged in by a relatively small

percentage of ghetto residents up to the present time. If, however, nonviolent protests do not lead to significant and visible results; and if, as is self-evident, riotous behavior does have a pronounced impact upon the community, then we can expect far greater participation of the ghetto poor in future protest movements, including future riotous and revolutionary behavior.

## Summary of Research Findings

Residents of the ghetto community are subjected to discrimination and deprivation in the areas of employment, income, housing, education, and many other areas of life. They consequently show more dissatisfaction with their community than other individuals do. This combination of deprivation, discrimination, and dissatisfaction makes the development of delinquent gangs likelier. It makes participation in delinquent behavior likelier. And in general, participation in a variety of illegal means increases as ghetto residents pursue resources that are much advertised and extolled within the society at large, and that confer prestige within the ghetto community.

Within the ghetto family the key problem lies in the man's occupational-earner role. This is the man's basic role. His involvement in an occupation and the income he earns for his family are considered paramount in all segments of our society. But the occupational-earner role of ghetto man is damaged. The structure of the ghetto family is built around, and must adapt itself to, that damaged role. Thus alternative marital or quasi-marital relationships develop that involve fewer mutual responsibilities between man and woman and that make it easier for relationships to form and to break in accordance with changing circumstances. Thus there are more consensual marriages, more illegitimate children, and more female-headed households. These are all part of the pattern of ghetto families that helps individuals to adapt to the difficult circumstances of life. But beyond this, they are also part of the cycle of ghetto poverty, and the structure of the ghetto family adds its own part to the continuation of certain problems—leading, for example, to difficulties in socializing and controlling children, and to an added degree of delinquency.

Finally, we have seen that there is a good deal of variation in ghetto values. This variation is not fully captured by a concept such as the culture of poverty, although the concept may very well represent a way of life that is characteristic of a segment of the ghetto population. Those who have developed the concept are clear about limiting its scope, but there is a danger that others will use it in a much more comprehensive way. One important alternative in the ghetto is the middle-class alternative, in which ghetto residents do not differ from middle-class individuals. There is also an important segment of the ghetto population which stretches its values in many areas, such that conventional values may still be preferred as alternative values come to be included within the normative range. These alternatives typically make it easier to survive under the pressures and circumstances of lower-class ghetto life. In short, a substantial portion of the ghetto population shares the middle-class values and aspirations. The heart of the ghetto problem therefore does not lie in the need to change values or to raise aspirations.

## Policy Implications

The scientific endeavor gives us facts but does not give us truths, as Clark has stated in his preface to *The Dark Ghetto*. Another way of saying this is to ask how we interpret the facts and translate them into policy.

As a transition between facts and policy implications perhaps we should make two assumptions: (i) that American democratic principles require equal opportunity and the rooting out of discrimination; and (ii) that the United States should survive and flourish as a united nation, and not be divided into communities of black and white or rich and poor.

Given these assumptions, the research findings lend themselves strongly to certain important policy implications that are not unlike implications that have been drawn heretofore. The fact is that whether we focus on crime or delinquency, on illegitimate childbirth or civil disorder, we return to the root problems of unemployment, low income, poor housing, and poor education. And the greatest of these problems are unemployment and low income. Together they lead to the damaged breadwinner role of the ghetto man, to his marginal position within the family, to the instability of the family, to higher rates of illegitimacy and of female-headed households, and to less marital and familial satisfaction and less control over the children.

There are therefore two related policies that must be made matters of urgent national attention in order to deal with the social problems posed by ghetto communities and ghetto families: (i) an income maintenance program, so that all individuals and families will be supported by an income floor below which they cannot fall; (ii) a full employment program that would apply to all major segments of the community.

These policies are of utmost importance for at least the following reasons, in addition to the reasons expressed in the two assumptions mentioned above. (i) A great deal of money and effort is now going into treatment and rehabilitation programs with the poor, and these programs are in large measure wasted because they are not being built upon a solid and secure foundation of jobs and income. (ii) There are indications of a rising tide of expectations and a rising tide of participation in protest movements within the ghetto, and these tides can only be channeled into nonviolent directions if there are basic changes in the fundamental areas of income and employment. (iii) The evidence on the difficulties of the ghetto family trace back to the problems of income and employment of the man, and the only way in which it seems possible to add to family stability and control is through meeting these fundamental problems of income and employment.

We can therefore expect further civil disorder, an increasing incidence of civil disorder, and more widespread and more violent civil disorder, unless these policies are adopted and carried out. The specific forms and techniques used to achieve these national policies remain to be spelled out. A presidential statement of national purpose to reduce the unemployment rate to 5 percent in all major communities of the nation, including the ghetto communities, might be a useful beginning, in the same way that similar statements were made about the national unemployment rates in 1961 and 1958.

The need for the acceptance of these policies is urgent. The nation must act at once. The development of the techniques that will be needed must begin immediately in order to reduce deprivation, discrimination, and dissatisfaction in the ghetto community; instabil-

ity in the ghetto family which now attempts to cope with its deprivations (and suffers in this attempt); and civil disorders, riots, and rebellions.

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# "Bootstrap": A Scientific Idea?

The place of the bootstrap idea in science is analyzed, from the broad and limited points of view.


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Although the term *bootstrap* has different significance for different scientists, in a uniformly accepted implication self-consistency is accorded a central role. In the broadest sense, bootstrap philosophy asserts that "nature is as it is because this is the only possible nature consistent with itself." In such vague terms the bootstrap idea is much older than particle physics, but within the last decade substantial numbers of physicists have begun serious study of bootstrap notions. Most have been driven to this extremity by an avalanche of unexpected experimental data on strongly interacting nuclear particles (*1*), the hadrons—data which have resisted physics' traditional description of natural phenomena through equations of motion for fundamental degrees of freedom. Some physicists additionally have been motivated by esthetics, finding all proposed alternatives to the bootstrap idea ugly.

In the first part of this article I point out that, in the broad sense, the bootstrap idea, although fascinating and useful, is unscientific. In the remainder of the article I describe a limited bootstrap hypothesis that concerns hadrons only.

We shall find that the scientific status of this partial bootstrap hypothesis is strangely resistant to clarification.

## The Complete Bootstrap Hypothesis

Conventional science requires the a priori acceptance of certain concepts, so that "questions" can be formulated and experiments performed to give answers. The role of theory is to provide a set of rules for predicting the results of experiment, but rules necessarily are formulated in a language of commonly accepted ideas. Examples of currently unquestioned prerequisites for science are the following.

1) For macroscopic phenomena, a three-dimensional space and a time that moves in only one direction.

2) The arrangement of macroscopic matter into blobs of reasonably well defined shape and permanency, so that the "isolated system" or "object" concept can be used.

3) The existence of "gentle forces," like electromagnetism, that allow one macroscopic "object" to survive a "measurement" made upon it by another.

4) The existence of objects whose complexity is so great that "consciousness" of measurement becomes meaningful.


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